

PAINTING ON LIGHT



Drawings
and Stained Glass
in the Age of
Dürer and Holbein

PAINTING ON LIGHT

Drawings
and Stained Glass
in the Age of
Dürer and Holbein



Barbara Butts and Lee Hendrix
with the assistance of Scott C. Wolf

With contributions by
Barbara Giesicke
Timothy B. Husband
Mylène Ruoss
Hartmut Scholz
Peter van Treeck

THE J. PAUL GETTY MUSEUM *in collaboration with* THE SAINT LOUIS ART MUSEUM

This page intentionally left blank

Der inder an fund ist, Der
Zueff den ersten Item vff dy

Johann Am
vii Cap



This page intentionally left blank

... der Swert den er loen.
sein. uff. by. johan. am. viij.
capitel.



© 2000 The J. Paul Getty Trust
1200 Getty Center Drive
Suite 400
Los Angeles, California 90049-1681

www.getty.edu/publications

This publication is issued in conjunction with the exhibition *Painting on Light: Drawings and Stained Glass in the Age of Dürer and Holbein*, held at the J. Paul Getty Museum and The Saint Louis Art Museum. The exhibition will be on view in Los Angeles from July 11 to September 24, 2000, and in St. Louis from November 4, 2000, to January 7, 2001.

At the J. Paul Getty Museum:
Christopher Hudson, Publisher
Mark Greenberg, Managing Editor

Project staff:
John Harris, Editor
Vickie Sawyer Karten, Designer
Suzanne Petralli Meilleur, Production Coordinator
Kathleen Preciado, Indexer
Charles Passela, Photographer

Typesetting by G & S Typesetters
Printed by Gardner Lithograph
Bound by Roswell Bookbinding

Front cover:
After Albrecht Dürer, workshop of Veit Hirsvogel the Elder.
The Annunciation, c. 1504-5. See cat. no. 21.

Back cover:
Hans Holbein the Younger. *A Wild Man Brandishing an Uprooted Tree Trunk*, c. 1528. See cat. no. 151.

Frontispiece:
Niklaus Manuel Deutsch and Bernese glass painter (Hans Funk?), after Niklaus Manuel Deutsch. Drawing and stained-glass panel of *Christ and the Woman Taken in Adultery*, 1527. See cat. nos. 126-27.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Butts, Barbara.

Painting on light : drawings and stained glass in the age of Dürer and Holbein / Barbara Butts and Lee Hendrix with the assistance of Scott C. Wolf ; with contributions by Barbara Giesicke . . . [et al.].

p. cm.

Published on the occasion of an exhibition organized by and held at the J. Paul Getty Museum, July 11-Sept. 24, 2000 and the Saint Louis Art Museum, Nov. 4, 2000-Jan. 7, 2001.

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN 0-89236-578-1 — ISBN 0-89236-579-X (paper)

1. Artists' preparatory studies—Germany, Southern—Exhibitions. 2. Artists' preparatory studies—Switzerland—Exhibitions. 3. Drawing—16th century—Germany, Southern—Exhibitions. 4. Drawing—16th century—Switzerland—Exhibitions. 5. Glass painting and staining—Germany, Southern—History—16th Century—Exhibitions. 6. Glass Painting and staining—Switzerland—History—16th century—Exhibitions. I. Hendrix, Lee. II. Wolf, Scott C., 1956- III. J. Paul Getty Museum. IV. Saint Louis Art Museum. V. Title.

N7433.5 .B88 2000
748.593'09'03107479494—dc21

99-059416

Entries in the catalogue section were written by the following authors: Barbara Butts, cat. nos. 1-3, 6-27, 30-76; Lee Hendrix, 5, 28-29, 77-152; Timothy B. Husband, 4.

Contents

ix	Foreword	
xi	Lenders to the Exhibition	
xii	Acknowledgments	
i	Introduction	
	Drawn on Paper—Painted on Glass	
	<i>Barbara Butts and Lee Hendrix</i>	
17	Monumental Stained Glass in Southern Germany in the Age of Dürer	
	<i>Hartmut Scholz</i>	
43	In Honor of Friendship: Function, Meaning, and Iconography in Civic Stained-Glass Donations in Switzerland and Southern Germany	
	<i>Barbara Giesicke and Mylène Ruoss</i>	
57	On the Artistic Technique of Glass Painting in the Age of Dürer and Holbein and Its Conservation Problems	
	<i>Peter van Treeck</i>	
67	PRECURSORS	
	The Master of the Housebook	
	Peter Hemmel von Andlau and the Strasbourg Workshop-Cooperative	
	The Master of the Coburg Roundels	
	Michael Wolgemut	
83	NUREMBERG	
	Albrecht Dürer	
	Hans Baldung Grien	
	Hans Leu the Younger	
	Hans von Kulmbach	
	Sebald Beham	
	Georg Pencz	
189	AUGSBURG	
	Hans Holbein the Elder	
	Hans Schäufelein	
	Hans Burgkmair	
	Jörg Breu the Elder	
233	STRASBOURG AND FREIBURG	
	Hans Baldung Grien	
	Hans Weiditz	
249	REGENSBURG	
	Albrecht Altdorfer	
253	BERN	
	Hans Funk	
	Niklaus Manuel Deutsch	
275	ZURICH	
	Hans Leu the Younger	
283	BASEL	
	Urs Graf	
	Antoni Glaser	
	Hans Holbein the Younger	
313	List of References	
326	Index	



Foreword

Albrecht Dürer and Hans Holbein the Younger: The names evoke the magnificent achievements of Renaissance painting and printmaking in Southern Germany and Switzerland. They are not, however, generally associated with stained glass. Nevertheless, Dürer, Holbein, and their Southern German and Swiss contemporaries designed some of the most splendid stained glass in the history of the medium. Their designs and the stained glass executed after them are celebrated in this exhibition.

The J. Paul Getty Museum, with its strength in Old Master drawings, and The Saint Louis Art Museum, with its outstanding holdings of German art, were ideal collaborators for *Painting on Light*. The exhibition is notable for its combination of scholarship and extraordinary beauty. It is a rare opportunity to view so large a quantity of radiant paintings on glass from the age of Dürer and Holbein. The exhibition includes many medium-sized and small-scale masterpieces, made for both religious and secular buildings, and demonstrates the amazing flowering of the stained glass in the late fifteenth century and first quarter of the sixteenth century. It juxtaposes stained-glass panels with related drawings to elucidate the working relationships between the great Renaissance draftsmen and the talented glass painters who translated their designs into another medium. The vitality of stained glass in Southern Germany and Switzerland from the period is seen in the range of subject matter treated—including knightly tournaments, the labors of the seasons, narrative themes, romance, and military conquest—and in the technical inventiveness of the designers and glass painters.

Lee Hendrix, Curator of Drawings at the J. Paul Getty Museum, and Barbara Butts, guest curator (formerly Curator of Prints, Drawings, and Photographs at The Saint Louis Art Museum) organized this exhibition with enthusiasm and insight. They brought

their expertise in the connoisseurship of drawings to some of the knottiest problems facing scholars of German and Swiss Renaissance art, sought out relevant drawings and stained glass throughout Europe and North America, and established fruitful collaborations with their colleagues in the field of stained glass. We join Barbara Butts and Lee Hendrix in thanking Barbara Giesicke, Timothy B. Husband, Mylène Ruoss, Hartmut Scholz, and Peter van Treeck for their contributions to the exhibition and publication. Mark Greenberg and his staff in the Publications Department at the Getty brought together their texts in the form of a beautiful and substantial catalogue.

The exhibition in St. Louis was made possible in part by financial assistance from The May Department Stores Company and its Famous-Barr and Lord & Taylor Divisions, and by the National Endowment for the Arts, a federal agency. This exhibition would not have been possible without the generous loans of the many individuals and institutions named in the pages immediately following.

John Walsh
Director, The J. Paul Getty Museum

Brent Benjamin
Director, The Saint Louis Art Museum



Lenders to the Exhibition

Our thanks are extended to all those who have kindly loaned their works to the exhibition. The list of lenders below is alphabetized by city, followed by institution.

- Aarau, Denkmalpflege des Kantons Aargau
Augsburg, Städtische Kunstsammlungen, Maximilian-
museum
Bad Schinznach, Bad Schinznach Thermalquelle
Baltimore, The Walters Art Gallery
Bamberg, Historisches Museum Bamberg
Basel, Öffentliche Kunstsammlung Basel
Berlin, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin-Preussischer
Kulturbesitz, Kunstgewerbemuseum
Berlin, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin-Preussischer
Kulturbesitz, Kupferstichkabinett
Bern, Bernisches Historisches Museum
Bern, Denkmalpflege des Kantons Bern
Boston, Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum
Boston, Museum of Fine Arts
Braunschweig, Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum
Bremen, Kunsthalle Bremen
Coburg, Kunstsammlungen der Veste Coburg
Cottbus, Stiftung Fürst Pückler-Museum
Darmstadt, Hessisches Landesmuseum
Dresden, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden,
Kupferstich-Kabinett
Eisenach, Collection of Wartburg-Stiftung Eisenach
Erlangen, Graphische Sammlung der Universität
Florence, Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi
Frankfurt am Main, Museum für Kunsthandwerk
Frankfurt am Main, Graphische Sammlung im
Städelschen Kunstinstitut
Füssen, Staatsgalerie im Hohen Schloss Füssen
Glasgow, Glasgow Museums, The Burrell Collection
Glendale, California, Forest Lawn Memorial-Park
Association, Forest Lawn Museum
Göttingen, Kunstsammlung der Universität Göttingen
Hannover, Niedersächsisches Landesmuseum
Hannover
Innsbruck, Tiroler Landesmuseum Ferdinandeum
Kaiserslautern, Pfalzgalerie
Karlsruhe, Badisches Landesmuseum
Kirchberg, Kirchgemeinde
Leipzig, Museum der bildenden Künste
London, The British Museum
London, Victoria and Albert Museum
Los Angeles, The J. Paul Getty Museum
Munich, Bayerisches Nationalmuseum
Munich, Staatliche Graphische Sammlung
München
New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art
Nuremberg, Evangelisch-Lutherische Kirchen-
gemeinde Nürnberg-St. Sebald
Nuremberg, Germanisches Nationalmuseum
Nuremberg, Museen der Stadt Nürnberg, Museum
Tucherschloss
Oxford, The Visitors of the Ashmolean Museum
Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France
Paris, École nationale supérieure des Beaux-Arts
Paris, Musée du Louvre, Département des Arts
Graphiques
Providence, Brown University Library
Rotterdam, Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen
St. Louis, The Saint Louis Art Museum
St. Petersburg, The State Hermitage Museum
San Diego, San Diego Museum of Art
Schwerin, Staatliches Museum Schwerin, Kupfer-
stichkabinett
Strasbourg, Cabinet des Estampes et des Dessins
Switzerland, private collection
Washington, D.C., The National Gallery of Art
Weimar, Kunstsammlungen zu Weimar, Schloss-
museum
Zurich, Schweizerisches Landesmuseum

Acknowledgments

While all exhibitions are collaborative ventures, this one in particular has depended upon the teamwork and generosity of colleagues with many areas of expertise. We have been constantly overwhelmed at the extent to which our colleagues have devoted their efforts to bringing this complex project to fruition and would like to dedicate this catalogue to them as an expression of our deepest gratitude.

Painting on Light would not have been possible without the many publications of our colleagues both in the international *Corpus Vitrearum Medii Aevi* (Catalogue of Medieval Stained Glass) and in the wider field of stained glass. In particular, we want to thank four of our German and Swiss colleagues who contributed essays to this catalogue and whose generosity has been boundless: Barbara Giesicke, Mylène Ruoss, Hartmut Scholz, and Peter van Treeck. We offer our gratitude as well to Timothy B. Husband, who wrote a key biography and catalogue entry.

The exhibition would not have taken place without the continued support of John Walsh and Deborah Gribbon, Director and Deputy Director and Chief Curator at the Getty Museum, and James D. Burke and Brent Benjamin, Director Emeritus and Director of The Saint Louis Art Museum. The enthusiasm of these individuals for the project, in spite of all of its logistical complexities and the many years of research and travel it required, is a testament to their commitment to scholarship and to bringing great but lesser-known material to the public eye.

The safe transport and installation of the stained-glass panels were among our primary concerns, and we have been fortunate to work closely with knowledgeable and dedicated conservators. Brian Considine, aided by Abby Hykin, headed up this enormous effort at the Getty, coordinating with Peter van Treeck in Germany and Stefan Trümpler in Switzerland, both of whom were invaluable in organizing and supervising packing and transport. Suzanne Hargrove

has expertly handled the conservation aspects of the exhibition at The Saint Louis Art Museum. We also thank Bruce Metro, Head of Preparations at the Getty, for his expertise in packing, shipping, and installation. Further, for their advice and assistance we thank conservators Fritz Dold, Dieter Goldkuhle, and Urs Wohlgemuth.

Large loan exhibitions involve the support of staff members from every department of the borrowing institutions, and the staffs of the Getty and The Saint Louis Art Museum have given unstintingly towards the realization of *Painting on Light*. In particular we want to thank Quincy Houghton, Head of Exhibitions at the Getty, ably assisted by Amber Keller, and Jeanette Fausz, Registrar and Director of Exhibitions at The Saint Louis Art Museum. Scott Wolf and Suzy Royal at the Getty have been pillars of the project, with regard both to research and the management of countless organizational aspects. We also thank Kathleen Kibler at the Getty, who among other projects ordered and tracked photographs. For their invaluable research, we thank Bradley P. Fratello in St. Louis and Anne Lauder, Maite Alvarez, and Mark McDonald at the Getty. The Registrars at both institutions—Sally Hibbard assisted by Cory Gooch at the Getty, and Jeanette Fausz assisted by Diane Vandergrift Mallow in St. Louis—have put untold hours of work and care into arranging the loans and shipping. We owe the beautiful installation designs to Ann Marshall, Merritt Price, and Christopher Muniz at the Getty and Jeff Wamhoff in St. Louis. As always, we are tremendously grateful to the teams of preparators at the Getty and in St. Louis, who carry out installations with exemplary dedication and care. Deep thanks for their help with the drawings go to Nancy Yocco and Marc Harnly in the Department of Paper Conservation at the Getty and to conservators Paul Haner and Sheba Haner at The Saint Louis Art Museum. Further, we would like to acknowledge the assistance of

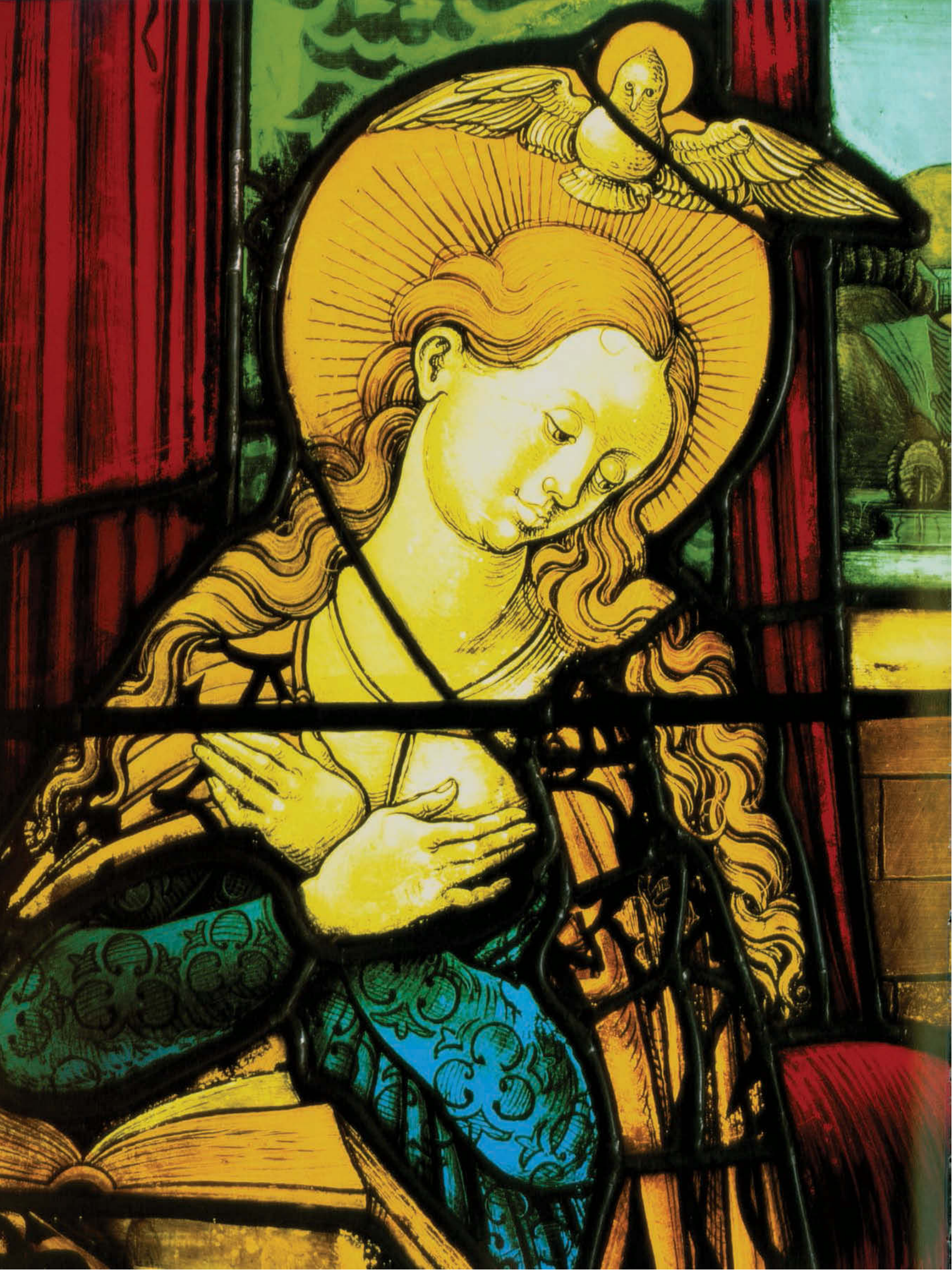
Francesca Consagra, Jon Cournoyer, Dan Esarey, Olivia Lahs Gonzales, Cathryn Goodwin, Davina Harrison, and Mary Ann Steiner in St. Louis and of the librarians at the Getty Research Institute. We thank Mark Greenberg, John Harris, Vickie Sawyer Karten, Suzanne Petralli Meilleur, and their colleagues in the Publications Department at the Getty for their prodigious work in preparing the catalogue.

We came to the idea for *Painting on Light* through a shared interest in German and Swiss drawings for stained glass. The concept for the exhibition first began to take shape in 1987, when Barbara Butts, then an assistant curator at the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, received a grant from the Travel to Collections Program of the National Endowment for the Humanities to develop an exhibition devoted to drawings and related stained-glass panels by Albrecht Dürer and his circle. In 1990, given the growth of the Getty's collection of German and Swiss drawings for stained glass, we conceived of a broader exhibition that would include drawings and related panels from southern Germany and Switzerland. In 1995 we proposed *Painting on Light: Drawings and Stained Glass in the Age of Dürer and Holbein* to our directors at the J. Paul Getty Museum and The Saint Louis Art Museum and were thrilled by their support for the project. For more than a decade we have received generous assistance from colleagues throughout Europe and the United States. For their contributions to this project we wish to thank: Clifford S. Ackley, Neil Adkin, Gert Ammann, Drew Anderson, Robert G. W. Anderson, Christiane Andersson, Jean-Pierre Angremy, Michael Archer, the late Franz Bächtiger, Giulia Bartrum, Hela Baudis, Margrit Bauer, Reinhold Baumstark, Herbert Beck, Rüdiger Becksmann, Katrin Bellinger, Kornelia von Berswordt-Wallrabe, Eberhard Bibelriether, Monika Bierschenk, Jaap Bolten, Alan Borg, James M. Bradburne, Anne Breckenridge-Bornscheuer, Johan C. Bosch van Rosenthal, Jürg A. Bossardt, Philippe Braunstein, Christine E. Brennan, Christopher Brown, Emmanuelle Brugerolles, Rita Bucher-Jolidon, Britta E. Buhlmann, Margaret Burton, Ina Busch, Katie Cavanagh, Madeline H. Caviness, Virginia Tuttle Clayton, Patricia Collins, Günther Dankl, Ulrich Deisenhofer, Chris Dercon, Jutta Desel, Emese Doehler, Thomas Döring, Wolf-Dieter Dube, Edith DuBose, Alexander Dückers, Hans Dürig, Michael Eissenhauer, Christoph Emmendorffer, Berthold Ettrich, Tilman Falk, Hélène Fauré, Paul Fehr, Suzanne Fischer, Eva Fitz, the late Gottfried Frenzel, Alexandra Fritsch, Andres Furger, Cecily Gardner, Ulrich Gassmann, Dieter Gleisberg, Hilliard T. Goldfarb, Louis M. Goldich, George R. Goldner, Heide Grape-Albers, Martin Grässle, Philipp Gremper, Antony Griffiths, G. Ulrich Grossmann, Herwig Guratzsch, Joseph Guttmann, Bertold Freiherr Haller von Hallerstein, Rolf

Hasler, Anny-Claire Haus, Anne Hawley, Lothar Hennig, Brigitte Herrbach-Schmidt, Sarah Herring, Wulf Herzogenrath, Daniel Hess, Robert Heuss, Christina Hofmann-Randall, Wolfgang Holler, Siegmur Holsten, Timothy B. Husband, Karen Jacobson, Annie Jacques, Gregory D. Jecmen, Peter Jezler, David Judson, Walter Judson, Theo Jülich, Rainer Kahsnitz, Frank Matthias Kammel, Thomas DaCosta Kaufmann, Steven Kern, Hans-Otto Keunecke, Christian Klemm, Dietrich Kötzsche, Sigfried Kohlschmidt, Bjorn Kommar, Kristina Kohlhaas, Eva Korazija, Gode Krämer, Renate Kroll, Judith Krouch, Beat Kümin, Gisèle Lambert, Brigitta Laube, Daniela Laube, Heinz-Werner Lewerken, Reino Liefkes, John F. Llewellyn, Kurt Löcher, Jochen Luckhardt, Hans-Peter Luder, Peter Märker, Judith Mann, Alan Mark, Hannelore Marschner, Irene Martín, Rolf Martin, Katherine Matthews, Vladimir Matveev, Bridget McConnell, Patrick T. McMahon, Jessie McNab, Karl-Heinz Mehnert, A. W. F. M. Meij, Matthias Mende, the late Hans Mielke, Hermann Mildemberger, Philippe de Montebello, André F. Moosbrugger, Beth Morrison, Christian Müller, Barbara Mundt, Jane Munro, Susanne Netzer, Martina Norelli, Konrad Oberhuber, Jennifer Opie, Nadine Orenstein, Thera Folmer-von Oven, Christian B. Peper, Miranda Percival, Susanne Petri, Annamaria Petrioli Tofani, Michael Petzet, Karl-Georg Pfandtner, Lisa Piloni, Mikhail Piotrovsky, Frederick Ponzlov, Andrée Poudroux, Earl A. Powell, III, Kathleen Preciado, Maxime Préaud, Virginia Chieffo Raguin, Jean Rainwater, Janice Reading, Sue Welsh Reed, Thomas Riedmiller, Andrew Robison, Burkard von Roda, Anne Röver-Kann, Malcolm Rogers, Pierre Rosenberg, John Rowlands, Sabine Runde, Charles Ryskamp, Bernd Schällicke, Veronica Schaller, Katharina Schmidt, Claudia Schnitzer, Rainer Schoch, Gerhard Schorr, Markus Schranz, Anne-Cathrin Schreck, Benno Schubiger, Günter Schuchardt, Holger Schuckelt, Jürg Schweizer, Bruno Schwitter, Alan Shestack, Harald Siebenmorgen, Larry Silver, Caron Smith, Franz Sonnenberger, Joaneath Spicer, Peter Steinbacher, Alison Stewart, Georg Stolz, Samuel Streit, Peter Strieder, Sebastian Strobl, Margret Stuffmann, Valentine Taland, Ester Theiler, Elizabeth Teviotdale, Elgin van Treeck, Meinolf Trudzinski, Jutta Tschoeke, Gerd Unverfehrt, Françoise Viatte, Gary Vikan, Peter Volk, Herrmann Voltz, Scott Wagner, Timothy Wardell, François Wehrlin, Christiane Wiebel, and Detlef Zinke.

Finally, we thank the lenders for generously sharing their drawings and stained-glass panels for the advancement of scholarship and for the enjoyment and edification of audiences in Los Angeles and St. Louis.

Barbara Butts
Lee Hendrix



Introduction

Drawn on Paper ❖ Painted on Glass

Barbara Butts and Lee Hendrix

As an artistic medium, stained glass is most readily associated with the Gothic cathedrals of France. For many, the words “stained glass” call to mind the monumental figured windows of Chartres cathedral, glowing within the towering masonry and shifting in color and tone with changes of weather, time of day, and season. Figured stained glass is thought to date back to the Carolingian period, and by the time the majority of the windows of Chartres were made in the early thirteenth century, stained glass was one of the foremost techniques of painting practiced in Europe. The association of the achievements of Renaissance painting, on the other hand, with fresco and pictures on wood or canvas has obscured the fact that stained glass continued to thrive and to evolve as a major art form. It was particularly important in southern Germany and Switzerland during the lifetimes of Nuremberg’s most celebrated artist, Albrecht Dürer (1471–1528), and Basel’s renowned painter Hans Holbein the Younger (1497/98–1543). Indeed, figured stained glass was ubiquitous, adorning not only monumental windows in churches (fig. 16, p. 32) but also cloisters (fig. 1), municipal chambers (fig. 12, p. 53), private chapels (cat. nos. 21–22, fig. 19), scholars’ studies, castle towers, guild halls, inns, universities, hospitals, and, if a drawing by the Master of the Housebook is true to life, even bathhouses (cat. no. 46, fig. 37). And while the production of monumental church windows was greatly curtailed by the late 1520s with the spread of the Reformation, the production of smaller panels destined for secular settings continued to flourish.

As the Renaissance artist’s role became defined as that of a creative intelligence as well as a craftsman, it increasingly included designing a wide variety of artworks to be executed by others. It is common knowledge that Dürer, Holbein, and most of their contemporaries in southern Germany and Switzerland

designed woodcuts, drawing on blocks that were then cut by block cutters (*Formschneider*). Dürer also designed panel paintings, wall paintings, manuscript illuminations, and sculpture in relief and in the round to be executed by other artists. Dürer, Holbein, and Holbein’s fellow Basel artist Urs Graf designed a variety of objects to be executed in metal, including armor, weapons, relief boxes, table fountains, goblets, portrait medallions, coins, jewelry, and corner decorations for book covers. Dürer’s hundreds of extant drawings include designs for ceremonial robes, chandeliers, a cardinal’s throne, and even a pattern for a shoe; his diary of his trip to the Netherlands in 1520–21 indicates that he designed a mask and a house.¹

With the notable exception of Matthias Grünewald, the artists whom we think of today as the major painters and printmakers of the South German and Swiss Renaissance apparently devoted a significant portion of their time and talent to the design of stained glass, as reflected in their large numbers of drawings for the medium. Designs for stained glass by South German and Swiss Renaissance artists have often been marginalized within their oeuvres, undervalued because of a prejudice against working drawings or wrongly attributed because they are apt to lack the spatial, linear, or tonal complexities of studies for paintings on panel or canvas by the same artists. Designs for stained glass, however, tend to be exceptional in their range of subject matter, calligraphic beauty, and inventive articulation of ornamental and figural imagery on two-dimensional surfaces, whether rectangular, circular, or foliated. Given the paucity of archival records related to stained glass in the age of Dürer and Holbein, drawings have the added import of providing what is often the most valuable means of identifying the artist responsible for designing a panel or window. Furthermore, drawings are sometimes the chief or only evidence of the vast amount of stained



Figure 1. Wettingen cloister, north side, facing east.

Photo: Aargauische Denkmalpflege (1979, Knecht).

glass lost because of wars, iconoclasm, exposure to the elements, and changes of taste. For instance, of the large series of stained-glass roundels based on drawings by the Augsburg artist Jörg Breu the Elder and depicting the battles and hunts of Holy Roman Emperor Maximilian I, just two are extant (cat. nos. 83–90). And only one drawing survives as evidence of what must have been a series of circular stained-glass panels depicting Christ's Passion after drawings by Albrecht Altdorfer of Regensburg (cat. no. 117). Indeed, this one drawing is the only proof that Altdorfer designed stained glass. Virtually no stained glass survives that is directly based on any of Hans Baldung Grien's numerous extant drawings for the medium.²

The prestige of stained glass in southern Germany and Switzerland during the Renaissance is reflected in the number and celebrity of its patrons. Stained glass was a favored medium of Maximilian I (1459–1519; elected king 1486 and emperor 1508), one of the greatest art patrons of his age. The emperor is best remembered for using the new medium of printing to celebrate his person and dynasty in enormous woodcuts, *The Triumphal Arch* and *The Triumphal Procession*, as well as for huge, unfinished projects—notably his sculptural tomb monument in bronze in the Hofkirche in Innsbruck—and illustrated books

such as the *Weisskunig* (white king, a play on *weiser König* [wise king]).³ At the same time, some of his most ambitious projects were brought to fruition in the form of monumental stained-glass windows and cycles of small-scale panels (see Hartmut Scholz's essay in this volume, pp. 22–23, 26–27, 31; cat. nos. 49, 83–90). Patronage of stained glass also extended to Maximilian's courtiers, including the imperial secretaries Melchior Pfinzing of Nuremberg (see Hartmut Scholz's essay in this volume, p. 32, and cat. nos. 27, 51–54) and Nikolaus Ziegler of Freiburg (cat. no. 112). Noblemen, bishops, and wealthy burghers vied with the emperor in making expensive gifts of church windows and decorating their residences with stained glass. In the fifteenth century, stained glass also emerged as a key medium in the embellishment of city halls and other civic buildings, particularly in Switzerland, where the cantons made reciprocal gifts of stained-glass panels to betoken friendship and political alliance (see Barbara Giesicke and Mylène Ruoss's essay in this volume, pp. 43–46).

Within this burgeoning of stained glass in southern Germany and Switzerland during the Renaissance, small-scale panels played a major role. As bull's-eye or diamond-shaped glass increasingly replaced linen, leather, parchment, or oiled paper as a form of

window covering in the fifteenth century, cabinet panels (small figural panels for secular buildings) were often incorporated in the upper part of the windows (fig. 2). Stained-glass panels were an important means of articulating and differentiating architectural spaces in southern Germany and Switzerland during the Renaissance. They treated a wide range of themes appropriate to their settings, including Old and New Testament stories, the lives of the saints, heraldry, allegories of justice, hunting and fishing scenes, tournaments, wrestling matches, battles, bathhouses, gardens of love, the labors of the months, and the influence of the planets. Thus, some scholars' studies were apparently decorated with quatrefoils depicting the Fathers of the Church, exhorting the occupants to work diligently (cat. nos. 30–31, 36–43, 47–48), while the Judgment of Solomon (cat. no. 45) and other examples of good government were presumably favorite subjects for stained-glass panels in judicial chambers of city halls. Painted glass panels, like panel paintings, served as private devotional images (cat. nos. 21–22; fig. 20) and recorded the features of patrons for posterity (cat. no. 20). Cabinet panels commemorated marriages by depicting a couple's coats of arms (*Allianzscheiben* or "alliance panels"). In these and other heraldic panels, a coat of arms (or a pair of arms) was usually supported by a figure such as a maiden, soldier, or wild man standing within an arch (cat. nos. 111–12, 115). The lively vignettes often included in the spandrels of these heraldic panels form some of the most beguiling imagery in the stained glass of the period. In addition to recording a patron's genealogy through coats of arms, cabinet panels asserted social status in other ways, indicating, for instance, membership in chivalric orders (cat. no. 14) or proclaiming privileges, such as the right to participate in tournaments (cat. no. 3). Cabinet panels reflected chivalric ideals of love (cat. no. 2) and showed sports such as hunting (cat. nos. 55–58, 87–90), wrestling (cat. no. 112), and jousting (cat. nos. 3, 78–79), which were encouraged by Maximilian I as a means for his knights to build body and spirit. Cabinet panels commemorated the wars of the period (cat. nos. 83–86), demonstrated a patron's humanist learning—for instance, knowledge of classical literature (cat. no. 74)—and may even have commemorated a dignitary's visit to a patron's residence (cat. nos. 71–74).

Monasteries too reflected the popularity of stained glass. The confluence of affluence and piety resulted in the glazing or reglazing of cloisters, sometimes incorporating cycles of small-scale panels. Among the most extensive of such commissions to have survived in situ is that at the Cistercian monastery at Wettingen in Canton Aargau, initiated by Abbots Johannes Müller (1486–1521) and Andreas

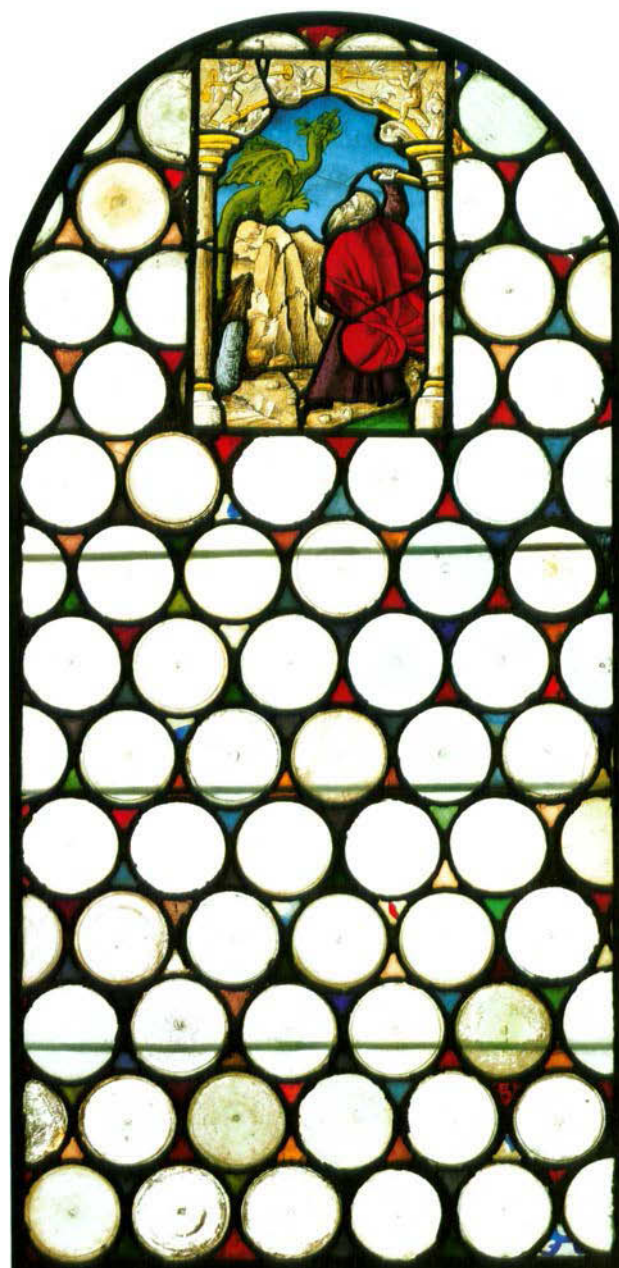


Figure 2. After Hans Leu the Younger; Hans Funk(?). *Saint Beatus*, c. 1510. Pot-metal, flashed, and clear glass, yellow stain and black vitreous paint, 32.5 × 20.5 cm; in a bull's-eye glass window measuring 113 × 54 cm. Bern, Historisches Museum (inv. no. 6828).

Photo: Bern, Historisches Museum.

Wengi (1521-1528) as part of the restoration of the cloister after the fire of 1507 (fig. 1; and cat. nos. 131, 141, 143). The cloister of Nuremberg's monastery of Saint Aegidius was probably decorated with a series of panels depicting the Life of Saint Benedict after drawings by Albrecht Dürer (cat. nos. 11-17) and with idealized portraits in stained glass of the monastery's Benedictine abbots after drawings by Dürer's disciple Hans Süß von Kulmbach (cat. nos. 32-35).

Small-scale panels could be rectangular in format but also took the form of roundels, trefoils, and quatrefoils reminiscent of medallions in church windows. Not surprisingly, the technique of small-scale panels derived from monumental church windows. So-called leaded or pot-metal panels were made using a combination of clear glass, pot glass (antique glass that is one deep color throughout its thickness), and flashed glass (consisting of a thin "flash" of deep color overlaying clear glass). The flash could be abraded (removed by scraping or grinding) or acid-etched to reveal the clear glass beneath. This was especially helpful in depicting coats of arms or patterns in clothing, where the small scale of forms would have made it impossible to add leading in order to insert different colors of glass. The glass pieces were painted on the recto (the side meant to face the interior of a building), with vitreous paint in black and a range of browns and grays. The paint was applied as matts (washes smoothed to a muted, even finish with a badger, a wide, soft brush with hairs that are three to four inches long) and as trace lines (contours) and could be worked in various ways. The stabbing motion of a badger on drying wash produced stippling, the effect of minute points of light. From the late fifteenth century, a small wire brush was often used to scratch points of light out of the matts, revealing the glass beneath. (For scratch stippling [*Kratzstuppen*] and technique in general, see Peter van Treeck's essay in this volume, p. 58). Highlights could be picked out using a needle, stick, or the end of a brush. The glass painter also articulated the verso with an enamel called silver stain or yellow stain (the source of the term "stained glass"). When fused to clear glass through firing, this silver compound produced a range of translucent yellows, from lemon yellow to golden, and was often employed for halos, hair, and clothing. Because yellow stain produced green in combination with blue glass, it was often used for landscapes. Sometimes a reddish brown called sanguine, first introduced in southwestern Germany at the end of the fifteenth century, was also applied to the verso (see van Treeck, pp. 59-60). It was particularly useful for indicating flesh tones. After firing, the glass pieces were held together by lead strips called cames.

In addition to leaded panels made with colored

glass, small-scale panels were executed in grisaille (from the French *grisaille*, to paint gray) on a monolithic piece of clear glass. Like their colored counterparts, these so-called grisaille or silver-stained panels were painted and worked in black, gray, and brown vitreous paint on the recto and in yellow stain, and often sanguine, on the verso. The use of a single piece of clear glass lent itself to spatially unified, complex, and detailed compositions, like the many surviving silver-stained roundels after the drawings of Jörg Breu the Elder (cat. nos. 78-109). Small-scale panels, whether leaded or monolithic, were executed with loving attention to detail and notable displays of technical finesse that could be appreciated at eye level. Indeed, they combined the spatial illusionism and figural corporeality of panel painting with a superior luminosity achieved by the transmission and action of light.

In the more traditional glass painters' workshops of the later fifteenth century, such as those of Peter Hemmel von Andlau in Strasbourg and Michael Wolgemut in Nuremberg, the design and execution of stained glass apparently took place in a single studio. Beginning in the last quarter of the century, however, glass painters such as Veit Hirsvogel the Elder, the official glazier of Nuremberg, began to rely increasingly on designs provided by artists working outside their workshops. The emergence of powerful personalities among artists trained as painters and graphic artists, chief among them Dürer, was a crucial factor in the new division of labor. Certainly Dürer's renown as the "German Apelles" led the Bishop of Bamberg, Emperor Maximilian, the Margrave of Brandenburg, and the imperial secretary Melchior Pfünzing to employ him and Hans von Kulmbach to oversee the design of the monumental windows they commissioned in the Church of Saint Sebald in Nuremberg (see Scholz, pp. 31-33, and cat. nos. 18, 27, 49-50).⁴ Having transformed the woodcut, engraving, and painting in Germany through the enormous impact of his graphic language and his knowledge of human proportion and one-point perspective, Dürer played a commensurate role in shaping a new aesthetic for stained glass.

Beginning in the 1490s, the painterly style of glass painters like Hemmel gave way to a style dependent on the linear brilliance of Dürer's graphic manner, which he had developed in the service of printmaking. Also under Dürer's influence, during the first decades of the sixteenth century the Hirsvogel workshop introduced monumental figures set in extensive landscapes and in unified architectural settings. The incalculable impact of Dürer's prints, with their linear manner, monumental figures, lively facial expressions, figural movement, and spacious compositions, led to changes in stained glass far beyond Dürer's immediate field of influence.



Figure 3. Albrecht Dürer. *The Martyrdom of Saint Lawrence*, c. 1509–13. Pen and blue ink with watercolor on cream laid paper, 12.2 x 16.9 cm. Berlin, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin-Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Kupferstichkabinett (inv. no. Kdz 1537).

Photo: Jörg P. Anders.

Around 1515, a new impetus for stained glass emerged in the person of Hans Holbein the Younger, who moved to Switzerland around this time, bringing with him his own version of the Renaissance aesthetic (cat. no. 138). Although the younger Holbein apparently designed stained glass only on a small scale, he infused the medium with a profound monumentality that melded his early experience in Augsburg of architecture built in a classicizing Italianate style with his talent developed in Switzerland for designing illusionistic facade paintings. Holbein's consummate manipulation of broad washes, moreover, introduced to stained glass painterly effects of the utmost subtlety and plasticity.

The glass painters, many of whom are known by name and recognizable by their styles, responded readily to the new Renaissance aesthetic introduced by Dürer, Holbein, and their contemporaries. Their task was not merely to transcribe pen-and-ink, wash, or chalk drawings onto a flat glass surface using vitreous paint on the recto and yellow stain and sanguine on the verso. Using their own judgment, formal intuition, and specialized skills, they interpreted drawings in terms of the glass medium, using means both additive (the painting of matts and trace lines) and subtractive (the picking out of details and highlights and the use of brushes to create stippling for greater translucency). They executed small-scale and even medium-sized panels with great attention to detail and expression and, frequently, with displays of technical prowess, creating some of the masterpieces of Renaissance art.

Perceived by means of transmitted rather than



Figure 4. After designs by Albrecht Dürer and possibly after cartoons by Hans von Kulmbach; workshop of Veit Hirsvogel the Elder. *The Martyrdom of Saint Lawrence*, c. 1509–13. Pot-metal, flashed, and clear glass, yellow stain and vitreous paint. Nuremberg, Church of Saint Lawrence.

Photo: Corpus Vitrearum Medii Aevi Deutschland, Freiburg i. Br.

reflected light, stained-glass panels have a presence as three-dimensional objects and a luminosity that are unrivaled by paintings on panel or canvas. No reproduction can adequately convey how light passes through glass articulated on both sides (with paint on the recto and stain on the verso) or through flashed glass that has been partially abraded or etched on the verso to reveal the clear glass beneath. Also absent from reproductions, and most museum installations, is the dynamic element of natural light, which separates stained glass from paintings on opaque supports. Images painted on glass are activated by daylight, which creates subtle or dramatic variations of color and tone. As the authors of a volume on stained glass noted, this is “the most ancient and cunning form of kinetic art.”⁵

Artists trained as painters (*Maler*) and others trained as glaziers (*Glaser*) or glass painters (*Glas-maler*) collaborated in a variety of ways in the preparation of drawings for stained glass.⁶ As noted above, sometimes glass painters made all of their own draw-



Figure 5. Jost Amman. *The Glazier*. Woodcut from *Panoplia Omnium Artium* (Book of trades or *Ständebuch*), Frankfurt, 1568. 18.25 × 15 cm. Providence, R.I., Brown University Library, Lownes Collection of Significant Books in the History of Science (inv. no. PT 1762.E8).

Photo: Courtesy of Brown University Library.



Figure 6. Jost Amman. *The Glass Painter*. Woodcut from *Panoplia Omnium Artium* (Book of trades or *Ständebuch*), Frankfurt, 1568. 18.5 × 15 cm. Providence, R.I., Brown University Library, Lownes Collection of Significant Books in the History of Science (inv. no. PT 1762.E8).

Photo: Courtesy of Brown University Library.

ings; but by the last quarter of the fifteenth century they turned increasingly to artists outside their studios for a large percentage of their designs (about 50 percent in the case of the Hirsvogel workshop in Nuremberg).⁷ The designer would initially make a sketch of the overall composition of a panel or window. Dürer's *Martyrdom of Saint Lawrence* (fig. 3), for two panes of the Schmidtmayer Window in the church of Saint Lawrence in Nuremberg, c. 1509–13 (fig. 4), may be such an initial sketch.⁸ Or it may represent the next stage in the design, the preparation of pictorial notes or preliminary drawings, not yet in proportional relationship to the final pane or window, in order to work out details of the composition or single figures. The subsequent stage in the production was a “working design” in proportional relationship to the final work of art. This took the form of a “cleaned-up,” usually traced, second copy (*Reinzeichnung*) and was sometimes executed by a member of the designer's workshop. Kulmbach's design for the Margrave's Window in Nuremberg's Church of Saint Sebald (cat. no. 50; fig. 15, p. 31) is an example of this design stage. In the

case of small-scale panels, this stage in the design produced a drawing that matched the size of the finished work and could thus serve as the final pattern, guiding the glass painter in applying the matts and trace lines in vitreous paint, either by being placed underneath the glass or in front of him (fig. 6). In the case of monumental windows, working designs were the basis for cartoons (from the Italian *cartone*, big paper), which provided this type of guidance to the glass painter. Pieced together, cartoons matched the full dimension of the finished window.⁹ Cartoons could be executed by the designer, a member of his studio, or the glass painter. The extent of the designer's participation might have depended on the wishes of the patron.

Given the paucity of documents and extant cartoons, judgments about the extent of the designer's participation in a monumental stained-glass window must often be based on the visual evidence of the extant drawings and glass. The survival of several cartoons by or attributed to Dürer (cat. nos. 10, 18, 23, 27) suggests that he participated well into the final stages of production by the Hirsvogel workshop.

No cartoons by Dürer's most gifted follower, Hans Baldung, have survived.¹⁰ But the careful emulation of Baldung's graphic manner in some of the panels from the stained-glass cycle made by the Hirsvogel workshop for the Nuremberg Carmelite cloister (fig. 7; fig. 30, cat. no. 29) and in *Mater Dolorosa* and *Man of Sorrows*, executed by the Freiburg glass painter Hans von Ropstein for Freiburg's Carthusian monastery (cat. nos. 113–14), suggests that Baldung provided the cartoons for these windows. Indeed, some windows approximate the styles and depth of expression of Dürer, Baldung, and other contemporary artists so closely that they raise the question of whether the designing artists also painted the glass. This is highly unlikely, however, because of various factors, including the presence of an official city glazier (*Stadtglaser*) in Nuremberg or the 1522 regulation in Augsburg forbidding the members of the artists guild—which included painters, glaziers, sculptors, and goldsmiths—from producing works in media outside that in which they had been trained.¹¹

As in the case of drawings for monumental stained-glass windows, drawings for small-scale panels served different purposes and reflect different types of collaboration between the designers and glass painters as well as varying relationships between artists and patrons. For instance, patrons were shown drawings in different degrees of finish. Jörg Breu appears to have produced overall compositional drawings for patrons that included far more linear detail than could be accommodated in the final glass painting, as seen in his designs for roundels depicting Maximilian I's battles (cat. nos. 83, 85). Dürer, by contrast, seems to have shown patrons sketches giving an overall impression of his concept, as in his *Saint Benedict Gives a Peasant the Blade of His Scythe* (cat. no. 11) for *The Life of Saint Benedict*. Both Breu's detailed drawings and Dürer's loosely executed ones were then translated into to-scale or working designs that would give unambiguous guidance to the glass painters. Dürer's *Saint Benedict Teaching* (cat. no. 12) for *The Life of Saint Benedict* is a clean copy, in proportional relation to the finished panel, which—while it might have been presented to the patron—seems more likely to have been intended to serve the glass painter. In comparison with *Saint Benedict Gives a Peasant the Blade of His Scythe*, cross-hatching is all but eliminated and contours and hatching lines are simplified, the latter organized parallel to the picture plane, allowing them to be more easily followed by the glass painter. In Breu's case, a drawing by his own hand or that of an assistant translated a portion of the complex linear hatching of his highly finished drawings of the type encountered in the wars of Maximilian I



Figure 7. After Hans Baldung Grien; workshop of Veit Hirsvogel the Elder. *Christ and the Woman Taken in Adultery*, c. 1505. Pot-metal, flashed, and clear glass, yellow stain, and vitreous paint, 71 × 59.5 cm. Nuremberg-Grossgründlach, Church of Saint Lawrence.

Photo: Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg.

into washes, equivalent to matts the glass painter employed for shading (cat. nos. 83, 93).

South German and Swiss Renaissance drawings for stained glass include a plethora of tracings and copies of working designs. These were presumably made by the designer or a member of his atelier as records of compositions before they left the designer's workshop, or by the glass painter as workbench drawings, in order to preserve the expensive originals (cat. no. 65, fig. 50).¹² *Saint Gregory* (cat. no. 48), a rare monogrammed drawing by the glass painter Veit Hirsvogel the Younger, is a workbench drawing. It was presumably based on a lost design by Hans von Kulmbach for a small-scale panel and shows how Hirsvogel translated Kulmbach's subtly modulated shading in pen and ink and wash into simpler shading in wash alone. In the case of Breu, for whom multiple versions of panels exist (cat. no. 107; figs. 78–79), the many copies after his drawings reflect the popularity of his glass designs for decades after they were made. Indeed, a huge proportion of designs for stained glass were copied, sometimes decades later, by glass painters and painters in order to perpetuate them (cat. no. 152)

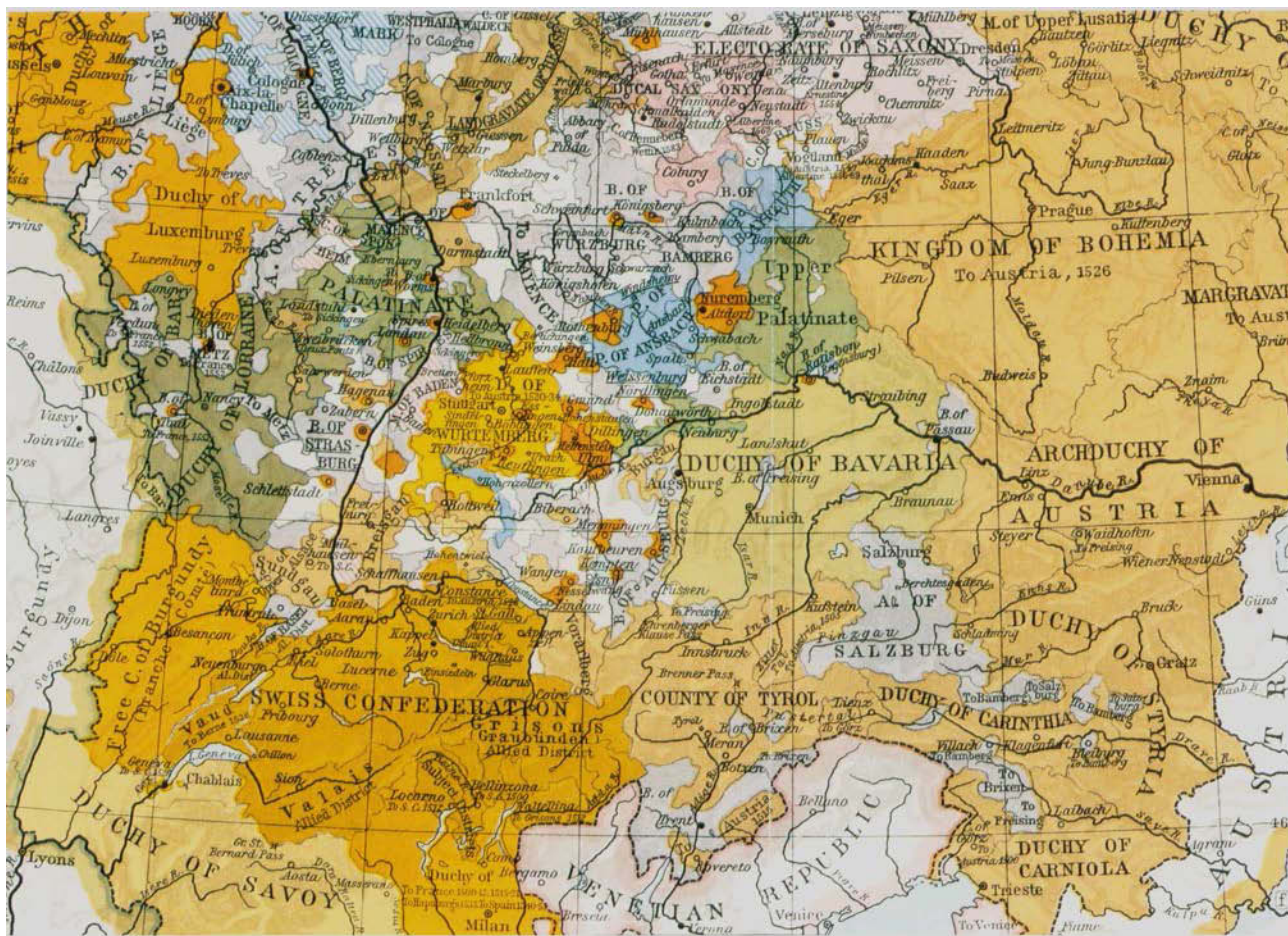


Figure 8. Central Europe around 1547.

Courtesy University Press of America, 1980.

or even update them (cat. no. 7). The large numbers of copies after the stained-glass designs by artists like Breu the Elder and Holbein the Younger form an especially thorny area when determining authorship.

Baldung's drawings for heraldic panels produced during his mature career in Freiburg and Strasbourg (for example, cat. nos. 111–12) introduce yet another possibility for collaboration: a designer and glass painter making a single drawing. Unidentified glass painters of Strasbourg or Freiburg apparently received the commissions and began designing them, demarcating architectural elements and often executing the coats of arms, leaving the figural elements of the shield holder and spandrel vignettes to be filled in by Baldung. The glass painter's inscription on a design for the Prechter family of Strasbourg (cat. no. 111) stipulates Baldung's task in detail, dictating the type of shield holder that was required by the patron and the subject matter to be inserted in the spandrels of the arch. Baldung ingeniously inserted the shield-holding figures into what were sometimes meager spaces left by

the glass painter beside the coats of arms and often gave free rein to his expansive calligraphic draftsmanship in the spandrels above.

In the design of panels to be made with colored glass, the glass painter or designing artist often marked the final pattern or cartoon with color notations: *b* for blue (*blau*), *r* for red (*rot*), *w* for white (*weiss*), a leaf for green, and so forth (cat. nos. 18, 65, 112). Occasionally, watercolor was used in place of or to supplement color notations, notably by Dürer (cat. no. 9), Niklaus Manuel Deutsch (cat. no. 125) of Bern, and Hans Holbein the Younger (cat. no. 151). After the drawing was substantially completed, the glass painter sometimes indicated lead lines in red chalk (cat. no. 62).

Although there are few records of how much German and Swiss artists of this period were paid for their designs, making drawings for stained glass was apparently profitable. The price of the emperor Maximilian I's window in the choir of Saint Sebald in Nuremberg was 200 Rhenish guilders (florins), from

which the glass painter(s) received 140 upon completion of the window and the designer(s) presumably 60 (cat. no. 49). By comparison, Dürer sold a panel painting of a Madonna and Child to the bishop of Breslau in 1508 for 72 florins, having earlier been willing to accept 25, and in the same year settled on 200 florins as payment for an altarpiece for the Frankfurt merchant Jakob Heller.¹³

While stained glass was produced throughout the German-speaking lands in the Renaissance, the medium is particularly cohesive stylistically in South Germany and Switzerland. *Painting on Light* focuses on seven leading centers of stained-glass production in this region—Nuremberg, Augsburg, Strasbourg, Freiburg im Breisgau, Basel, Bern, and Zurich—and on the period from c. 1470 to c. 1530 (fig. 8). These cities were connected by language, trade, religion, politics, and, as importantly for the purposes of this exhibition, by the movement of artists. Dürer spent his entire life in Nuremberg, but he worked as a journeyman in Basel and Strasbourg and received important commissions from patrons in Augsburg. Hans Holbein the Younger was born at Augsburg, where his father, the painter Hans Holbein the Elder, had bought a house and established a thriving workshop. Around 1515, however, the younger Holbein moved to Basel, where he was admitted as a master in the painters' guild in 1519. Hans Baldung entered Dürer's workshop by 1503 and remained in Nuremberg until 1507–8. In 1509, he settled in Strasbourg, as his family before him had done. From 1512 he received important commissions in Freiburg, where his brother was a professor at the university. Hans Schüfelein was active in Dürer's workshop in Nuremberg c. 1502/3–7 and in Hans Holbein the Elder's workshop in Augsburg in 1508–9. He apparently worked in Augsburg until 1515, when he moved to nearby Nördlingen, where he was appointed as municipal painter. Hans Leu of Zurich apparently worked in Dürer's workshop in Nuremberg around 1509–10 and assisted Baldung in Freiburg c. 1512–13 before settling in his native city by 1514. Hans Weiditz may have spent time in the Augsburg workshop of Hans Burgkmair before settling in Strasbourg in 1522–23. Niklaus Manuel Deutsch of Bern and Urs Graf of Basel, while residents in those cities for their entire careers, were particularly receptive to the influences of Dürer and Baldung to the north. Many of the German artists represented in *Painting on Light* collaborated on large projects for Maximilian I. Altdorfer, Baldung, Breu, Burgkmair, Dürer, Kulmbach, Schüfelein, and Weiditz all enjoyed the patronage of Maximilian I in the second decade of the sixteenth century, working together in various combinations on woodcuts that celebrated his personality and reign.

Among the cities that contributed to the flowering of stained glass in the late Gothic and early Renaissance periods, Nuremberg was particularly fortunate that its monumental church windows were spared the ravages of iconoclasm thanks to the orderly transition to Lutheranism in 1525. Located at the intersection of twelve overland trade routes, Nuremberg was the hub of the Holy Roman Empire, a loose federation of various German principalities plus Austria, Bohemia, and Moravia. In 1425, Nuremberg's key position in the empire was affirmed when the city became the guardian of the imperial relic collection and coronation regalia. Humanism, art, and science flourished there alongside trade. The city's many exports included tools, household objects, weaponry, armor, and mechanical instruments such as compasses, clocks, and precision navigational devices, as well as globes, maps, and books. Nuremberg was also the home of Germany's most celebrated artist, Dürer. And although Dürer is better known for bringing classical subjects and art theory to Northern Europe from Italy and for revolutionizing the arts of engraving and woodcut, he also helped transform stained glass, treating secular and religious subjects but predominantly the latter and never, it seems, classical themes.

Dürer would have witnessed the design of stained glass during his apprenticeship to Michael Wolgemut, when he also came under the spell of two late-fifteenth-century painters and printmakers active along the Rhine: Martin Schongauer and the Master of the Housebook. The latter profoundly influenced small-scale stained glass from around 1475, particularly through the charming panels with subjects reflecting courtly ideals (cat. nos. 2–3) made after his designs. Dürer may still have been a journeyman when he reinterpreted one of the Master of the Housebook's popular designs for stained-glass quatrefoils, depicting young people playing games (cat. nos. 7–8). Such drawings by Dürer were certainly responsible for the continued fashionableness of the quatrefoil format, which probably had its origins in the Burgundian Netherlands and which Dürer's followers Kulmbach, Schüfelein, and Baldung (cat. nos. 30–31, 55–58, 71–76, 110) all used, Kulmbach well into the second decade of the sixteenth century. The Flemish-influenced realism of Schongauer informed the young Dürer's design for a stained-glass window depicting Saint George Fighting the Dragon, c. 1496 (cat. no. 9), which, if it had been executed, would have been a monumental window of unprecedented spaciousness and figural movement.

Pathos and a heroic conception of the human figure, reflecting Dürer's trip to Italy in 1494–95 and his firsthand study of the work of artists like Andrea Mantegna, typify Dürer's *Saint Peter*, c. 1501–2, the



Figure 9. Upper Rhenish (Basel?) Master. *Design for a Stained-Glass Panel with a Maiden Holding a Shield*, c. 1465–70. Pen and black ink, gray wash, over black chalk, 42.6 × 29 cm. Basel, Öffentliche Kunstsammlung Kupferstichkabinett (inv. no. U.III.71).

Photo: Öffentliche Kunstsammlung Basel, Martin Bühler.

only surviving cartoon for the Bishop of Bamberg's window in Saint Sebald in Nuremberg (cat. no. 18). With such cartoons, Dürer challenged the glass painters in the Nuremberg workshop of Veit Hirsvogel the Elder to emulate his swelling and tapering lines and rhythmic hatching in the depiction of figures of revolutionary corporeality, breadth, and expressiveness. The glass painters rapidly emulated Dürer's graphic language both in monumental windows and in small-scale panels. The pair of small trefoils representing *Death on Horseback* threatening *Sixtus Tucher at His Open Grave* (cat. nos. 19–20, figs. 17–18), captures the power of description and characterization and the lively sense of narration that had made Dürer's woodcuts illustrating *The Apocalypse* famous. In panels Dürer designed for the private chapel of Sixtus Tucher around 1504–5 (cat. nos. 21–22), the Hirsvogel workshop achieved the deep landscape settings that Dürer had sought in *Saint George Fighting the Dragon*.

In the Pfinzing Window of 1515 in Saint Sebald in Nuremberg, for which a single cartoon survives (cat. no. 27), the glass painters followed Dürer in incorporating the lessons of the Italian Renaissance, most apparent in the unified conception of pictorial space, constructed according to the laws of one-point perspective (fig. 16, p. 32).

Dürer's legacy in the design of stained glass was carried to Freiburg and Strasbourg by Hans Baldung, to Augsburg by Hans Schäufelein, and to Zurich by Hans Leu the Younger. Meanwhile, Hans von Kulmbach established a workshop in Nuremberg in 1511 and continued to remain in close contact with Dürer. Adopting Dürer's graphic language and emulating the breadth, but not the volume and weightiness, of Dürer's figures, Kulmbach designed the monumental windows commissioned by Maximilian and the Margrave of Brandenburg for Saint Sebald in Nuremberg in 1514 (cat. nos. 49–50). (Dürer is thought to have helped Kulmbach to achieve a spatially unified Renaissance composition by providing a design, no longer extant, for the Emperor's Window.) Kulmbach produced numerous designs for small-scale panels with serene figures and a play of light on forms that call to mind his apprenticeship with the Venetian painter Jacopo de' Barbari. The tiny figures of a nymph, Apollo, and Marsyas that animate the architecture of his designs for glass with idealized portraits of the Benedictine abbots of Saint Aegidius in Nuremberg (cat. nos. 32–35) show that Kulmbach was capable of embodying the humanist ideals of Nuremberg's educated elite. Kulmbach collaborated with Veit Hirsvogel the Elder's sons Hans and Veit (cat. nos. 51–54).

Even before Kulmbach's death in 1522, the younger Nuremberg artist Sebald Beham began to compete for commissions to design small-scale panels. Beham's designs, which also emulated Dürer's graphic language, were apparently translated into stained glass by Veit Hirsvogel the Elder's youngest son, Augustine, who introduced into Nuremberg a more tonal style akin to that used in Augsburg (cat. nos. 63–64, 84). Most of Beham's surviving designs for stained glass are circular in format, another similarity with Augsburg stained glass. These include many drawings illustrating the lives of Christ and the Virgin and monumental *tondi* such as the *Saint Sebald* (cat. no. 62). In the 1530s, after Beham moved to Frankfurt, his contemporary, Georg Pencz, remained in Nuremberg and continued to design stained glass. The classical nudity that is a salient feature of Pencz's engravings was mirrored in his designs for cabinet panels (cat. no. 68) and apparently found favor among patrons in Nuremberg (cat. no. 69).¹⁴

The most gifted artist in Dürer's circle, Hans

Baldung, appears to have begun his active career-long production of designs for stained glass already during his first moments in Dürer's studio. One of Baldung's earliest surviving designs for stained glass, *Saint Vincent Ferrer Preaching* (cat. no. 28), is strongly reminiscent of Dürer's series of panels *The Life of Saint Benedict* (cat. no. 12). Already as a young man of twenty, however, Baldung was more expressive graphically, coloristically, and in the interpretation of traditional religious subjects, as seen in his *Christ and the Woman Taken in Adultery* (fig. 7) from the series of panels begun around 1504 depicting the lives of the Virgin and Christ for Nuremberg's Carmelite cloister (cat. no. 29).

In 1509, Baldung obtained citizenship in Strasbourg, one of the major centers of humanism along the Upper Rhine with a large publishing industry. An imperial city like Nuremberg, Strasbourg was a staging point for trade from Italy to the Netherlands along the Rhine and from central and east Europe to France over the Rhine. Home to the studio of Peter Hemmel von Andlau (cat. no. 4), it was also the leading center for the production of stained glass in southern Germany in the late fifteenth century (see Scholz, pp. 17–22). In Strasbourg, the expressive tendencies Baldung revealed in Nuremberg came even more to the fore in his numerous flamboyant designs for heraldic panels. Building on the fifteenth-century tradition of heraldic windows designed in the manner of the anonymous Rhenish engraver who signed his works *E.S.* (fig. 9), Baldung transformed its playful, courtly subject matter with his own brand of humor, eroticism, eye for genre detail, and linear bravura. Baldung often characterized issues of gender in a witty juxtaposition of shield holder and spandrel imagery. In a drawing with a female shield holder, the design for the Strasbourg Prechter family (cat. no. 111), a matron stands sedately below while her counterparts above succumb to the temptations of lovemaking and wine. In one with a male shield holder, the design for Nikolaus Ziegler (cat. no. 112), a burly soldier passively supports the shield below while above his counterparts tangle aggressively in a wrestling match. Baldung's inventive powers extend from his witty approach to subject matter to his expansive calligraphic linework, which had a profound impact upon contemporaries, particularly Manuel Deutsch, Graf, Leu, Weiditz, and the Strasbourg artist Hans Wechtlin, whose relative and perhaps brother, Jakob, was a glass painter in the Freiburg studio of Hans von Ropstein.¹⁵

From 1512 to 1517, Baldung worked in the smaller town of Freiburg im Breisgau, painting the high altarpiece for the minster (in situ), a work that was to decisively influence the art of that city. Freiburg



Figure 10. Hans Baldung Grien. *The Abbess Veronica von Andlau with Nuns of Cloister Hohenburg*, c. 1510. Pen and brown ink on cream laid paper, 43 × 31.5 cm. London, Victoria and Albert Museum (inv. no. D 199-1888).

Photo: Victoria and Albert Picture Library.



Figure 11. Jörg Breu the Elder. *Ulysses and Telemachus Slaying the Suitors*, 1522. Pen and black ink and traces of black chalk on cream laid paper, 24.4 cm (diam.). London, British Museum (inv. no. 1949-1-11-109).

Photo: © The British Museum.

possessed a strong tradition in stained glass of large panels depicting single figures of saints and other holy personages standing before damask grounds. Around 1515, Baldung put the stamp of his expressive figure style on the traditional form, designing large panels for the Carthusian monastery in Freiburg (cat. nos. 113–14), executed by Hans von Ropstein but obviously under Baldung's close supervision. Indeed, the finest of these figures in stained glass, the *Mater Dolorosa* and *Christ as Man of Sorrows* (cat. nos. 113–14; Scholz, pp. 24–25), rival panel painting in the degree to which the nuanced modeling expresses the corporeality of the forms. Among Baldung's many surviving drawings for stained glass, there are only a handful for monumental windows. The foremost of these is a pair divided between the Victoria and Albert Museum and the collection of Göttingen University: *The Abbess Veronica von Andlau with Nuns of Cloister Hohenburg* (fig. 10) and *The Knight Veltin von Andlau with Male Family Members*.

With its powerful merchant and banking families, chief among them the Fuggers and Welsers, Augsburg was a conduit for traffic to and from Italy and consequently a fertile recipient of the ideals and formal vocabulary of the Italian Renaissance. The monumental architecture of Renaissance Italy soon took hold in Augsburg, notably in the mortuary chapel of the Fugger in Saint Anne's Church, c. 1509–18, the earliest religious architectural structure in the Ger-

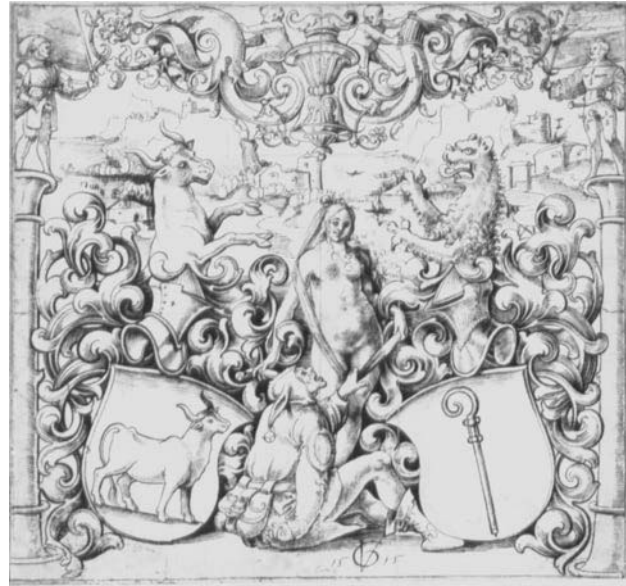


Figure 12. Urs Graf. *Design for an Alliance Panel with the Stehelin and Bischoff Arms*, 1515. Pen and black ink on beige laid paper, 38.6 × 41.4 cm. Basel, Öffentliche Kunstsammlung, Kupferstichkabinett (inv. no. K. 55).

Photo: Öffentliche Kunstsammlung Basel, Martin Bühler.

man-speaking lands to be decorated in the Renaissance style. Augsburg was an important center for the manufacture of textiles and of metal wares, particularly armor and weapons. The location of the Imperial Council, it was also the nexus for some of the great illustration and printing projects commissioned by Maximilian I, such as *The Triumphal Procession*, the *Theuerdank*,¹⁶ and the *Weisskunig*. The artists who designed the hundreds of woodcuts for these projects included a number from Augsburg, notably Burgkmair, Leonhard Beck, and Schäufelein. The emperor's imprint also appears markedly in the stained glass produced in the city. The bishop of Augsburg, Heinrich von Lichtenau, may have commissioned Hans Schäufelein's most important surviving stained glass in honor of Maximilian I's visit to his residence at Dillingen after the Imperial Council met in Augsburg in 1510 (cat. nos. 71–74). Schäufelein used the quatrefoil format and the linear manner so popular in Nuremberg for the series celebrating Maximilian I as chief and sovereign of the Order of the Golden Fleece. In 1516, the emperor commissioned from Jörg Breu one of the greatest secular cycles of Renaissance stained glass that illustrates his battles and hunts for the imperial hunting lodge at Lermoos in Tyrol (cat. nos. 83–90). Indeed, Breu is today chiefly admired for his drawings for stained glass, with their vivid detail and incisive line. Active as a designer of book illustrations, Breu also brought to stained glass a talent for

representing extensive narrative cycles (cat. nos. 98–109), as well as a wealth of secular and classicizing subjects that flourished in book illustrations and prints (fig. 11).

Whereas the leaded quatrefoil incorporating colored glass was a favored form for cabinet panels in Nuremberg, the roundel (a circular monolithic panel painted in grisaille), which had long dominated small-scale glass in the Burgundian Lowlands, was the favorite format for small-scale stained glass in Augsburg. Additionally, the circular form had Renaissance overtones that appealed to classically minded Augsburg artists and lent itself beautifully to the creation of deep architectural and landscape spaces (cat. nos. 77, 84). Because of the lack of leading and color, the roundel could be painted in great detail and nuance of tone, fostering landscape settings that rivaled the finest examples in prints and oil paintings in Renaissance Germany (cat. no. 84). Thus, it is not surprising that this format was widely used for secular subject matter, as in the great cycle of the months designed by Breu for the Hoehstetter family of Augsburg around 1520 (cat. nos. 91–94), or scenes incorporating magnificent architectural and landscape settings, such as Burgkmair's allegories of the Virtues from around 1510–20 (cat. no. 77). Not only Breu and Burgkmair but also Weiditz (cat. no. 116) and Beck (cat. no. 45, fig. 34) appear to have exploited the roundel format.

In Switzerland, stained glass arguably occupied an even larger place in the work of major artists than it did in Germany. One reason for the prominence of the art form is its link with the self-consciousness of the Swiss Confederation itself, whereby the oath of alliance was regularly affirmed in cycles of panels donated by each of the member cantons and displaying their respective coats of arms (*Standesscheiben*; see Giesicke and Ruoss, pp. 45–46). Niklaus Manuel Deutsch, the foremost Renaissance artist in the city canton of Bern, emerged as a strong personality in stained-glass design around 1508, as seen in his drawing of two confederate soldiers supporting his own coat of arms (cat. no. 121). The impact of Baldung's stained-glass designs in Switzerland is apparent in Manuel's calligraphic line, sense of three-dimensional anatomy, and use of bravura penwork in the spandrel figures. Manuel interpreted Baldung's designs in terms of his own sharper, more incisive line; violent, belliscose subject matter; and lithe, attenuated figure types. Manuel dominated Bernese stained-glass design through at least the middle of the century, leaving his mark on the work of the glass painters Hans Funk and Antoni Glaser (cat. nos. 118, 137). Indeed, for Manuel, who was also a poet and a learned artist in Renaissance fashion, stained-glass drawings became

such a loaded artistic vehicle that he used the format to depict complex allegories that he may never have intended to have executed in glass (cat. nos. 123–24). When Bern officially accepted the Reformation in 1528, Manuel was one of its leading advocates. His passionate support of the Reformation found vivid expression in designs for stained glass such as *King Josiah Has the Idols Destroyed* (cat. no. 128).

During the Renaissance, Zurich was a prominent center for the production of glass, most notably by the glass painter Lucas Zeiner, who is credited with originating the canonical format of the signature Swiss form of stained-glass cycle, the *Standesscheiben* (canton panels). Around 1514, a new catalyst for Zurich glass painting emerged with the return of the Zurich-born painter Hans Leu the Younger, who had studied with Dürer in Nuremberg around 1509–10 and come under the strong influence of Baldung's work in Nuremberg (cat. no. 29) and in Freiburg c. 1512–13. Upon returning to Switzerland, Leu retained the calligraphic freedom and ornamental ebullience of Baldung's manner. This he combined in his stained-glass designs with the manipulation of wash pioneered by Holbein in Basel, using wash calligraphically, with dramatic tonal variation and emphasis on atmospheric effects. Leu also showed his particular affinity for dynamic landscape imagery in such stained-glass designs as *Lot and His Daughters* (cat. no. 133).

Basel, with its great university, was Switzerland's premier intellectual center. As a seat of humanist learning and writing, the city supported the illustrious printing houses of Johannes Amerbach, Adam Petri, and Johann Froben. (The latter employed Desiderius Erasmus of Rotterdam as its editor from 1521 to 1527.) In connection with the production of illustrated books, commissions for woodcuts provided an important source of income for artists such as Urs Graf, who became a citizen of Basel in 1512. Born in Solothurn, Graf trained there with his father as a metal worker and in Basel with the glass painter Hans Heinrich Wolleb. While most of the other South German and Swiss designers for stained glass of the period were active as painters, Graf stands out for apparently eschewing this medium, as well as for actually having been trained as a glass painter. Graf's largest surviving body of works and chief testament to his genius are his drawings. While most of these were made as independent works of art, a portion are designs for stained glass. Graf, like Manuel, was active as a mercenary soldier, and judging from his violent temper, he was well suited to that profession. Graf's drawings illustrate a unique thematic world, encompassing war, cruelty, and wicked humor, often with reference to the battle between the sexes. Like Graf's subject matter, his



Figure 13. Urs Graf. *The Betrayal of Christ*, 1515. Pot-metal, flashed, and clear glass, yellow stain and vitreous paint, 43.5 × 30.8 cm without lead border. Basel, orphanage (Bürgerliches Waisenhaus [former Carthusian monastery], Zscheckenbürlinzimmer).

Photo: Christoph Teuwen, Basel.

graphic language is personal, extravagant, and could even be described as violent in its celebration of incisive black line.

Graf's stained-glass designs, while less explicitly violent than his independent drawings, nonetheless are stamped by his boundary-testing personality. *Design for an Alliance Panel with the Stehelin and Bischoff Arms* (fig. 12) of 1515 pushes the playful sexual innuendo seen in the stained-glass designs of Baldung and Manuel to a new extreme, as a nude maiden with somewhat grim, dark-rimmed eyes, stands between the couple's coats of arms, fondling the cap of a crude-faced, seated beggar-fool who pulls at her hair ribbon, his hand directly below her pudenda.¹⁷ Such blunt references to prostitution and war in heraldic panels must have resonated with the realities of life: the patron, the Basel cloth merchant Hieronymus Stehelin, was killed in the battle of Marignano in September 1515, and thus appears to have commissioned the drawing on the eve of his death.¹⁸ The flourishing

of heraldic panels in South Germany and Switzerland during the Renaissance testifies to the importance of stained glass as a medium expressing a newfound sense of personal identity extending from the nobility to humanists and wealthy burghers. No doubt the impact of strong artistic personalities such as Baldung, Manuel, and Graf upon their design increased their appeal. Indeed, both Manuel and Graf designed glass panels with their own devices (cat. nos. 121, 136), attesting to the importance of the medium in Switzerland for the expression of artistic identity. The surviving panels for a cycle illustrating Christ's Passion, preserved in Basel's Bürgerliches Waisenhaus (formerly the Carthusian monastery; fig. 13), call to mind Graf's talent as a graphic designer of book illustrations.

The most revolutionary presence in South German and Swiss stained glass since the young Dürer was Hans Holbein the Younger, who moved from his native Augsburg to Basel as a journeyman in 1515. Holbein's earliest surviving stained-glass design, for a heraldic panel for Hans Fleckenstein, dates from 1517 (cat. no. 138), when Holbein and his father were in Lucerne executing the illusionistic mural paintings for the house of Hans Hertenstein. The drawing forms an art-historical parallel to Dürer's design for a window depicting Saint George Fighting the Dragon (cat. no. 9) insofar as it imposes a Renaissance sense of unified space and three-dimensionality upon the medium. The late medieval ornamental exuberance that lingered in the drawings of Manuel, Graf, and Leu was foreign to Holbein, whose designs for stained glass were defined by his understanding of monumental painting as the creation of three-dimensional figures in illusionistic spaces.¹⁹ Reflecting Holbein's experience designing mural paintings, the powerful illusionism of his design for Fleckenstein belies the small scale of the work. Spacious classical architecture, at times quoting a Vitruvian formal vocabulary, and monumental figures portrayed from a low vantage point became constant features of the younger Holbein's stained-glass designs. The weight, ambient space and light, and athletic figural movement that are integral to Holbein's illusionism are conveyed by his unique and unprecedented manipulation of gray wash in fluid applications and delicate layers of tones. Holbein expanded further upon the ambitious architectural space of the Fleckenstein design in double panels, like those he designed for the Carthusian cloister of Wettingen, outside Zurich, representing the city of Basel (cat. nos. 142–43). Here Holbein placed his figures under multipartite triumphal arches, the openings of which afforded not one but a series of connected, breathtaking landscape vistas. Holbein's illusionism incorporated his own brand of realism, seen in the strong

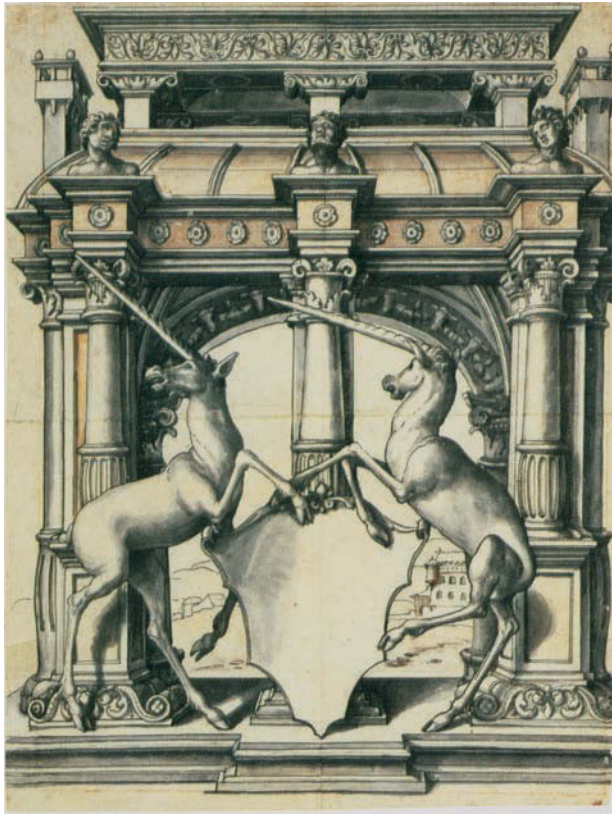


Figure 14. Hans Holbein the Younger. *Design for a Stained-Glass Panel with Two Unicorns*, c. 1522–23. Pen and black ink with gray wash and reddish brown watercolor on cream laid paper, 41.9 × 31.5 cm. Basel, Öffentliche Kunstsammlung, Kupferstichkabinett (inv. no. 1662.150).

Photo: Öffentliche Kunstsammlung Basel, Martin Bühler.

individuation of figures, from saints to shield-holding soldiers, and even of unicorns, which in Holbein's hands become plausible, deerlike animals of threatening vitality (fig. 14). Holbein's stained-glass designs also include one of the most vivid expressions of humanist culture in Renaissance Basel, featuring the device of his close friend Erasmus: the terminus (fig. 15), associated with the scholar's motto "I yield to no one." The panel made after this design, a gift from Erasmus to the University of Basel, has perished.²⁰ Holbein generated a steady production of stained-glass designs prior to his second departure for England in 1532, although, sadly, only a few connected glass panels survive (cat. nos. 146–50).²¹ The numerous, and in some cases extraordinarily faithful, copies of his designs for stained glass attest to his impact and influence (cat. nos. 151–52).

The year 1530, roughly corresponding to Holbein's second departure for England, marks the cutoff point of the exhibition; however, this in no way implies that the production of stained glass in



Figure 15. Hans Holbein the Younger. *Design for a Stained-Glass Panel with the Terminus of Erasmus*, 1525. Pen and black ink with gray wash and red and green watercolor over black chalk on beige laid paper, 31.5 × 21 cm. Basel, Öffentliche Kunstsammlung, Kupferstichkabinett (inv. no. 1662.158).

Photo: Öffentliche Kunstsammlung Basel, Martin Bühler.

South Germany and Switzerland diminished. Rather it serves to bracket a period that witnessed extraordinary achievements in stained glass commensurate with those in painting and the graphic arts accomplished by Dürer, Holbein, and their Swiss and South German contemporaries. Key to these accomplishments was the collaborative nature of the medium, involving the artists who conceived the works and the glass painters who transformed ambitious drawings into the magical medium of painted glass.

1. Of the former, Dürer wrote, "I have made a drawing for a mask for the Fugger's people for masquerade, and they have given me an angel." See Fry 1995: 71. The latter drawing was for the physician of Margaret of Austria (1480–1530), Emperor Charles v's aunt and regent of the Netherlands. Dürer wrote, "I have had to draw the design of the house for [Lady Margaret's] physician, the doctor, according to which he intends to build one, and for drawing that I would not willingly take less than ten florins." See Fry 1995: 54.
2. For a closely, but still not exactly, connected drawing and glass panel, cf. Baldung's drawing of a *Madonna and Child* in The British Museum (Schilling Collection) and Hans Funk's *Panel with the Virgin and Child and the Arms of Bremgarten* (Bern, Historisches Museum) in Bern 1979: nos. 266–67.
3. On *The Triumphal Arch*, see London 1995: no. 37, and Bartsch 1803–21: no. 138 under Dürer. On *The Triumphal Procession*, see London 1995: nos. 143–45, and Bartsch 1803–21: no. 124 under Burgkmair. On *The Tomb Monument of Maximilian I*, see Smith 1994: 171, 175, 185–92, 237, 365, 458, figs. 145–47, 149–54. On the *Weisskunig*, see London 1995: no. 142.
4. Konrad Celtis, poet laureate of the empire, hailed Dürer as the German Apelles in a manuscript datable to 1500 (Kassel, Landesbibliothek). See Hutchison 1990: 68 and 212, note 2. In 1508, Christoph Scheurl praised Dürer for his ability to rival the ancient painters in illusionism, calling Dürer "the second Apelles" in his book with Ricardus Sbrulius, *Libellus de laudibus Germaniae* (Little book in praise of Germany). See Hutchison 1990: 72–73.
5. Lee, Seddon, and Stephens 1976: 6.
6. During the course of the sixteenth century, the word *glazier* took on a more specific meaning, designating the craftsman who made leaded lights (fig. 5), while the term *glass painter* was used for those who worked in stained glass (fig. 6). See Brown and O'Connor 1991: 14–15, fig. 12.
7. Hartmut Scholz (1991: 331) estimated that half of the stained glass produced in the workshop of Veit Hirsvogel the Elder was made on the basis of a "catalogue" of drawings belonging to the workshop rather than from newly commissioned drawings by artists outside the workshop.
8. On the Schmidtmayer Window, see especially Scholz 1991: 136, 138–39, 151, 230, 279, 285, figs. 186–91 and 322.
9. On the types of drawings for stained glass and the German terms applied to them, see especially Scholz 1991: 14–15.
10. The one surviving cartoon closely related to Baldung is *The Crucifixion* in Berlin, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin-Preussischer Kulturbesitz, which is of extremely high quality and, if not made by Baldung himself, would appear to have been executed by someone in his direct orbit. Cf. Schmitz 1913, I: 119–20, fig. 202.
11. For the relationship of painters to glass painters in Augsburg, cf. Morrall 1994: 135–39.
12. In his introduction to the exhibition catalogue *The Luminous Image: Painted Glass Roundels in the Lowlands, 1480–1560* (New York 1995: 10–14, esp. 12), Timothy B. Husband defined a "design" as "an original composition executed by the artist, sometimes a relatively finished sheet but usually a sketch or rapidly penned drawing that represents the artist's conception." Husband continues, "A design can also be a tracing or a copy of a composition that has then been reworked, altered, or otherwise refined, often in a darker ink." Husband used the term "working design" to signify a "drawing that codifies the original sketch or a reworked design into a more studied linear drawing with no further traces of reworking, clarifying the artist's intentions for the glass painter." Husband also used the term "workbench drawing" for a copy by tracing of a working design made by a glass painter in order to preserve the expensive original. In German these glass painters' drawings after designs by painters have been called *Künstlerumzeichnungen*. See Scholz 1991: 14, and Frenzel 1961: 43–48.
13. On the price of the painting of the Madonna and Child, see Hutchison 1990: 101–2. On Dürer's heated dispute with Heller over the price of the altarpiece with *The Assumption and Coronation of the Virgin* as its central panel, see Hutchison 1990: 99–105.
14. Two followers of Dürer who are not represented in *Painting on Light*, Wolf Traut and Hans Springinklee, also made designs for stained glass. Particularly notable are Springinklee's *John the Baptist*, c. 1515–20, pen and black ink on cream laid paper, 21.5 × 60 cm, Dresden, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden, Kupferstich-Kabinett, inv. no. C 1879-11; and Traut's *Design for a Stained-Glass Roundel: Saint Paul and Saint Ida of Toggenburg*, c. 1515, pen and black ink with traces of red-ocher on beige laid paper, 30.4 cm (diam.), Nuremberg, Germanisches Nationalmuseum, inv. no. HZ 4097 (New York and Nuremberg 1986: no. 169).
15. See Scholz in this catalogue, pp. 23–24, and Becksmann 1988: no. 58, for further literature.
16. On *Theuerdank*, see London 1995: no. 149.
17. Basel, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. no. U.X.41a; Koegler 1926: no. 55.
18. Major and Gradmann 1941: no. 78.
19. For Holbein's place in Swiss stained-glass design, see Landolt 1984.
20. Basel and Berlin 1997–98: no. 25.16.
21. Cf. Lapkovskaja 1972, for a discussion of Holbein's drawing in Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. no. Kdz 4046 and the related panel in the Hermitage, St. Petersburg, attributed to the Zurich glass painter Karl Egeri and assigned to the early 1550s.

Monumental Stained Glass in Southern Germany in the Age of Dürer

Hartmut Scholz

During the lifetime of Albrecht Dürer (1471–1528), glass painters increasingly decorated secular and domestic settings (town halls, guild and burgher meeting rooms, and even private chapels).¹ Thus arose a separate branch within the medium: small-scale heraldic panels and cabinet panels. Nevertheless, the main emphasis of production before the Reformation continued to lie in monumental stained-glass installations in churches and monasteries. The late Middle Ages brought to burgeoning urban centers an unprecedented blossoming of finance, handicrafts, and art. Together with religious foundations, the construction of new churches and numerous campaigns to decorate the interiors of buildings reflected a new-found material prosperity. To gain an overview of this development for southern German stained glass and to more closely characterize the diverse contributions of individual regions, we will examine the leading centers of stained-glass production: Strasbourg and Freiburg in the Upper Rhine Valley; Nuremberg in Franconia; and Augsburg, Munich, and Landshut in the Swabian-Bavarian area. Questions regarding compositional forms and pictorial designs, working methods, and collaborations between designers and glass painters will be the focus of interest.

Strasbourg and Freiburg

The starting point for the present overview is Strasbourg, whose extraordinarily extensive and high-ranking production in monumental stained glass of the late fifteenth century unquestionably had the most far-reaching impact. Without the model of Strasbourg glass production, neither the later course of Nuremberg, Augsburg, and Freiburg stained glass nor the development of a Lukas Zeiner in Zurich can be understood. The precondition for the enormous productivity of the Strasbourg workshops was the collaboration uniting five independent master glass painters. Peter

Hemmel von Andlau, Lienhart Spitznagel, Hans von Maursmünster, Theobald von Lixheim, and Werner Störe formed a large-scale enterprise that in a short time (1477 to at least 1481) was supplying southern Germany with outstanding products.² Works preserved in Tübingen, Freiburg, Constance, Ulm, Augsburg, Nuremberg, Munich, and Salzburg clearly demonstrate the high regard held by a wide variety of patrons for glass produced by the Strasbourg cooperative. Patrons of the workshop represented members of a variety of social classes, ranging from the higher nobility to monastic societies, civic associations, guilds, and burghers. “Strasbourg windows,” as they were called in contemporary sources, were considered works of high quality and were extraordinarily in demand, even in cities with their own significant stained-glass tradition.³

This surprisingly modern organization—an economic cooperative for stained glass—remains unsatisfactorily understood with regard to its operation, division of labor, and availability of designs and patterns. The oeuvre of the Strasbourg glass painters ranks at the height of Upper Rhine Valley painting, with, for example, the artistic quality of the windows equaling that of the best panel paintings from the circle of Martin Schongauer. The style of the associated workshops is unmistakable. It combines elements of older Strasbourg stained glass and panel painting, such as the famous Karlsruhe Passion⁴ or the choir windows from 1461 in the former Walbourg monastery church in Alsace,⁵ with Netherlandish prototypes from the circles of Rogier van der Weyden and Dieric Bouts. The use of engravings by Schongauer and Master E.S., primarily single motifs, is also a production trait of the cooperative. Another is the masterful command of glass technology available at the end of the fifteenth century.

In less than a decade Strasbourg windows de-



veloped from small-sectioned windows, composed of assembled picture units, to impressive, sweeping compositions, each uniting larger window sections. In the Saint Catherine Window in Saint William's Church in Strasbourg (completed before 1475 by a leading master of the later workshop-collaborative), each scene was, as in the older Walbourg windows of 1461, limited to a single panel, and all architectural framing was avoided.⁶ In commissions completed around 1480 for Tübingen, Ulm, and Nuremberg, figural scale was greatly enlarged, and the whole window area was much more clearly structured. In the figural sections of the windows are lavish architectural backdrops, reminiscent of the rich crowning superstructures in carved altarpieces of the period. In the Earl's Window in the Tübingen collegiate church (1478), a donation by Eberhard of Württemberg, the single compositions of donor portraits, Tree of Jesse, and depiction of the lives of Saint Anne and the Virgin are completely regularized. Each spreads over four adjacent panels and an internal architectural frame encloses each scene (fig. 1).⁷ This overall design with quite similar thematic material was considerably intensified in the Kramer Window in the Ulm minster (1480–81). In the Volckamer Window in the Saint Lawrence Church in Nuremberg (c. 1481), it was adapted to the wide window shape in a quite ingenious manner, apparently with the intention of competing with a richly carved, splendidly polychromed, gilt-winged altarpiece (fig. 2).⁸

According to Paul Frankl and Hans Wentzel, Master Peter Hemmel, as the eldest of the five leading glass painters in Strasbourg, had the organizational ability and technical expertise to command this explosion in stained-glass production. Hemmel had been an established master since 1447 and had produced traditional small-sectioned windows for more than thirty years, until the founding of the workshop-cooperative in 1477. The increasingly expansive designs of the association may be, however, the work of a younger master. Apart from the Masters Störe and Spitznagel, known only by name, or the younger journeymen of the Hemmel workshop, sons-in-law Mattern from Frankfurt and Jakob Gerfalk, Hans von Maursmünster is one of the chief candidates for creative leadership. His position as official glazier of the Strasbourg minster, which he held for the last quarter of the century, also reflects his prestige.⁹

Figure 1. Strasbourg Workshop-Cooperative. *Donor Portraits, The Tree of Jesse, and The Lives of Saint Anne and the Virgin* from the Earl's Window, 1478. Tübingen, Collegiate church.

Photo: Corpus Vitrearum Freiburg i. Br. (Archiv).

Certain themes, such as the Tree of Jesse, appear in specific Strasbourg versions in Tübingen, Ulm, and Nuremberg. Their widespread use suggests that the choice of subject and composition was not that of the patrons alone but was also dependent on the selection offered by the glass painters. This also applies to other standardized programs of the Strasbourg studios: for example, the portrayal of kneeling donors with saints under architectural and foliated twining-branch canopies. This manner of representation recurs in increasingly similar variations in innumerable Strasbourg works, particularly in the so-called partial stained glass (band windows, for example). This window type became increasingly fashionable in the late fifteenth century among less financially powerful donors.¹⁰ Whether a customer ordered from a catalogue of window types or a member of the workshop-cooperative traveled through the country with a case of samples to rustle up commissions is not known. Indeed the latter has been presumed of Peter Hemmel.¹¹

Nevertheless, it would be inaccurate to cite the laborsaving aspect of the workshop tradition and reuse of existing drawings as the sole explanation for this standardized program. Precise repetitions of designs and cartoons—as in the cycle depicting the Life of the Virgin in the Kramer Window in Ulm and in the sanctuary of the Strasbourg Magdalene Church, destroyed by fire in 1904 (both c. 1480–81)—are exceptions in the oeuvre of the workshop-cooperative.¹² Typically, upon repetition, iconographic themes were resketched or models in the workshop repertoire were further developed. Designs, working drawings, workshop copies, sketches, and pattern books served as preparatory media in this process. An extensive collection of more than 120 sketches and studies, most drawn on both sides of a sheet, stems from the hand of an artist in the immediate circle of the Strasbourg workshops. This is the largest related group of drawings prior to Dürer. The author of these works is known by the makeshift titles the Master of the Drapery Studies or the Master of the Coburg Roundels.¹³ These pictorial “notations”—often single drapery motifs but also figures, groups, and entire compositions—reach freely beyond all generic boundaries of glass painting, panel painting, and sculpture and document in a unique manner the intensity of artistic exchange among neighboring workshops in Strasbourg. A characteristic example is the sheet of drapery and figure studies, now in Coburg (fig. 3), which must have been made in immediate connection with the Volckamer Window in Nuremberg.¹⁴ Two kneeling figures on the recto of the drawing correspond to the imaginary donor portraits of Barbara Volckamer’s two daughters in the lowermost window row (compare fig. 2). On the verso of the sheet is

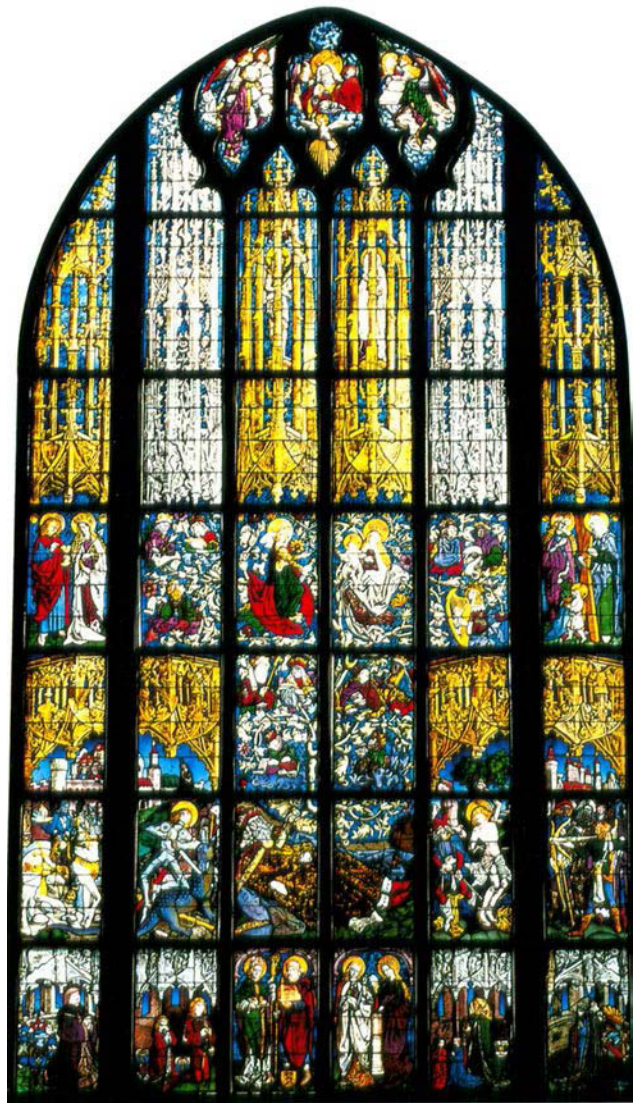


Figure 2. Strasbourg Workshop-Cooperative. *Donor Portraits, The Tree of Jesse, and Saints* from the Volckamer Window, c. 1481. Nuremberg, Saint Lawrence’s Church.

Photo: Corpus Vitrearum Freiburg i. Br. (H. Scholz).



Figure 3. The Master of the Drapery Studies. *Study Sheet with Kneeling Figures and Loincloth*, c. 1481. Pen and brown ink and brown wash, 28.2 × 21.3 cm. Coburg, Kunstsammlungen der Veste.

Photo: Kunstsammlungen der Veste, Coburg.



Figure 4. Strasbour (Peter Hemmel von Andlau?). *Christ Feeding the Multitudes*, c. 1475–80. Stained-glass roundel, 37 cm (diam.). Berlin, Staatliche Museen-Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Kunstgewerbemuseum (formerly in the Ulm Great Council Hall).

Photo: Corpus Vitrearum Freiburg i. Br. (Archiv).

another kneeling figure that corresponds to the donor panel of Apollonia Volckamer in the same window. Other sketch sheets in the Cabinet des Estampes et des Dessins in Strasbourg and the J. Paul Getty Museum in Los Angeles (cat. no. 5), each with eleven loincloth studies, reveal more clearly the procedure used by Strasbourg glass painters.¹⁵ Both sheets are typical “theme collections,” motifs used by the designer or cartoon draftsman. Such sheets were used in the design of the Nuremberg Volckamer Window as well, as in the loincloth worn by Saint Sebastian in the martyr scene, which was based on one of eleven variations shown on the Strasbourg study sheet.

These technical aids notwithstanding, the Strasbourg masters expressed characteristic ingenuity wherever new, unusual, and rarely depicted subjects were required—as in the nine painted-glass roundels with scenes of the public ministry of Christ in Darmstadt (Hessisches Landesmuseum) and Berlin (Kunstgewerbemuseum; fig. 4).¹⁶ Commissioned around 1475–80 by the city council of Ulm for the upper lights in the magnificent windows in the Great Council Hall, this series—“the most perfect work of Upper German cabinet glass painting”—demonstrates that the Strasbourg masters were capable of achieving excellence on a small scale as well.¹⁷ Indeed, the roundels from Ulm were from the same workshop that again treated the theme of Christ’s public ministry, for the same patron, in the monumental Council Window in the Ulm minster.¹⁸ This correlation is evident not only from the iconography but also from the heavily applied matts with stippled and etched highlights and related vocabulary of physiognomic types. A critical distinction between the two series is that the glass painter in charge of the small-scale roundels, who must have been both the designer and executing hand, produced a more compelling and dramatic depiction of biblical events than in the large-scale cycles. By comparing the few works that are documented as Peter Hemmel’s in Obernai and in the Nonnberg convent near Salzburg, one can identify the master of the small-scale roundels as Hemmel himself.

That the Strasbourg workshop-cooperative not only relied on engravings and sketches in its productions but also, as was customary in other places, engaged outside designers for its projects cannot be proven with certainty. There are examples, however, that suggest this practice, such as the Kramer Window in Ulm, with the enigmatic signature *HANS WILD*, which has been extensively discussed in the literature and will therefore be excluded here.¹⁹

Of unsurpassed monumentality is the Strasbourg glass painting of the late Gothic period, the more than twenty-meter-high Scharfzandt Window in the Munich Church of Our Lady. Containing over 110

panels, it was finished apparently in 1483, after the supposed termination of the workshop-cooperative in 1481 (fig. 5).²⁰ Here all the outstanding characteristics of the Strasbourg window are united in a single work of the utmost technical and artistic perfection. A narrow socle area contains the donor's coat of arms, kneeling donor portraits of the Munich councilman Wilhelm Scharfzandt and his wife, and the patron saints Thomas and Matthew as well as Christ as Salvator Mundi in the center. Four enormous scenes, each spreading over twenty-five panels, fill the window surface above. To heighten the impact of the window from a distance, the depiction of the Life of the Virgin in the upper section was limited to three main scenes: the Annunciation, Birth of Christ, and Presentation in the Temple. Represented in the lowermost section is the apotheosis of Saint Rupert, missionary to Bavaria and patron of the archdiocese of Salzburg.²¹ Lavishly designed architectural and branch canopies, filling more than half the window and enlivened by colorful statuettes, surround each scene. What strikes the eye is the brilliance and glowing luminosity of the canopies with their rhythmical coloristic play of yellow and white, deliberately contrasted with the broad red and blue damask backgrounds. The compositions depicting the Life of the Virgin are unsurpassed in spaciousness and exceed the work of Schongauer, from whose engravings single motifs, such as the dogs playing in the foreground of the Presentation scene, have been borrowed. In the scene with Saint Rupert there is an animated, almost portraitlike characterization, which "brings the figures to life," as in earlier windows of the Strasbourg workshops, particularly in the kings in the Tree of Jesse pictures (fig. 6). Every detail is executed with care, and the subtlety of the largely intact painting is unsurpassable. Along with the flowing outlines and subordination of hatching to interior details, the modeling of the forms is based on halftone (grisaille) mats of differing density. Illumination and highlights were stippled with a dry brush, scratched with a quill, or etched in small sections with a tiny stick or needle. Thin layers of back-painting (washes on the glass exterior surface) intensify the depth and heighten the color spectrum of the glass, ranging from the palest light to the darkest colored shadow. Corresponding to the masterly painting is the generous application of silver stain everywhere, in hair, halos, and jeweled garments. An enormous diversity of color dominates the scenes. The rich palette of intermediate hues used to depict landscapes and interiors achieves a high degree of depth and spatiality for each composition. The complex modeling of light and shadow, careful characterization of various materials, and extensive use of "streaky glasses" to depict the marble interior architecture of the segment with Saint Rupert underscore the work's



Figure 5. Strasbourg Workshop-Cooperative. *The Birth of Christ; The Presentation in the Temple* from the Scharfzandt Window, c. 1483. Munich, Church of Our Lady.

Photo: Corpus Vitrearum Freiburg i. Br. (Montage A. Gossel).



Figure 6. Strasbourg Workshop-Cooperative. *King from the Tree of Jesse* (detail) from the Kramer Window, c. 1480–81. Ulm, minster.

Photo: Corpus Vitrearum Freiburg i. Br. (A. Gössel).

high level of achievement. A specialty of the workshop-cooperative emphasizing the precious, jewel-like character of the Strasbourg windows is the extensively acid-etched, mostly red and violet flashed glass used for artistically patterned fabrics that were to be accentuated.

Although different masters of the former workshop-cooperative, namely, Peter Hemmel and Theobald von Lixheim, continued to produce works after 1500 for King (later Emperor) Maximilian I in the collegiate church in Thaur in Tyrol (1501) and for the cathedral in Metz (1504), the full flowering of Strasbourg stained glass seemed to be over by the turn of the century.²² The most significant Strasbourg glass painter of the Renaissance, Valentin Busch, left no traces in southern Germany. His works are mostly in Lorraine, where Busch officially worked at the newly built priory church, Saint-Nicolas-de-Port near Nancy, beginning in 1514, and the cathedral in Metz in 1520. Among his many later works at smaller locations is the Old and New Testament Cycle for the Saint-Firmin Church in Flavigny-sur-Moselle (1531–33). These windows are today distributed among three collections in the United States and Canada.²³ The influence on or participation in stained-glass production by Dürer's student Hans Baldung Grien during his Strasbourg years remains at present too vague.²⁴ Baldung's work as the leading designer for monumental stained glass is concentrated much more in his Freiburg period (1512–17).

At the turn of the fifteenth to the sixteenth century—specifically, before the appearance in 1508 of the atelier of Hans Gitschmann von Ropstein—Freiburg apparently had no resident glass painter. In 1494 the Freiburg burghers Heininger and Steinmeyer engaged one of the famous Strasbourg ateliers for window donations in the unfinished minster choir.²⁵ The flourishing of local production began almost two decades later, in 1511–13, when the newly completed high-choir clerestory of the minster received its stained-glass windows (fig. 7).²⁶ These nine four-lancet windows commissioned by quite disparate donors—the emperor, regional aristocrats, and prominent Freiburg citizens—all followed a common concept: each window carries a row of saints standing above a horizontal window divider. This celestial gathering stretches like a colorful ribbon around nearly the entire choir clerestory. Donors' coats of arms are placed in the lower halves of the windows, reaching oversized dimensions only in the imperial donation in the choir hemicycle. Contrary to the rich late Gothic architectural constructions of older Strasbourg stained glass, the Freiburg figures stand in simple, flat, boxy



Figure 7. Workshop of Hans von Ropstein, Jakob Wechtlin, and Dietrich Fladenbacher. *Saints from the “Kith, Kin, and In-Laws” of Emperor Maximilian I; Emperor’s Coat of Arms and the Habsburg Patrimonial Dominions* from the Habsburg Windows, 1512. Freiburg, minster.

Photo: Corpus Vitrearum Freiburg i. Br. (A. Gössel).

spaces. The wishes of the respective donors determined the iconography of each window. In most donations made by the nobility and burghers, the patron saints of the donors’ families are portrayed. Here, in the three imperial windows, however, the saints chosen were particularly venerated by the house of Habsburg. Some had even been taken into the genealogy of the ruling family from the “kith, kin, and in-laws” (*Sipp-, Mag- und Schwägerschaft*) of Maximilian I.²⁷

The minster account books do not name the responsible glazier, but a series of inscriptions and signatures in the windows furnish information about the participating masters.²⁸ These indicate that Master Ropstein headed the workshop. The type of collaboration with the others named—the painter Jakob Wechtlin and the glazier Dietrich Fladenbacher—remains unclear. Probably Ropstein and Wechtlin shared artistic origins in the Alsacian-Strasbourg glass-painting tradition, in particular, its colored-glass materials, techniques, and use of characteristic background ornamentation.²⁹ The astonishingly early appearance of Renaissance motifs in the Freiburg windows may be

traced to influences from Augsburg, specifically, to models—perhaps even designs—from the circle of the Augsburg painters Leonhard Beck, Hans Burgkmair, and Jörg Breu.³⁰

In 1515, only a few years after the high-choir windows of the minster were completed, the glazing of the choir chapels was begun with the Saint Anne Window (fig. 8). A donation by owners of the Saint Anne’s silver mine in Todtnau, this was the first important window commission connected to designs by Hans Baldung Grien.³¹ In 1512 Baldung had taken on the commission for the main altarpiece in the minster and had relocated from Strasbourg to Freiburg until its completion in 1517.³² In the year 1515 he received the modest sum of 12½ shillings from the minster administration for diverse smaller jobs, one being the “Visierung” for the Saint Anne Window.³³ The Visierung (a small-scale preparatory sketch or a working design in the form of a cleaned-up copy) by his hand has not been preserved but can be reconstructed from two workshop copies, now in Paris and Brussels, of the central group of figures (fig. 9). Moreover, a signature



Figure 8. Designed by Hans Baldung Grien; executed by Jakob Wechtlin. *The Holy Kinship* from the Saint Anne Window, 1515. Freiburg, minster.

Photo: Corpus Vitrearum Freiburg i. Br. (Montage A. Gössel).

scratched into the donor inscription of the window names the painter Jakob Wechtlin as the executing master. He, however, could hardly have worked on his own here, but—as earlier in the choir clerestory—he may have worked in the Ropstein atelier.³⁴

Spreading across four lancets, the Saint Anne Window depicts Anne, Mary, and the Christ Child, in the center surrounded by Joseph and Anne's three apocryphal husbands—Joachim, Salomas, and Cleophas—as well as their respective daughters and grandchildren. Exceptional here is not only the frameless presentation, divided only by mullions and rows, but also the window's reduced color, to a large extent executed in grisaille. Although grisaille panes were common in figural stained glass in the Rhineland and in France and England since the fourteenth century, there is no other comparable example of such refinement from the early German Renaissance.³⁵ The idea may have stemmed from Baldung himself. He may have been inspired by his own monochrome paintings, as in the Frankfurt altar completed in 1513–15, or by the monochrome carved altarpieces of the time.³⁶ The pictorial invention, technical finesse, and delicate choice of colored glasses deserves the highest praise. The figures, in painterly, finely graduated shades of gray with silver-stain accents in the hair and halos, blend in a highly subtle manner with the pale sandstone-colored throne bench and exquisite pale green and pink “streaky glasses” in the marble tile floor. Further, the brilliant blue damask background brings into play an effective contrast with the figures and Renaissance crowning ornamentation.

Compared to Baldung's personal style at the time of the Freiburg altarpiece, clearly reflected in the workshop copies in Paris and Brussels, the Saint Anne Window displays certain deviations, even occasional mistakes in figural proportion. The executing glass painter is surely responsible for these, which proves that Baldung's involvement in the preparation of the drawings cannot have included the completion of the cartoons. That all the figures follow Baldung's preliminary drawings is testified to by the sometimes surprisingly close references to the artist's paintings, particularly the Joachim figure in this window with that of Saint Joseph in the Berlin *Lamentation of Christ* from 1517.³⁷

Despite the liberties with his designs occasionally taken by glass painters, Baldung radically remolded Freiburg glass painting within a few years. Compared to the creations in the choir clerestory of the minster, the Saint Anne Window, c. 1515, and subsequent windows of the Freiburg Carthusian monastery, c. 1515–16 (cat. nos. 113–14), present a completely new depiction of humanity.³⁸ The gigantic presence of the single figures and their individual, life-



Figure 9. Working copy after Hans Baldung Grien. *Saint Anne, The Virgin, and Child*, c. 1515. Pen and black ink, 20.1 × 18.4 cm. Paris, Musée du Louvre.

Photo: Musée du Louvre, Paris (R.M.N.).

like characterization is reminiscent of figures in the high altar of the minster. Several of the energetic, striking heads are unimaginable without presupposing that they were made after detailed portrait studies by Baldung (fig. 10). No definitive statement can be made, however, about the original location and overall appearance of the windows, as the appearance of the Carthusian monastery is known only from a late eighteenth-century bird's-eye view made before its demolition. One imagines that the single figures were once lined up, as in the high choir of the Freiburg minster, perhaps mounted in the windows of the large and small cloisters. That the panels were executed in Ropstein's workshop is indicated by the technical details, in particular, the choice of ornamental backgrounds, which resemble those in the minster high choir and in the Saint Anne Window.

Following the model of late Gothic saints' windows in the large Carthusian panels, Baldung continued to respect the traditional composition of lining up standing figures and even used the conventional ornamentation of the damask background. There he trod new paths only in his depiction of individual figures. In his glazing of the chancel chapels of the Freiburg minster, however, he took the final step to autonomous pictorial treatments entirely indebted to panel painting.³⁹ In his own panel paintings Baldung seldom stood out as a landscape painter. His approach



Figure 10. Designed by Hans Baldung Grien; executed by the workshop of Hans von Ropstein. *Saint Hugo of Grenoble* (detail), c. 1515–16. Nuremberg, Germanisches Nationalmuseum (formerly in the Freiburg Carthusian monastery).

Photo: Corpus Vitrearum Freiburg i. Br. (Archiv).

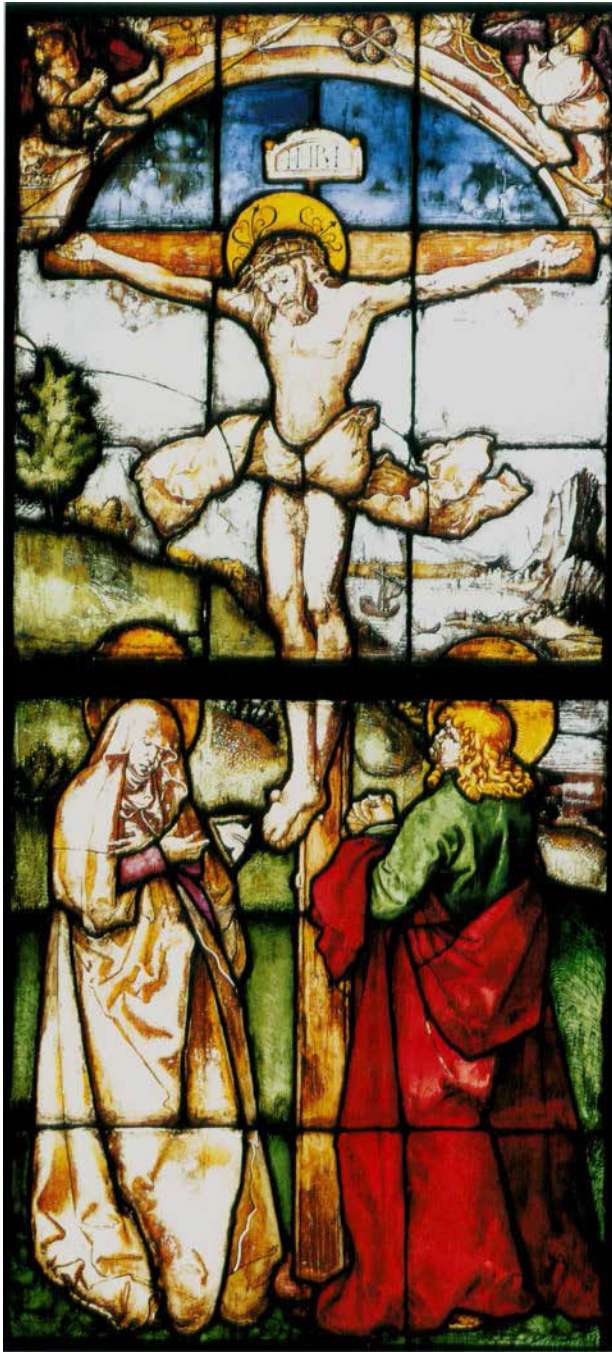


Figure 11. Designed by Hans Baldung Grien; executed by the workshop of Hans von Ropstein. *The Crucifixion of Christ* from the Blumenegg Window, c. 1516–17. 196 × 90 cm. Freiburg, minster.

Photo: Corpus Vitrearum Freiburg i. Br. (R. Becksmann).

to landscape gives, in the words of Gert von der Osten, “no deepening of nature in the sense of Cranach or Altdorfer,” rather “only the accompaniment” or the background for the figural composition. Nevertheless, the wide, atmospheric landscape backgrounds chosen to depict biblical events lend a peculiar charm to the windows donated by the Freiburg patrician families Heimhofer, Blumenegg, and Locherer in the northern chancel chapels (fig. 11).⁴⁰ Barely composed with colors (executed with black and gray vitreous paint and silver stain on pale blue glass), the lake landscape behind *The Crucifixion of Christ* in the Blumenegg Chapel is executed as delicately as a drawing. Baldung had created scenic pictorial treatments in front of a landscape background in his earlier Nuremberg period, in the Löffelholz Window in the Church of Saint Lawrence, 1506, which was likewise partial-stained glass. This work from ten years earlier is very different from the broad composition of pictorial space that characterizes the windows in Freiburg. Without question, the impressive landscape views and some donor portraits—primarily those of imperial civil servant Jakob Heimhofer and Lord Mayor and minster warden Sebastian von Blumenegg—must be ascribed to Baldung’s accurate preliminary drawings and portrait studies. These first windows of the Freiburg chancel chapels, from 1516 to 1517, under Baldung’s supervision, reveal a fineness of painting that would have not been possible without accurate, detailed models.

Finally, the stained-glass windows executed from 1526 to 1528 in the imperial chapels in the eastern end of the Freiburg minster chancel offer a last unsurpassed zenith in monumental Renaissance painting in German-speaking lands (fig. 12).⁴¹ While depictions of saints were being removed from churches because of the introduction of the Reformation, in Freiburg, which remained true to Catholicism, the construction and decoration of the minster choir was finally reaching completion. In principle, the imperial windows also follow the concept of the first windows of the chancel chapels by showing “suspended” pictorial compositions, partially rendered in color and surrounded by colorless panes of bull’s-eye glass. Unlike the early scenes in front of a landscape background (most designed by Baldung, simply framed, and arranged in rows, thus more likely to compete with the altar paintings in the individual chapels), the imperial windows embody a highly modern type of donor window. Following the model of contemporary epitaphs, the donor portraits of Emperor Maximilian I, his son Philip, and his grandsons Emperor Charles V and Grand Duke Ferdinand appear in richly ornate, perspectively constructed, open architectural settings. The figures kneel in devotion directly before the four favorite patron saints venerated by the House of Habs-

burg: George, Andrew, Jacob, and Leopold. Wide inscription panels, in the form of consoles highlighting the suspended effect within the window, carry all four pictorial compositions.

The artist responsible for the designs of these extraordinary compositions, which were rendered in glass by the local Ropstein workshop, as indicated by the damask pattern, must have been from Augsburg. This conclusion is based on comparisons with Hans Burgkmair's prints.⁴² In fact, the nearest parallels for the lavishly applied Renaissance ornamentation—the opulent fruit garlands with puttos and mythical beasts in arcades and gables—are found in Burgkmair's woodcuts after 1510. Models include his series on the planets and the seven virtues (cat. no. 77, fig. 59), which inspired the small mythological scenes shown in pronounced perspective from below on the flanking columns in the Philip the Fair window.⁴³ Also influential are the drawings of the Augsburg painter and draftsman Jörg Breu, who in earlier years had emerged as the designer for an imperial glass-painting commission: the series of silver-stain roundels depicting the military campaigns of Maximilian I, 1516 (cat. nos. 83–86).⁴⁴ Astonishing parallels to the Freiburg imperial windows appear during the 1520s. Breu's design for an epitaph with the depiction of the Fourteen Holy Helpers and kneeling donor family in the Stockholm National Museum could, in construction and perspective, serve as a direct counterpart for the painted architectural settings of these late Ropstein windows.⁴⁵

After the completion of work in the chancel chapels and a late window donation by Johannes Widmann in the Carthusian monastery (all in 1528),⁴⁶ it seems that Ropstein received no further significant commissions for monumental stained glass.⁴⁷ Until his death in 1564, Ropstein produced small-scale heraldic panels—containing an inscription socle, donor figures, or blazon-bearer in an architectural framework—as well as small pictures in grisaille, depicting military campaigns, hunting scenes, dances, festivities, and much more. These have been preserved in Emdingen and Rheinfelden town halls and in Heiligenberg Castle.⁴⁸ One last commission associated with Ropstein, made in 1562 by the Basel cathedral chapter for the chapel window in Angenstein Castle, south of Basel, very successfully combines specific traits of heraldic panel painting (upper pictures of secondary scenes) with a truly monumental standard of stained glass that completely fills the entire window.⁴⁹

Nuremberg

Stained glass in Nuremberg on the threshold of the Renaissance is most closely associated with the name of the municipal glazier Veit Hirsvogel the Elder. The

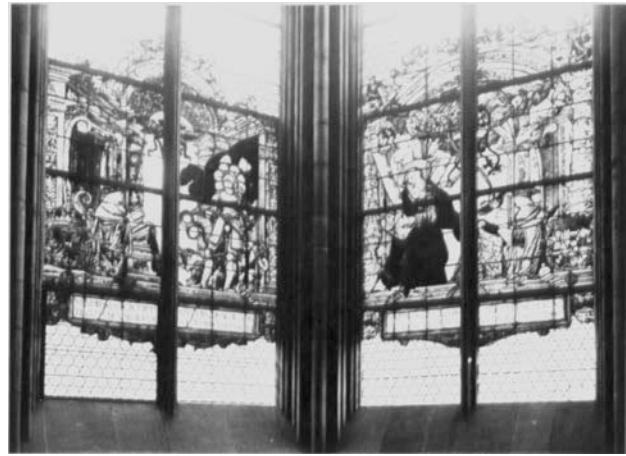


Figure 12. Designed by an Augsburg painter; executed by the workshop of Hans von Ropstein. *Emperor Maximilian with Saint George; Philip the Fair with Saint Andrew* from the Habsburg Windows, 1526–28. Freiburg, minster. Photo: Stadtarchiv Freiburg i. Br. (Röbcke).

Hirsvogel workshop, which developed over more than four generations, must have held a near monopoly in Nuremberg during its most productive years, between 1485 and 1525. No other works of this time can be associated with any other glaziers cited in the municipal master lists. The major works of monumental glazing in the city—the large donor windows of the Bamberg bishops, Emperor Maximilian I, the margraves of Brandenburg-Ansbach, and imperial counselor Melchior Pfünzing in Saint Sebald's Church and the stained-glass windows in the Saint Rochus mortuary chapel of the Imhoff family—are attributed to the Hirsvogel workshop.⁵⁰ With an inventory of about six hundred panels of sacred stained glass from the decades around 1500 and an abundance of preserved preliminary drawings from Dürer's close circle—designs, sketches, workshop copies, cartoons, and overall designs for windows—Nuremberg offers incomparable insights into the workshop methods of the time.

Born in 1461, Veit Hirsvogel was the son of the glazier Heinz Hirsvogel, who worked from 1447 to 1485 in Nuremberg. The younger Hirsvogel probably received his training before 1480 in his father's workshop. At that time (1476–81) the new hall choir of Saint Lawrence Church was outfitted with extensive stained-glass windows from various Nuremberg and Bamberg workshops. It is not known whether Heinz Hirsvogel participated in this work.⁵¹ The Saint Lawrence choir glazing also included Strasbourg windows from the workshop-cooperative around Peter Hemmel (see fig. 2), and the impact of this imported work on Nuremberg artists must have been overwhelming. It is,



Figure 13. Designed by Albrecht Dürer; executed by the workshop of Veit Hirsvogel the Elder. *Donors and Saints* from the Bamberg Window, 1502. Nuremberg, Saint Sebald's Church.

Photo: Corpus Vitrearum Freiburg i. Br. (Montage A. Gösse).

therefore, not surprising that during his journeyman years (1480–85) Veit Hirsvogel worked in the Strasbourg cooperative, the most famous stained-glass enterprise of the day. One can assume that after his return to Nuremberg in 1485, his rapid success and consistent popularity with Nuremberg patrons were primarily due to his advanced artistic training in Strasbourg with the greatest masters of his field.⁵²

The first window securely ascribed to the Hirsvogel workshop, the Bamberg Window, 1501–2, in the choir of Saint Sebald's Church in Nuremberg, leads us directly to the heart of the problem of determining the collaborative process between glass-painting workshops and designers (fig. 13). Spreading in four rows across four lancets, the window depicts in its sixteen panels the four Bamberg bishops with their ceremonial objects, the patron saints of Bamberg Cathedral (Kilian, Peter, Paul, and George), the diocese founders (Emperor Heinrich and Empress Kunigunde), coats of arms, and a top row containing four canopies. For his work Veit Hirsvogel received the total payment of sixty guilders, one pound, and twelve denars.⁵³ As the first work securely ascribed to the workshop, this richly colored composition is also significant for some rather irritating features. In design and execution two artistic approaches are apparent, and their differences are highly informative regarding the production of the window, workshop participants, and the status of Nuremberg stained glass at the turn of the fifteenth century.

First, two completely different styles of drawing can be distinguished. An older style, evidencing the continued influence of the Strasbourg workshop-cooperative, connects the Hirsvogel atelier to a series of earlier works, mostly single panels and windows preserved in fragmentary form in the Nuremberg Saint Johannes, Saint Jakob, and Saint Lawrence Churches and dating from the last decade of the fifteenth century.⁵⁴ This antiquated workshop style, which determines the overall appearance of the window and is most distinctly recognizable by the standardized mask-like heads, contrasts with a modern style oriented toward Dürer. The latter style is most striking in the heads and hands of the imperial couple and those of Bishop Philip von Henneberg to their right. The graphic, loose drawing of natural shapes and vividly defined facial expressions are inexplicable without Dürer's direct influence.

Despite a range of different glass-painting styles in the Bamberg Window, the designs for all figures can be traced to Dürer, even though most were not adequately translated by the glass painters.⁵⁵ Furthermore, the full-scale Saint Peter cartoon, c. 1501–2 (cat. no. 18), has been preserved and comes so close to Dürer's graphic style that it has been attributed to him.⁵⁶ The workshop, however, was not dependent

on outside designers like Dürer for the canopies in the fourth row of the window and the rich, expansive damask backgrounds, since Veit Hirsvogel had acquired a sufficient body of prototypes during his journeyman years in Strasbourg with the circle around Peter Hemmel. He used them in manifold combinations into the second decade of the sixteenth century, thus maintaining a certain independence from painter-designers, even in collaborative commissions.⁵⁷

Dürer's activity in stained glass began immediately after his return from his first trip to Italy in 1495 with the notoriously controversial designs for the cycle with the life of Saint Benedict, c. 1496 (cat. nos. 11–17), the overall design in Frankfurt for a window depicting Saint George, c. 1496 (cat. no. 9), and the cartoon of Saint Augustine in Rotterdam, c. 1496–8 (cat. no. 10). His work gradually led to glass painters becoming familiar with a more contemporary manner of drawing.⁵⁸ At the same time the older workshop style dating to Strasbourg stained-glass painting of the 1480s receded in importance. Indeed, after 1500 Dürer's personal involvement in this field appears to have been in demand only occasionally, for particularly unusual commissions, such as the designs for the pendant trefoil panels *Death on Horseback* and *Sixtus Tucher at His Open Grave*, 1502 (cat. nos. 19–20).⁵⁹ Sometime before his second trip to Italy, which kept him away from Nuremberg from August 1505 to March 1507, Dürer had increasingly left the design work for stained glass to his younger assistants, first and foremost to his most outstanding student, Hans Baldung Grien.

During Baldung's Nuremberg years (1503–7/8) the glazing of the cloister of the local Carmelite monastery was begun, one of the most extensive and lengthy commissions for the Hirsvogel workshop. Donated by various Nuremberg patrician families, the cycle was produced from 1504 to 1511. It included scenes from the Life of the Virgin; the childhood, public ministry, and Passion of Christ; and the Last Judgment. After the Reformation, when the monastery was closed and sold, the cycle was distributed in greatly decimated form among neighboring parish churches in Grossgründlach, Wöhrd, and Henfenfeld.⁶⁰ Only the earliest parts—*The Presentation in the Temple*, dated 1505; *The Virgin at the Loom*, *The Marriage of the Virgin*, *The Temptation of Christ*, and *Christ and the Woman Taken in Adultery* in Grossgründlach; and *The Nativity* and *The Adoration of the Magi* in Wöhrd—can be associated with Baldung's designs. Although no drawings for these scenes have survived, a later copy of *The Virgin at the Loom*, after Baldung's design by the Zurich painter and draftsman Hans Leu the Younger, is dated 1510 (cat. no. 29).⁶¹ This early group of panels reveals Baldung's characteristic reper-

toire of head types and uniquely fine-meshed, almost burinlike manner of drawing, which are without precedent in the Hirsvogel workshop.⁶² A comparison with the single undisputed stained-glass design by Baldung from his Nuremberg period, *Sermon of Saint Vincent Ferrer*, c. 1505 (cat. no. 28), in the Getty Museum, reveals the same technical idiosyncrasies in draftsmanship found in the early group of panels in Grossgründlach and Wöhrd. It also furnishes us with a very precise idea of the size of Baldung's final designs and the care with which they were executed.⁶³ The high quality of the panels, among the best produced by Nuremberg glass painters, raises the question of Baldung's participation in the execution of the glass painting. Just as this possibility can be ruled out for Dürer and the Bamberg Window, so too we must certainly entertain the possibility that particularly skilled glass painters executed the best works from Baldung's Nuremberg period. Another outstanding creation is the Löffelholz Window, 1506, in the Nuremberg Saint Lawrence parish church.⁶⁴ Among the employees of the Hirsvogel atelier are the master's two oldest sons, who were around eighteen years old at that time, and it is likely that one of them may have executed this work. In Dresden is a somewhat later design, c. 1510, of three circular panels with kneeling donors, signed *HHF* by Hans Hirsvogel the Younger. As well as reflecting the increasing influence of Hans von Kulmbach, it is also distinctly reminiscent of Baldung's characteristic drawing style.⁶⁵ This sheet and the circular drawings for panels by the same draftsman in collections in Nuremberg and Budapest prove that glass painters were not always dependent on designers for figural compositions.⁶⁶ Individual workshop members were apparently capable of their own designs.⁶⁷

Along with Baldung, and even more so after his departure from Nuremberg in 1507–8, other Dürer students—including Hans von Kulmbach, Hans Schäufolein, and Wolf Traut—gradually emerged as stained-glass designers. A less subtle, quite routine, economical style of drawing was now adopted in the production of the Hirsvogel workshop (fig. 14). The development of this workshop style could have been a result of the glass painters constantly working from the designs of Kulmbach, who in later years was Nuremberg's most sought-after designer for stained glass. The large number of extant drawings for stained-glass panels ascribed to Kulmbach's oeuvre, primarily by Friedrich Winkler (not always undisputed), point to this role.⁶⁸

Among the most problematic attributions are the Dresden cartoon fragment of the *Saint Veronica*, c. 1508, for *The Bearing of the Cross* in the Carmelite cycle and *The Fall of the Rebel Angels* cartoon, c. 1508 (cat. no. 23), now in Boston, for a stained-



Figure 14. Designed by Albrecht Dürer; executed by the workshop of Veit Hirsvogel the Elder. *Joachim Parting from Saint Anne* (detail), c. 1508. Nuremberg-Grossgründlach, Church of Saint Lawrence (formerly in Nuremberg, cloister of the Carmelite monastery).

Photo: Corpus Vitrearum Freiburg i. Br. (H. Scholz).

glass window in the Landauer Chapel in Nuremberg, which today can no longer be rightfully regarded as Kulmbach's work.⁶⁹ The overall artistic control for the total program of the Landauer Chapel must have been in Dürer's hands, because he designed and executed its centerpiece, the costly *Adoration of the Trinity Altarpiece*, completed in 1511 (today in the Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum).⁷⁰ The close formal and iconographic connections between the windows and *The Adoration of the Trinity Altarpiece* underscore that the preparatory sketches and designs for the former originated in Dürer's immediate circle. The single preserved full-sized cartoon fragment, *The Fall of the Rebel Angels* (cat. no. 23), however, was assigned to a subordinate master due to its dryly schematic drawing style. Included by Campbell Dodgson under the general term "Dürer school," the cartoon has since been variously attributed to an anonymous employee of the Hirsvogel workshop, to Kulmbach, and to Dürer himself.⁷¹ Dürer's preparatory drawings may have looked like his small-scale preparatory sketches in Berlin and Bremen for *The Martyrdom of Saint Lawrence* (see fig. 3, p. 5); and the *Fall of the Idol* in the Schmidtmayer Window, produced in 1509–13 for the parish church of Saint Lawrence in Nuremberg (see fig. 4, p. 5).

Numerous early sixteenth-century works from the Hirsvogel workshop are uniformly "partial stained glass," that is, the glass painting no longer fills the entire window but stretches like a horizontal colored ribbon through an otherwise colorless window glazed with panes of bull's-eye glass or diamond-shaped panes. Glass painters repeatedly fell back on their own supply of framing and ornamental motifs, combining those that were at hand with new designs. Their work now encompassed a few, constantly recurring pictorial motifs (flat niches with tile floors and curtains, damask or landscape backgrounds, and architectural and branch-motif frames), applied primarily to the most popular subject, the depiction of individual saints. As these constantly repeated pictorial units were considered to be canons of representation, this observation applies equally to independent work by glass painters and to collaborative commissions (i.e., when glass painters relied on designs by other artists). The compositional forms were the same as those in the wings of sixteenth-century Franconian altarpieces. It is therefore quite safe to assume that stained glass copied the formal vocabulary and subject matter of altarpieces, the principal type of sacred decoration.

Renaissance formal elements and a new relationship between pictorial space and frame gained entry to the repertoire of Nuremberg stained glass only sporadically after 1510. It began first with designs for small-scale, secular stained glass and grisaille panels.

As local commissions continued to be limited to the donation of single panels and smaller ensembles of two or three fields, this new style remained at first without impact on large-scale windows designed to create a new pictorial architecture spreading across the entire window. This task arose only one more time in Nuremberg in the years 1514 to 1515, and what was realized here differs fundamentally from earlier window compositions. The Nuremberg City Council decreed that damaged fourteenth-century stained-glass windows be repaired and replaced by the donor's descendants. The large donor windows of Emperor Maximilian I, 1514 (cat. no. 49), the margraves of Brandenburg-Ansbach, and the imperial counselor Melchior Pfünzing, already cited as major works of the Hirsvogel workshop, were completed in quick succession in the east choir of Saint Sebald's Church. The exceptionally imposing iconography of the three windows—which leaves most of the space to full-figure portraits of the donor families and to heraldic bearings while treating the saints, the objects of veneration, as secondary figures—required an entirely new compositional and formal approach. Extant correspondence of the Nuremberg City Council, overall compositional designs and cartoons by Kulmbach and Dürer as well as close formal parallels with commissions in other artistic spheres illuminate the role played by both designers and patrons in the creation of these distinctly new compositions.⁷²

Parts of Kulmbach's preliminary design for the Emperor's Window on the choir axis are preserved in the Kupferstichkabinett in Berlin (cat. no. 49).⁷³ This design, however, apparently took too traditional a form for the taste of the emperor, who had quite definite ideas about the contemporary appearance of his window donation. Indeed, the window that was executed is incomprehensible without Dürer's guiding corrections. The superiority and monumentality of the figures clearly surpass Kulmbach's artistic ingenuity. In a letter from 1515 Dürer speaks about the many designs he prepared at the emperor's behest, and the revision of the Emperor's Window can also be counted among these.⁷⁴

After the imperial window was completed, the damaged first window of the margrave's family (a donation by the earlier burgraves of Nuremberg from the years when the choir was constructed, around 1379) was replaced in 1515 by a window that was as contemporary as it was representative (fig. 15).⁷⁵ Following Maximilian's example, Margrave Friedrich v had himself portrayed standing inside a high, towering, multistoried Renaissance architectural framework. He and his wife, Sophia of Poland, and their eight sons are the same size as the Mother of God and Saint John the Baptist. Kulmbach's overall design, preserved in Dresden, dated 1514 in an inscription (cat.

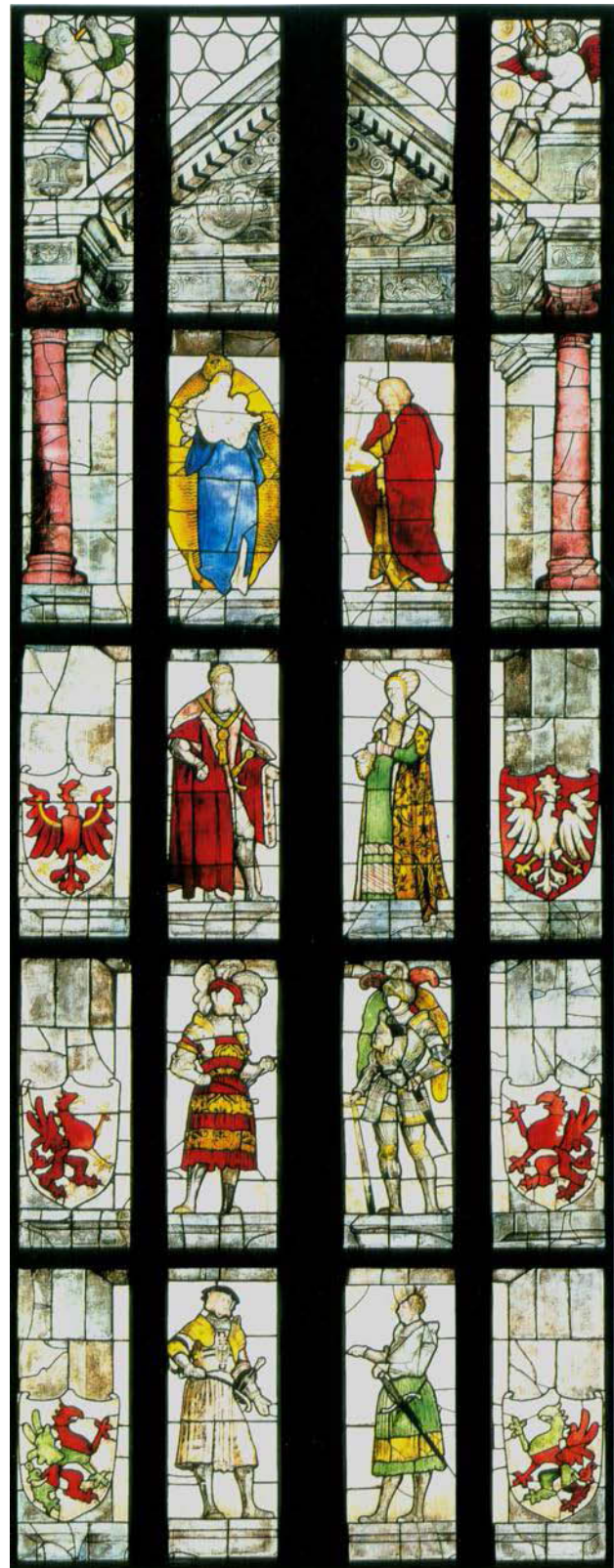


Figure 15. Designed by Hans von Kulmbach; executed by the workshop of Veit Hirsvogel the Elder. *Donors and Saints* from the Margrave's Window, 1515. Nuremberg, Saint Sebald's Church.

Photo: Corpus Vitrearum Freiburg i. S. (Montage A. Gössel).



no. 50), incorporates design solutions arrived at in the neighboring Emperor's Window and displays the progress that had been achieved in clarifying the overall structure of the architecture, in the composition of its various stories, and in the distribution of the standing figures and coats of arms.⁷⁶ In fact, this advancement applies primarily to the window itself, in which the light, airy effect of the stories, constructed in front of a pure white background, stands out through an extraordinarily pale and cool coloration.

The third large donor window in Saint Sebald's Church, commissioned by Melchior Pfinzing and executed in the fall of the year 1515, is undisputedly Dürer's idea (fig. 16). Here Dürer's conception and detailed drawings for the glass-painting workshop are discernible one last time. The correlation of pictorial architecture and detailed decoration to the lavish display of Renaissance ornamentation in his woodcuts for *The Triumphal Arch* has been particularly stressed. This does not, however, solely result from Dürer's authorship but also reflects the taste of the patron. The only preliminary drawing to survive is the cartoon for the Madonna and Child in St. Petersburg (cat. no. 27).⁷⁷ But it is less the figural parts that justify the extraordinary rank of the Pfinzing Window than the decisive leap in achieving a uniform conception of the overall pictorial space, executed with modern means. In the Emperor's and Margrave's Windows the architectural composition was essentially composed additively by superimposing stories of the same shape. In the Pfinzing Window, however, there appears for the first time a uniformly conceived Renaissance edifice constructed according to the laws of central perspective. This bold approach to the rather unfavorable vertical format of the window surface is a brilliant testament to Dürer's perspectival mastery. Despite the formal and decorative transfers from *The Triumphal Arch*, the window did not simply reflect the work done on the huge woodcut. The immediacy of invention, generosity of spirit, and clarity of spatial relationships in the window make it in a certain sense a more sympathetic and satisfying artistic achievement than the "monstrous showpiece" (i.e., *The Triumphal Arch*) to the glory of Maximilian.

After completing the imposing commissions for Saint Sebald that culminated in the Pfinzing Window, the Hirsvogel workshop had largely expended its creative energy. Apart from a few exceptions—such as the Welser-Thumer Window in the Church of

Figure 16. Designed by Albrecht Dürer; executed by the workshop of Veit Hirsvogel the Elder. *Donors and Saints* from the Pfinzing Window, 1515. Nuremberg, Saint Sebald's Church.

Photo: Corpus Vitrearum Freiburg i. Br. (Archiv).



Figure 17. Albrecht Dürer. *Saint Anne, The Virgin, and Child*, c. 1500. Design for stained glass; pen and brown ink; 23.6 × 16.7 cm. Budapest, Museum of Fine Arts.

Photo: Museum of Fine Arts, Budapest.



Figure 18. Workshop of Veit Hirsvogel the Elder. *Saint Anne, The Virgin, and Child* from the Margrave Window, c. 1526. 90 × 45 cm. Ansbach, Saint Gumpertus's Church.

Photo: Corpus Vitrearum Freiburg i. Br. (R. Becksmann).

Our Lady, based on Kulmbach's overall compositional design in Dresden, c. 1522 (cat. no. 61)—the late phase of monumental stained glass in Nuremberg, with its repetitive character, displays signs of stagnation. If one examines only the final large commissions for the Saint Rochus mortuary chapel, c. 1520, for the Imhoff family in Nuremberg or the margraves' second donation for Saint Gumpertus's Church, c. 1526, in Ansbach, which for the most part were produced from existing older designs and from prints (figs. 17–18), it becomes clear that the flowering of monumental glazing in Nuremberg had come to an end prior to the death of Veit Hirsvogel the Elder in 1525 and the arrival of the Reformation in the city.

Augsburg

Unlike Nuremberg, Augsburg has preserved inside its walls practically no monumental glazing from the period. When examining Augsburg stained glass during the time of Hans Holbein the Elder (c. 1465–1524), one is forced to look elsewhere. The area in which exports from Augsburg were distributed stretched from the neighboring Upper Bavarian region to Eich-

stätt, Straubing, and Landsberg all the way down to South Tyrol, Schwaz, and Merano.⁷⁸ Among the scanty remains of late Gothic stained glass in Augsburg from the 1480s again a “Strasbourg window” from the circle of masters of the former workshop-cooperative marks the starting point. Local workshops had, however, already been established.⁷⁹ The *Catalogus Abbatum Monasterii SS. Udalrici et Afrae* (Catalogue for the Abbey Monastery Saints Ulrich and Afra) of Wilhelm Wittwer (1449–1512) recorded a series of window donations from the last quarter of the fifteenth century.⁸⁰ This activity in production corresponded to economic and artistic growth in Augsburg, which was striving to surpass the free imperial city of Nuremberg. Almost no securely attributed work, however, survives to testify to an autonomous stained-glass tradition at this early date

The only glass still preserved on location today—albeit in poor condition—is in the church of Saints Ulrich and Afra. These windows are cited by Wittwer as donations by Abbot Johannes von Giltlingen in 1496 for the newly constructed oratory above the Saint Simpertus Chapel, the so-called



Figure 19. Designed by Hans Holbein the Elder; executed by the workshop of Gumpolt Giltlinger. *The Madonna and Child*, 1496. 250 × 50 cm. Augsburg, Saints Ulrich and Afra Church.

Photo: Corpus Vitrearum Freiburg i. Br. (Archiv).



Figure 20. Designed by Hans Holbein the Elder; executed by the workshop of Gumpolt Giltlinger. *The Crucifixion of Christ*, c. 1490–95. Eichstätt, cathedral, mortuary.

Photo: Corpus Vitrearum Freiburg i. Br. (H. Scholz).

Abbot's Chapel.⁸¹ Five standing figures—a Madonna and Child (fig. 19), the two Johns, Andrew, and Benedict—adorned the central, five-lancet chapel window as partial stained glass until 1898.⁸² All figures were shown—as in the later Nuremberg Renaissance windows at Saint Sebald's Church—in slight perspective from below and thus consciously oriented to the viewer's lower vantage point. In the center of the staggered composition is the Virgin in a white robe. She stands inside a three-sided, recessed, richly vaulted apse illuminated by windows. Behind her is a vivid red damascene curtain. Despite paint losses, this fascinating composition is reminiscent of the chapel shrines in late Gothic carved altarpieces (notably, the interior of a small chapel illuminated from behind by small windows, as in Tilman Riemenschneider's *Altarpiece of the Holy Blood* in Rothenburg) and served here as an accentuation of the middle axis. In contrast, the flanking saints appear in front of a flat two-dimensional, monochrome vine-scroll background and are surrounded by a simple architectural crowning element.

Since the beginning of the century these glass paintings were regarded as by Holbein the Elder, and their design and execution were ascribed to him or at least to his workshop. Indeed, their figural style fits into Holbein's chronological development between the securely dated panel paintings from 1493 (*Weingartner Altar*, Augsburg Cathedral) and 1499 (*Gossenbrot Madonna*, Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nurem-



Figure 21. Hans Holbein the Elder. *The Adoration of the Child*, c. 1495. Design for stained glass; pen and brown ink with gray and brown wash; 19.8 × 30.1 cm. Basel, Öffentliche Kunstsammlung, Kupferstichkabinett.

Photo: Öffentliche Kunstsammlung, Kupferstichkabinett, Basel.

berg).⁸³ It is rather improbable, however, that Holbein operated a workshop for panel and glass painting. Otherwise it would not have been necessary for him to collaborate with the Augsburg panel and glass painter Gumpolt Giltlinger, who signed the later Last Judgment Window in Eichstätt as the executing master. The contemporary recording of Giltlinger as the creator of the altar panel in the Abbot's Chapel in the chronicle by Wittwer substantiates the likelihood that he also executed the glass paintings designed by Holbein.

Concerning Holbein's role as a designer for stained glass, no more definite conclusions can be derived from a second window, also in the church of Saints Ulrich and Afra, depicting the Adoration of the Magi and destroyed by fire in 1944.⁸⁴ Five drawings in the manner of Holbein the Elder (Kupferstichkabinett, Basel) are directly related to individual window panels. Nevertheless, the assessment of the sheets vacillates between preliminary drawings and copies. Consequently the ascription varies between Holbein or one of his epigones, namely, the goldsmith Jörg Schweiger, who came from Augsburg and in 1507 relocated to Basel.⁸⁵ We first tread on solid ground with the stained-glass windows of the Last Judgment and the Madonna

of Mercy in the mortuary of Eichstätt Cathedral, which are undoubtedly connected to the Augsburg master as they are signed by Holbein the Elder.⁸⁶ The tomb of the cathedral chapter, constructed between 1480 and 1504, is illuminated by ten tracery windows of which today only five have extensive remnants of their original stained glass. Only in *The Last Judgment* (see fig. 22) does the pictorial composition encompass the entire window surface. All other windows were obviously only partial stained glass from the beginning.

The Crucifixion Window, which according to the inscription is a donation by the canon Johannes von Seckendorff, who died in 1490, was probably among the first to be completed (fig. 20). In the form and function of an epitaph, the window depicts the Crucified Christ with angels between Mary and John in front of a plain blue background. Typical of Augsburg compositions, the image is framed by strongly curved tracery with numerous overlapping and truncated late Gothic rib profiles. Holbein's authorship as designer is unquestionable, as a design in his hand in Basel (Kupferstichkabinett) places the Adoration of the Child inside an almost identical architectural framework (fig. 21).⁸⁷ Based on the spaces left for the



Figure 22. Designed by Hans Holbein the Elder; executed by the workshop of Gumpolt Giltlinger. *The Last Judgment*, c. 1505. Eichstätt, cathedral, mortuary.

Photo: Corpus Vitrearum Freiburg i. Br. (H. Scholz).



Figure 23. Augsburg workshop (designed by Leonhard Beck?). *The Passion of Christ: The Entry into Jerusalem, The Last Supper, The Mount of Olives*, 1512. 85 × 110 cm. Oberurbach, parish church.

Photo: Corpus Vitrearum Freiburg i. Br. (R. Becksmann).

mullions, the Basel drawing was intended for a four-lancet window and could—as Gottfried Frenzel has presumed—also be associated with the stained-glass windows of the mortuary. The windows on the west side have lost their colored figural decoration, but one of the three four-lancet windows could very well be the former location of stained glass after Holbein’s Basel *Adoration of the Child*. This assumption is underscored by another design for stained glass in Basel that portrays the Eichstätt founders—Willibald, Richard, Wunibald, and Walburga—in four lancets and thus could likewise record a lost donation for the Eichstätt mortuary.⁸⁸

The “Strasbourg window” in Augsburg Cathedral has been identified as the model for the *Adoration of the Child* drawing in Basel.⁸⁹ While this might be true for the figural parts of the scene, it does not take into account Holbein’s distinctive reinterpretation of the overall composition. One peculiarity of his designs is the way the framing architecture branches out freely into the surrounding clear glass (hexagonal panes at Eichstätt), so that the picture seems to be suspended in the window. This effect originally pertained to windows at Saints Ulrich and Afra as well as to a large portion of the Eichstätt stained glass, with certainty to the *Madonna of Mercy*, 1502, which today is fully robbed of its architectural framework.

The Eichstätt *Last Judgment* (fig. 22), a window completely executed in stained glass, and the monumental *Passion of Christ* in the choir of the parish church in Landsberg am Lech must be counted among the undisputed high points of Augsburg stained glass. The Landsberg *Passion of Christ* Window, dating

to the turn of the century, related to Holbein's paintings from c. 1495 and 1502—the *Gray Passion of Christ*, the Frankfurt Dominican altar, and the Kaisheim altar—and depicts in three huge superimposed scenes Christ Crowned with Thorns, the Flagellation of Christ, and the Bearing of the Cross. Its poor state of preservation and lack of careful detail are secondary to the overall magnificence of the window. Sensitively rendered individualized heads, evident in the Eichstätt Madonna of Mercy Window and in the donor section of the *Last Judgment*, were obviously inappropriate to the monumental scale of the Landsberg choir window.⁹⁰

With his Eichstätt *Last Judgment* from around 1505, Holbein designed a completely unframed composition resembling a panel painting bordered only by window tracery that approaches Dürer's design for a monumental stained-glass window depicting Saint George Fighting the Dragon, c. 1496, in Frankfurt. In the socle area, containing the donor's portrait and standing saints, the artist had his signature, *HOLBAIN*, painted into Saint Margaret's belt, which thus documents his responsibility for the design as a whole. The executing master, Augsburg panel and glass painter Gumpolt Giltlinger, signaled his contribution to the window with the initials *GLTR* on the same belt buckle. This gesture provides information about the division of labor governing the design and execution of monumental stained glass in Augsburg.⁹¹ In connection with other stained-glass painting in the style of Holbein, Giltlinger is documented as receiving a commission from the miners in Schwaz in 1506 and again in 1509, which suggests a continuing collaboration at least with Holbein the Elder as designer.⁹²

A few preserved later works are still clearly under Holbein's influence, although many designs already stem from his students. Becksmann has revealed the probable participation of the Holbein student Leonhard Beck for the glazing dated 1512 in Oberurbach, Swabia (fig. 23), which belongs to the Augsburg diocese.⁹³ The same Leonhard Beck may also be responsible for the designs for part of the high-choir windows in the Freiburg minster, in which the windows with saints closely follow Holbein's Eichstätt designs.⁹⁴ To date, no monumental stained glass has been connected with certainty to the great masters of Augsburg Renaissance painting, primarily Hans Burgkmair and Jörg Breu. Only one case of Burgkmair's activity as a designer for stained-glass commissions—the preparatory drawings for eight panels in the Council Chamber of the old Augsburg Town Hall from the year 1515—is documented.⁹⁵ These lost drawings, however, appear more likely to have been for cabinet panels similar to the three roundels from a Cycle of Virtues at Füssen Castle (cat. no. 77) rather

than for a monumental cycle.⁹⁶ Most extant circular panels from Augsburg—exclusively small secular stained-glass panels made up to around 1535—are generally associated with Jörg Breu as designer (cat. nos. 78–109). By comparing the lavish Renaissance ornamental vocabulary in Burgkmair's work or Jörg Breu's previously mentioned design for an epitaph in the Stockholm National Museum to the windows of the Habsburg memorial donations in the imperial chapels of 1526–28 in the Freiburg minster, however, one can easily understand why these imperial windows have traditionally been ascribed to an Augsburg designer.

Munich and Landshut

Despite fragmentary information regarding stained-glass production in Bavaria, particularly from Munich and later from Landshut, the decoration of the Munich Church of Our Lady from the last quarter of the fifteenth century reveals a quite astonishing continuity of the local workshop tradition.⁹⁷ Although, as in Nuremberg, Augsburg, and Freiburg, a “Strasbourg window” from the circle of workshops around Peter Hemmel von Andlau occupies the central position among the choir windows (see fig. 5), various prominent local artistic personalities can be defined prior to and contemporary with this extensive decorative cycle. The names of almost a dozen glaziers and glass painters are known for the period from 1470 to 1530. Tax books are the most important sources for such information, with the amount of taxes reflecting the economic status and productivity of the workshops.⁹⁸

Among the foremost and oldest in the city—first documented in 1431—was the workshop of Master Martin Karlsteiner (who worked until 1484), his son Franz, and his heir and successor, Hans Winhart, who carried on the business and held the office of city glazier until his death in 1537. Two more highly productive workshops, with the names of Hans Ölein and Hans Schmid, are also recorded. Friedrich Brunner entered the scene in 1496 and quickly formed a large enterprise with a correspondingly high tax burden. Frankl has attributed an extensive oeuvre—in particular single panels with saints and portraits of kneeling donors in the Gauting parish church—to Jakob Kistenfiger, a Munich stained-glass painter, documented from 1496 to 1532. An inscribed Madonna panel in the Cologne Schnütgen Museum reveals him to have been a somewhat mediocre talent.⁹⁹ No further references, however, could be found for the legendary Munich glass painter Egidius Trautenwolf.

The extent to which any of these Munich workshops cooperated with outside designers remains unclear, despite the wealth of evidence gathered by Suzanne Fischer. Master Jan Polack, who was resident



Figure 24. The Master of the Speculum Window. *Elias and the Widow of Zarepta*; *Christ Feeding the Multitudes*; *The Supper in the House of Simon*; *The Attempted Stoning of Christ* from the Speculum Window, 1480. Munich, Church of Our Lady.

Photo: Corpus Vitrearum Freiburg i. Br. (Montage A. Gössel).

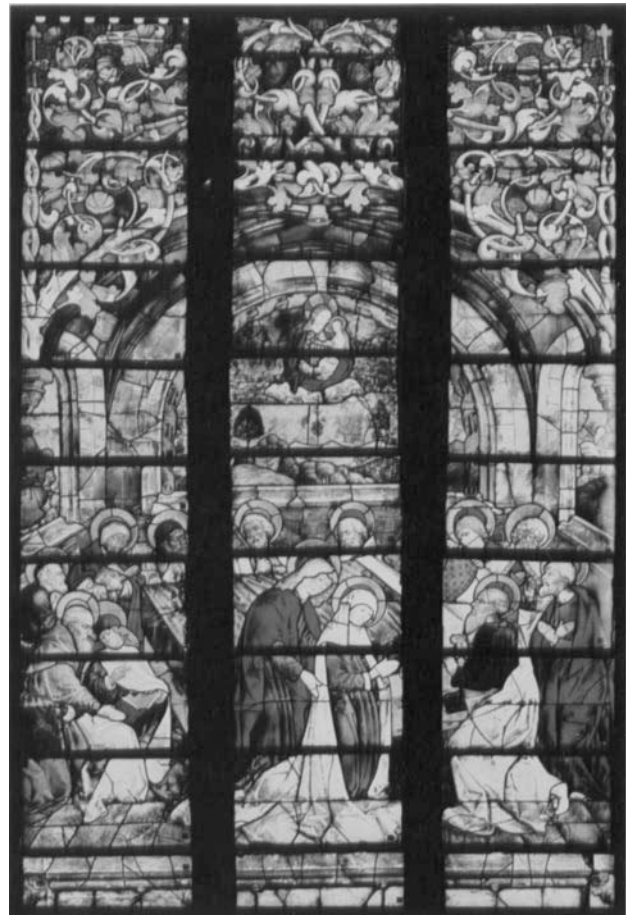


Figure 25. Designed by Jan Polack(?); executed by the Master of the Speculum Window. *The Death of the Virgin*, c. 1484. Landsberg am Lech, parish church.

Photo: Corpus Vitrearum Freiburg i. Br. (Archiv).

in Munich since the late 1470s, advanced to the office of city painter in 1488 and received payment in 1485 for stained glass, “vitricis ecclesie Sancti Martini,” made for the monastery church in Scheyern. In 1515, together with Hans Winhard, he was responsible for the stained-glass windows in the Town Hall Drinking Room, for which he made the design. Unfortunately, these projects did not survive. Nevertheless, Polack’s familial relation to his brother-in-law Franz, Master Martin’s son, and later collaboration with his workshop successor, Winhart, indicates that the city painter continued to design stained glass for this workshop.

By examining the extensive glazing of the Munich Church of Our Lady, which unfortunately is a haphazard pastiche incorporating older glass, one can nevertheless identify different workshop groups. The oldest of the large “new” windows, the Speculum Window, dated 1480, incorporates parts of an older Passion of Christ Window from the Church of Our Lady (fig. 24).¹⁰⁰ The reason for the window’s small-sectioned, additive composition is primarily thematic,



Figure 26. Workshop of Hans Winhart(?). Saint Christopher Window, c. 1510–15. Landsberg am Lech, parish church.

Photo: Peter van Treeck, Munich.

dictated by numerous scenes following a typological program and differs with its subtle technique and finely painted detail from the large-scale windows produced later. Shortly thereafter marvelous compositions depicting the Death of the Virgin and the Adoration of the Magi in the choir windows of the parish church in the Upper Bavarian town Landsberg am Lech came from the same workshop of the Speculum Master (fig. 25).¹⁰¹ This leap to the spacious pictorial compositions in Landsberg, which spread across twenty to thirty panels, seems so enormous as to be inexplicable without external influences. On the one hand, the imported Strasbourg window, with its expansive scenes, had come to Munich and must have had an impact on the local workshop of the Speculum Master. This is apparent in the branch-motif canopies above the Landsberg *Death of the Virgin*, which have their immediate model in the Scharfzandt Window in the Church of Our Lady (see fig. 5). On the other hand, the pronounced relationship between the Landsberg windows and Jan Polack's early works,



Figure 27. Workshop of Hans Wertinger, Landshut. *Lazarus Raised from the Dead*, c. 1510–15. 77 × 72 cm. Neuötting, parish church.

Photo: Corpus Vitrearum Freiburg i. Br. (R. Toussaint).

such as the Weihenstephan Altarpiece from 1484, with its pictorial space incorporating airy loggias in the foreground and deep landscape vistas, strongly suggests Polack's active participation in Munich stained glass.¹⁰² If one follows the attributions of Suzanne Fischer, then the Speculum Window in the Church of Our Lady would have been produced in Master Martin's workshop, probably by his son Franz, to whom the Landsberg windows can also be attributed.¹⁰³ If this was the case, then it must have been produced before 1484–85, before the death of father and son, as confirmed most emphatically by the comparison with Jan Polack's Weihenstephan Altarpiece.

From the cycle of subsequent monumental glass in the Church of Our Lady, stemming from around 1485 to 1490, most of which has been associated with the so-called younger duke's workshop,¹⁰⁴ we draw particular attention to the Legends Window, produced around 1490, which set the style for later productions.¹⁰⁵ The Legends Window, which once embellished the Saints Michael, Florian, and Sebastian

Chapel, eschews an ornamental background and limits the architectural framework to narrow canopies. Three overlapping scenes fill the largest portion of the window surface: *The Martyrdom of Saint Sebastian*, *The Invocation of Saint Florian*, and *The Appearance of the Archangel Michael on Mount Gargano*. Their sweeping landscapes are not naturalistic but rather resemble an assembled stage set. This turn to an almost autonomous picture that largely foregoes the traditional forms of architectural division is characteristic of Munich stained glass around 1500. Indeed, we find the same tendency in Dürer's possibly unrealized design for a Saint George window (cat. no. 9) and in Holbein's Last Judgment Window in Eichstätt (see fig. 22). Only in Munich, however, does a certain continuity exist, which, in addition to the Legends Window, occurs in *The Martyrdom of Saint Catherine* from around 1500. Moved to the Church of Our Lady in the nineteenth century, it escaped extensive destruction during World War II.¹⁰⁶ Finally, the oversized Saint Christopher Window in the parish church at Landsberg am Lech, produced around 1510–15 (by Hans Winhart's workshop?), exemplifies a late high point. The autonomous picture—despite the mullions and row divisions—fills the entire surface of the three-lancet window (fig. 26).¹⁰⁷ Here the landscape, with a pronounced low horizon, is reduced to two absolutely essential motifs: the river and the embankment. Instead of sky, an abstract colorless glazing of clear bull's-eye glass defines the background. This treatment is reminiscent of the suspended picture compositions in the Eichstätt mortuary and in the chancel chapels of the Freiburg minster, which were freely projected into bull's-eye glass surroundings. Nowhere else, however, was this principle realized as boldly as in the Landsberg *Saint Christopher*.

While the Munich school of stained glass had passed its zenith by this time, it continued to produce smaller commissions without innovative character. At this point the smaller artistic center of Landshut in Lower Bavaria came into prominence. The residence of the dukes of Bavaria-Landshut until 1503, and after the line died out the residential seat of a collateral line of the house of Bavaria-Munich from 1514 onward, Landshut offered all the prerequisites for a flourishing of the arts. In Hans Wertinger, the city had a resident artist who had advanced to court painter by 1498. At the same time, like most of his more famous contemporaries, he was active in diverse artistic fields.¹⁰⁸ At the beginning of his career Wertinger apparently worked in stained glass mostly from designs by a third party, indicating that his talents lay less in invention than in the solid, skilled craft of translating designs by others. Thus the first glass painting ascribed with certainty to Wertinger—the Bavarian coat of arms of

1511 for the Holy Ghost Church in Landshut—can be traced to designs made by his fellow painter and possible teacher, Sigmund Gleissmüller.¹⁰⁹ Earlier work from c. 1500 in Saint Jacob's in Straubing—the Legend of Saints Ulrich and Afra Window, Coppersmiths' Guild Window, and Shoemakers' Window—has been ascribed to him as the executing glass painter, while the invention in all cases points to Holbein the Elder.¹¹⁰

In the work in Saint Anne's Church at Neuötting, from the second decade of the sixteenth century (fig. 27), Wertinger's landscape, with its twisted branches and rocks grown over with moss and lichens, displays the influence of the Danube school.¹¹¹ In the Saint Christopher Window in Kriestorf, near Vilshofen, dated 1515, the figural composition points to an older drawing from 1510 by Albrecht Altdorfer, now in the Hamburg Kunsthalle.¹¹² This and other ideas from the Augsburg circle (Holbein and Burgkmair) or direct borrowings from the leading Landshut stone sculptors Stephan Rottaler and Hans Leinberger make it clear that Wertinger's temperament was essentially eclectic. Many partial stained-glass windows ascribed to him in the Bavarian region (in Straubing, Neuötting, Freising, Mining, Ingolstadt, and elsewhere) demonstrate an affinity in overall composition with the stone epitaphs of local sculptors.¹¹³ In his use of pictorial architecture and ornament, Wertinger vacillated between late Gothic tracery and the more contemporary Renaissance decoration that he had absorbed mainly through Burgkmair's graphic works. His last monumental work, the Annunciation Window in the high choir of the Ingolstadt parish church, jointly commissioned in 1527 by the Bavarian dukes William IV and Ludwig X, reveals in the archangel's dynamically ornamental swirling folds Wertinger's dependence on Leinberger's powerful prototypes. Leinberger's epitaphs (specifically the Rohrer epitaph) served as the basis for the window's composition and tectonic structure, formed by the donor zone in the socle surmounted by the principal scene.¹¹⁴ Veit Stoss's famous sculpture, *The Annunciation of the Rosary*, 1517–18, in the Nuremberg Saint Lawrence's Church, obviously served as the direct model for the main group, comprising the Annunciation within a floral wreath. This “greatest and most beautiful Bavarian glass painting of the Renaissance” (Frankl) confirms the eclectic character of the Landshut school at this time.

In a survey of monumental stained glass produced in Germany at the turning point between the late Gothic and the Renaissance, that produced in southern Germany stands out. Only the Rhineland with its predominant center, Cologne, flourished as a comparable center for monumental stained glass. What was made there, from 1480 to 1530 and later, directly

reflects the local production of opulent panel painting and indeed seems to have been made with the active participation of such panel painters as the Master of the Holy Family and the Master of Saint Severin and later of Barthel Bruyn and Anton Woensam. The frequently gigantic compositions reveal only a few points of contact with stained glass from southern Germany. Furthermore, Heinrich Oidtmann's unsurpassed review of the enormous production of Rhenish stained glass indicates a strong affinity to the Dutch school of painting, both in monumental glass and in the intimate format of cabinet panels.¹¹⁵

1. Recent overall presentations on monumental stained glass in the age of Dürer do not exist. Worth reading and unsurpassed in the volume of material illustrated and discussed is the overview by Schmitz 1913, for southern German stained glass after 1400, particularly, 1: 86–167. See also Wentzel 1954: 63–81; Becksmann 1995: 205–52.
2. Frankl 1956; Ulm 1995; esp. 13–41.
3. For the widely scattered single panels and smaller works, see Wentzel 1951, particularly the *œuvre* catalogue, 36–45; Frankl 1956; Ulm 1995; as well as the volumes published by the German and French Corpus Vitrearum Medii Aevi.
4. Compare Lilli Fischel, *Die Karlsruher Passion und ihr Meister* (Karlsruhe, 1952); and *Die Karlsruher Passion: Ein Hauptwerk Strassburger Malerei der Spätgotik*, exh. cat., with extensive bibliography (Karlsruhe, 1996).
5. Again Fischel, *Karlsruher Passion und ihr Meister*: 25–33; Françoise Gatouillat in Michel Hérold and Françoise Gatouillat, *Les vitraux de Lorraine et d'Alsace* (Paris, 1994): 152, 248–54.
6. Compare Paul Frankl, *Die Glasmalereien der Wilhelmerkirche in Strassburg* (Baden-Baden and Strasbourg, 1960); Gatouillat in Hérold and Gatouillat, *Vitraux de Lorraine et d'Alsace*: 214–21.
7. Compare Becksmann 1986: 257–316.
8. Compare Scholz 1994: 84–125, and Hartmut Scholz, "Die 'Strassburger Fenster' im Chor des Ulmer Münsters," in Ulm 1995: 64–90. For the Volckamer Window, see Frankl 1956: 100–104, where it is dated 1486.
9. See Ulm 1995: 13–26, with complete list of references.
10. Becksmann 1975: 23–63; Becksmann 1979: 153–89, pls. XV–XVIII, fig. 183–54.
11. See Wentzel 1951: 29–30.
12. Compare Robert Bruck, *Elsässische Glasmalerei vom Beginn des XII. bis zum Ende des XVII. Jahrhunderts* (Strasbourg, 1902): pls. 65–67; examples of the second use of designs and cartoons have been compiled by Michael Roth, in Ulm 1995: 28–30.
13. Compare Roth 1988; Roth 1992: 153–72; Roth, in Ulm 1995: 27–41, 160–230.
14. Roth 1992: 160–162; Roth, in Ulm 1995: no. 51; also compare Christiane Andersson, in Detroit, Ottawa, Coburg 1983: no. 33.
15. Roth 1992: figs. 4–5; Roth, in Ulm 1995: no. 52.
16. Compare Scholz, in Ulm 1995: 91–109.
17. Schmitz 1913, 1: 101.
18. Wentzel 1951; Scholz 1994: 84–110.
19. Hartmut Scholz, "Hans Wild und Hans Kamensetzer: Hypotheken der Ulmer und Strassburger Kunstgeschichte des Spätmittelalters," *Jahrbuch der Berliner Museen* 35 (1994): 93–140.
20. For the donor inscription preserved with missing sections naming Wilhelm Scharfzandt and the mutilated year ending with the number three, see Frankl 1956: 104–15, with the hypothetical dates 1488–93; likewise, Susanne Fischer, "Die Fenster der Münchner Frauenkirche," in *Monachium sacrum: Festschrift zur 500-Jahr-Feier der Metropolitankirche zu Unserer Lieben Frau in München* (Munich, 1994), 2: 418–20. Significant arguments favor an earlier date for the window, 1483 (Daniel Hess, "Die mittelalterlichen Glasmalereien in Hessen und Rheinhessen," forthcoming, in the context of the *Holy Family* in Saint Mary's Church in Hanau).
21. Anton Meyer, *Die Domkirche zu Unserer Lieben Frau in München* (Munich, 1868): 541.
22. The royal commission for Thaur has been handed down only in written sources (first printed in *Wiener Jahrbuch* 2 [1884]: XIV, nos. 653–54). On Lixheim's window in Metz, compare Paul Frankl, "Der Glasmaler Theobald von Lixheim," *Zeitschrift für Kunstwissenschaft* 11 (1957): 55–90; and Hérold in Hérold and Gatouillat, *Les vitraux de Lorraine et d'Alsace*: 93–98.
23. Michel Hérold, *Les vitraux de Saint-Nicolas-de-Port* (Paris, 1993); Hérold and Gatouillat, *Les vitraux de Lorraine et d'Alsace*; Michel Hérold, "Valentin Bousch: L'un des peintres sur verre qui se distinguèrent au seizième siècle," *Revue de l'art* 103 (1994): 53–67; see also Corpus Vitrearum Checklist 1 1985: 154–55.
24. I refer solely to the remains of a window donation made by Margrave Christoph von Baden around 1515 (today at Altshausen Castle), which Becksmann has connected with Strasbourg and designs by Hans Baldung Grien (Becksmann 1986: 14–15).
25. Daniel Parelo, "Die ersten Glasmalereien für den Hochchor des Freiburger Münsters," *Jahrbuch der Staatlichen Kunstsammlungen in Baden-Württemberg* 34 (1997): 6–31; also compare Becksmann 1995: no. 66, where both remaining panels of the Steinmeyer donation (today in Karlsruhe, Badisches Landesmuseum) are erroneously associated with the name Rumprecht von Graben.
26. Hermans 1953; Ingeborg Krummer-Schroth, *Glasmalereien aus dem Freiburger Münster* (Freiburg, 1967): 186–89. On the construction history of the Freiburg minster choir, see Jürgen Julier, *Studien zur spätgotischen Baukunst am Oberrhein* (Heidelberg, 1978): 75–88.
27. Simon Laschitzer, "Die Heiligen aus der Sipp-, Mag und Schwägerschaft des Kaisers Maximilian I.," *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des Allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses* 4 (1886): 70–287; and *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des Allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses* 5 (1887): 117–261; see also Scholz 1998: 385–419.
28. Geiges 1931–33: 230–36, with illustrations and copies of all inscriptions in question. (See Geiges 1931 in the list of references.)
29. Hermans 1953: 21–60, 68–71; Geiges 1931–33: 230–36. Recently Michel Hérold reconfirmed the purported Strasbourg roots of the Freiburg high-choir windows by comparing the Saint George figure in Saint-Nicolas-de-Port by the Strasbourg stained-glass painter Valentin Busch (active c. 1514–20) with Saint Charles the Great in the Freiburg imperial donation (Hérold, *Vitraux de Saint-Nicolas-de-Port*: 63).
30. Hermans 1953: 71–81; compare Scholz 1998: 392–93.
31. Fritz Geiges, "Das Sankt Annen-Fenster im jetzigen Alexanderchörlein," *Freiburger Münsterblätter* 4 (1908): 41–81; Becksmann 1995: no. 78.
32. Perseke 1941: particularly 95–139; Osten 1983: particularly no. 26a–k.
33. Geiges "Sankt Annen-Fenster": 62.
34. Geiges 1931–33: 230, ill.
35. Michaela Krieger, *Grisaille als Metapher: Zum Entstehen der Peinture en Camaieu im frühen 14. Jahrhundert* (Worms, 1995).
36. Osten 1983: no. 25b–c, e–f.
37. *Ibid.*: no. 40.
38. Balcke-Wodarg 1926–27: 164–82; compare Ingeborg Krummer-Schroth, "Die Scheibe des Freiburger Karrause," in *Kunstepochen der Stadt Freiburg*, catalogue of an exhibition held at Augustinermuseum, May 24–July 26, 1970 (Freiburg, 1970): 214–24.
39. Krummer-Schroth, *Glasmalereien aus dem Freiburger Münster*: 134–51, 190–96.
40. Perseke 1941: 126–31, figs. 36, 42–45.
41. Scholz 1998: 403–11.
42. Schmitz 1913, 1: 121, with reference to the Augsburg ornamentation in the manner of Burgkmaier; likewise, Hermans 1953: 149; Krummer-Schroth, *Glasmalereien aus dem Freiburger Münster*, 192; Becksmann 1995: 231, with definite attribution of the designs to Burgkmaier; Scholz 1998: 410.
43. *Hans Burgkmaier, 1473–1973: Das graphische Werk*, catalogue of an exhibition held at the Staatsgalerie, August 10–October 14, 1973 (Stuttgart, 1973): nos. 59–65, figs. 76–82; Claudia Baer, *Die italienischen Bau- und Ornamentformen in der Augsburger Kunst zu Beginn des 16. Jahrhunderts* (Berlin, 1993): 9–56, particularly 24ff.
44. Friedrich Dörnhöffer, "Ein Cyclus von Federzeichnungen mit Darstellungen von Kriegen und Jagden," *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des Allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses* 18 (1897): 1–55.
45. Campell Dodgson, "Jörg Breu the Elder, c. 1480–1537: Design for an Altar," *Old Master Drawings* 2, no. 7 (1927): 44–45; Ernst Buchner, "Der ältere Breu als Maler," in *Augsburger Kunst der Spätgotik und Renaissance* (Augsburg, 1928): 273–383, particularly 362–67; Baer, *Italienischen Bau- und Ornamentformen in der Augsburger Kunst zu Beginn des 16. Jahrhunderts*: 88–89.
46. Lyman 1982: nos. 137–39.
47. Whether he ever received the larger commission for "glaswerck und venster" (stained glass and windows) in Dôle (Franche-Comté), which he tried to procure in 1535 with the recommendation of the Freiburg Council, is not known (Hans Rott, *Quellen und Forschungen zur südwestdeutschen und schweizerischen Kunstgeschichte im 15. und 16. Jahrhundert* (Stuttgart, 1936): 123).
48. Hans Lehmann, "Zur Geschichte der oberrheinischen Glasmalerei im 16. Jahrhundert," *Zeitschrift für schweizerische Archäologie und Kunstgeschichte* 2 (1940): 30–52, particularly 43ff.; likewise, compare Heidelberg 1986, 1: 271ff., D24–27, 31–32.
49. Heidelberg 1986, 1: 260–62, D12–14.
50. Neudörfer 1547, 10: 147; compare Knappe 1973: 64–96.
51. Johannes Schinnerer, *Die kirchliche Glasmalerei zur Zeit der Spätgotik und Frührenaissance in Nürnberg* (Munich, 1908); Eva Ulrich, *Studien*

- zur *Nürnberger Glasmalerei des ausgehenden 15. Jahrhunderts* (Erlangen, 1979); Ursula Frenzel, "Die Haller-Fenster in Sankt Lorenz," in *500 Jahre Hallenchor Sankt Lorenz, 1477-1977* (Nuremberg, 1977): 109-38.
52. Today no doubt exists as to Hirsvogel's early move to Strasbourg; see evidence compiled by Scholz 1991: 271-78, 281-88, 296-98.
 53. Knappe 1961a.
 54. The early œuvre in question—compiled by Knappe 1961a: 27-66, and Scholz 1991: 23-61—reveals an artistic orientation to older printed graphics, Martin Schongauer's engravings or woodcut models from the workshop circle of the leading Nuremberg painter of the day, Michael Wolgemut.
 55. Knappe 1961a: 67-99.
 56. Consisting of three glued-together sheets, the Saint Peter cartoon (British Museum, London, inv. no. 1882-3-11-60) nearly matches in size (100.2 x 38.8 cm) the panel in the Bamberg Window. Concerning the controversial ascriptions of the cartoon to the Dürer circle in general, to Hans von Kulmbach, to Dürer himself, or to a glass painter in the Hirsvogel atelier, see here Barbara Butts (cat. no. 18); and Knappe 1961a: 81-94, particularly 90-91; Butts 1985: 281-89; Scholz 1991: 66-67; Rowlands 1993: no. 405.
 57. For atelier-specific compositional models, framing types, and ornamentation patterns, see Scholz 1991: 263-90.
 58. Winkler 1936-39, I: nos. 197-210; Strauss 1974, I: 472, and vol. VI, particularly nos. xw. 198-210; compare Beets 1927-28.
 59. Winkler 1936-39, I: nos. 213-14; Strauss 1974, VI: nos. VI, xw. 213-14, with a discussion of older attributions.
 60. For a detailed history of the donation of the cloister windows and second use of a portion of the panels after the Second Margrave's War, see Karl-Adolf Knappe, "Baldung und die Nürnberger Glasmalerei," in Oettinger and Knappe 1963: 56-68.
 61. Accurately recognized as a copy in Dodgeson and Parker 1928: no. 322. See also Rowlands 1993: no. 421, who, misled by the initials *hl*, the house brand of a donor, presented it as an original design by Hans Leu.
 62. Knappe 1961b: 60-80; compare Koch 1941: particularly nos. 1-12, 16-19, 21-22.
 63. Goldner 1988: no. 126.
 64. Karl-Adolf Knappe, "Das Löffelholz-Fenster in Sankt Lorenz in Nürnberg und Hans Baldung," *Zeitschrift für Kunstwissenschaft* 12 (1958): 163-78.
 65. Stadler 1936: 82; Knappe 1973: 74; Scholz 1991: 320-21, fig. 421.
 66. The attribution to the same Master HHH is first found in Buchner 1928b: 501. For illustrations of the circular panel sheets in Nuremberg and Budapest, see Winkler 1942: nos. 120-29, with an erroneous ascription to Kulmbach.
 67. The Nuremberg chronicler Johann Neudörfer (1547: 150) also reports that the sons of Veit Hirsvogel the Elder had been "not only industrious in glass painting but also in drawing and engraving."
 68. Winkler 1942: nos. 61-81, 94-141, 145-52; compare generally Butts 1985.
 69. Winkler 1942: no. 64; compare, in contrast, Stadler 1936: 81-82; Butts 1985: 301; and Scholz 1991: 109-12.
 70. Anzelewsky 1991: no. 118; the intricately carved figural frame of the *All Saints Altarpiece* is located in the Germanischen Nationalmuseum in Nuremberg. After the Landauer Foundation was closed in 1806 the windows came by a roundabout route to the Berlin Kunstgewerbemuseum, where they were destroyed by fire in 1945; compare the detailed assessment by Schmitz 1913, I: 140-45.
 71. Dodgeson 1930: 42-43; the cautious ascription to Kulmbach stems from Winkler 1959: 24, 27; see also Timothy Husband, in New York and Nuremberg 1986: no. 160. Butts 1985: 289-94, has definitely rejected Kulmbach's authorship and proposes Dürer himself as the draftsman. Panofsky 1943, II: no. 872; and Scholz 1991: 122-24, have advocated a member of the Hirsvogel atelier.
 72. Scholz 1995: 27-43, with a complete list of references.
 73. Bock 1909: 401-3; Winkler 1942: nos. 77-80.
 74. Rupprich 1956-69: I: 78.
 75. Frenzel 1961: 34; Hofmann 1905.
 76. Stadler 1936: 35-36; Winkler 1942: nos. 76-77.
 77. Winkler 1936-39, III: no. 551; Strauss 1974, III: 1614, nos. 1515-76.
 78. Gunther Thiem, "Die Glasmalerei: Ihre Entwürfe und Werkstätten," in Beutler and Thiem 1960: 144-235.
 79. On the Saint Mary Window in Augsburg Cathedral, see Paul Frankl, "A Window by Peter Hemmel," *Parnassus* 12 (1940): 11-15; Wentzel 1951: 36.
 80. Original manuscript in the bishop's library in Augsburg, no. 78; compare Thiem's review of window donations in "Glasmalerei": 148-49.
 81. Dirr 1909; Thiem, "Glasmalerei": 149-56.
 82. Dirr 1909: fig. after p. 42. Today the panels are distributed among four windows in the vestry.
 83. Thiem, "Glasmalerei": 153-55; compare *Hans Holbein der Ältere und die Kunst der Spätgotik*, catalogue of an exhibition held at Augsburg Rathaus, August 21-November 7, 1965 (Augsburg, 1965): nos. 7-10, 27.
 84. Illustrations of four panels in Dirr 1909.
 85. Compare Falk 1979, pt. 1: nos. 262-66.
 86. Compare Thiem, "Glasmalerei": 182-202; Frenzel 1968: 7-26.
 87. Falk 1979: no. 146.
 88. *Ibid.*: no. 241.
 89. Hanspeter Landolt, in *Hans Holbein der Ältere und die Kunst der Spätgotik*, no. 57. Complete illustration in Frankl, "Window by Peter Hemmel."
 90. *Die Kunstdenkmäler von Bayern: Landsberg am Lech* (Munich and Berlin, 1997): 94-98, fig. 98a-c; unhappily the different parts of the Landsberg Saint Mary Window (north III) from the workshop of the Munich Master of the Speculum Window are mistakenly connected to Holbein.
 91. Frenzel 1968: particularly n. 10.
 92. Thiem, "Glasmalerei": 170-75, 225-26.
 93. Becksmann 1986: 133-38.
 94. Scholz 1998: 393; compare Holbein's design for a window with the four standing Eichstätt saints in Basel, Kupferstichkabinett (Falk 1979: no. 241).
 95. Falk 1968: 80.
 96. Fischer 1912: 18-19. A panel depicting Saint Anne, the Madonna, and the Christ Child that was in its day classified as in "Hans Burgkmair's manner" relates to Bernhard Strigel's Holy Kinship Altarpiece in Nuremberg, Germanisches Nationalmuseum.
 97. Frankl 1912; Fischer 1997.
 98. Compare the following in Fischer 1997: 21-24.
 99. Paul Frankl, "Der Glasmaler Jakob Kistenfiger," *Münchner Jahrbuch der bildenden Kunst*, ser. 3, 7 (1956): 111-19. Objections to Frankl's œuvre catalogue are in Fischer 1997: 56, 63, 95.
 100. Frankl 1912, 173-92; Paul Frankl, *Der Meister des Speculum-Fensters von 1480 in der Münchner Frauenkirche* (Berlin, 1932); Heinz Merten, "Die Glasmalereien der Münchner Frauenkirche," *Deutsche Kunst und Denkmalspflege* 14 (1956): 117-21; Sabine Rehm, *Das "Speculum-Fenster" in der Münchner Frauenkirche* (Munich, 1992); Fischer 1997: 25-28, 39-41, 71-72.
 101. Thiem, "Glasmalerei": 216-21; Fischer 1997: 66-69; for illustrations, compare also Heide Weisshaar-Kiem, in *Kunstdenkmäler von Bayern: 100-104*, with an erroneous date of around 1500 or 1510 and incorrect attribution of the *Death of the Virgin* to Hans Holbein the Elder.
 102. Here primarily the plate showing the death of Saint Korbinian (Diocese Museum Freising); Alfred Stange, *Deutsche Malerei der Gotik*, vol. 10, *Salzburg, Bayern, und Tirol in der Zeit von 1400 bis 1500* (Munich, 1960): 81ff., fig. 126; Christian A. zu Salm and Gisela Goldberg, eds., *Alte Pinakothek Munich, Catalogue 11: Altdeutsche Malerei* (Munich, 1963): 171-73.
 103. Fischer 1997: 39-41, 68-69.
 104. Named after the window donation of Duke Albrecht IV in the choir of the Church of Our Lady (north window II); Frankl 1912: 226-27; Fischer 1997: 42-45, colorpls. IV, VI-XI. In view of the greatly differing technique of painting and types there arises strong doubt as to the common workshop identity throughout the core group consisting of the Duke's Window (north II), Martyr's Window (south V), Christ Crowned with Thorns Window (south VI), Legends Window (south III), and Massacre of the Innocents Window (south VIII), including the numerous connected works in the Upper Bavarian region.
 105. Fischer 1997: colorpls. VII-IX.
 106. The partial stained-glass windows in the Salvator Church dating to 1497 are today, with the exception of a few fragments, only to be seen in photographs (Fischer 1997: 81-83, colorpls. XIII, XVI, figs. 71-74, 77-88).
 107. *Kunstdenkmäler von Bayern: 105*; Fischer 1997: 48-49.
 108. Ehret 1976.
 109. Volker Liedke, "Hans Wertinger und Sigmund Gleissmüller: Zwei Hauptvertreter der Altlandshuter Malschule," *Ars Bavarica* 1 (1973): 50-83, particularly, 58-60, fig. 1.
 110. Thiem, "Glasmalerei": 203-9; Ehret 1976: 74-76.
 111. Schmitz 1913, I: 126-29.
 112. Ehret 1976: 109; Becksmann 1995: 224, figs. 191-92.
 113. Frankl 1912: 206-8; Editha Holm, "Die Glasgemälde der Pfarrkirche zur Schönen Unser Lieben Frau in Ingolstadt," *Sammelblatt des Historischen Vereins in Ingolstadt* 67 (1958): 13-33; Ehret 1976: 60-85; compare Georg Lill, *Hans Leinberger, der Bildschnitzer von Landshut* (Munich, 1942).
 114. Holm, "Glasgemälde der Pfarrkirche zur Schönen Unser Lieben Frau in Ingolstadt," 20-21; Gottfried Frenzel and Eva Ulrich, "Die Farbverglasung des Münsters zu Ingolstadt," in *Ingolstadt: Die Herzogstadt, die Universitätstadt, die Festung* (Ingolstadt, 1974), 392-93, figs. 9-10.
 115. Heinrich Oidtmann, *Die rheinischen Glasmalereien vom 12. bis zum 16. Jahrhundert* (Düsseldorf, 1929), vol. 2.

In Honor of Friendship:

Function, Meaning, and Iconography in Civic Stained-Glass Donations in Switzerland and Southern Germany

Barbara Giesicke and Mylène Ruoss

Toward the end of the fifteenth century a distinctive custom arose in Switzerland and southern Germany. In the Old Swiss cantons¹ and in Germany the emperor and the nobility as well as cities, civic groups, fraternities, monasteries, and convents gave each other and their subjects small-scale stained-glass paintings intended to be viewed from close range and containing heraldic panels (*Wappenscheiben*). These were integrated into small, independent pictorial compositions, and as a rule they bore the donor's name and arms and—unlike medieval sacred stained-glass painting—were made to decorate rooms that were not of monumental proportions. The era in which the main function of stained-glass painting was to fill houses of God with sublimely colored light and remind the faithful of the teachings of the church, the gospel, and the legends of the saints was coming to an end and, indeed, finally came to an end with the advent of the Reformation. With the beginning of the Renaissance, new secular contexts arose for stained-glass painting. Now windows with glowing colors ornamented and imparted an air of social dignity to the cool splendor of darkly paneled rooms in town halls and baronial houses. The inception and zenith of this custom in the sixteenth century consisted of the donation of a window and honorary arms. The donation was usually made at the request of the recipient to celebrate the construction or renovation of a public or private building. The donation included not only the colorful glass painting but also the glazing of the entire window around it with neutrally colored bull's-eye or diamond-shaped panes. The donation of a complete window installation represented a welcome financial subsidy for a building's owner, for secular glass windows were something new and therefore costly. The coat of arms in the upper part of the windows was the illustrious badge of honor whereby the donor identified himself and demonstrated his relationship with the recipient.

A blazon burned into glass was not a modern invention. Heraldry appears in European stained-glass painting, particularly in England and France, in great diversity from the thirteenth century. Because of its clear colors and shapes (originating with its initial purpose of providing easy recognition on the battlefield), heraldry is particularly suited to stained glass. Installed in private rooms at the owner's expense, the coat of arms functioned as the symbol of the lineage of the lord of the medieval castle and, as his personal identification, was a valuable asset. An attack on this highly prized insignia was considered a disgraceful humiliation, and in the sixteenth century the deliberate destruction of a heraldic window was still viewed as an insult to the donor and a challenge to his power and dominion. As an element of medieval church window decoration, the blazon signaled the donor's patronage of the costly glass installation. With the liberation of heraldic panels from monumental church windows and their incorporation as independent stained-glass panels in the civic domain, the meaning and function of the donation changed decisively. For the devout person of the Middle Ages, the donation of a window provided "visible signs of repentance for his sins and at the same time a contribution to the guarantee of his salvation" and was consequently made with a view toward death and the afterlife.² Renaissance donations, however, primarily address honor and favor, solidarity and friendship, prestige and power. They were thus oriented to the display of political and social status and to the appropriate self-portrayal of cantons, cities, public offices, guilds, societies, and individuals.

Small-scale stained-glass paintings represent a specialized field of art production in which Switzerland led the rest of Europe for two hundred years, from the early fifteenth to the late sixteenth century. The Swiss produced stained glass in massive quantities, and the popularity of the medium spread through

all social classes, eventually becoming a folk art. In Switzerland, as nowhere else, stained-glass painting developed as a national art that flourishes to this day.³ Much was produced in southern Germany as well, as in all Habsburg-ruled countries, especially in the Upper Rhine Valley and in Swabia. Accepted by the Reformation, stained-glass painting reached its zenith between 1530 and 1630, subsided greatly in the second half of the seventeenth century, and was almost forgotten subsequently. Not until the end of the nineteenth century was the art revived, under different historical circumstances. Only a fraction of the once huge production is preserved, with only a small part of that fraction still in its original location. Most stained-glass paintings have been destroyed, victims of vandalism, storms, politically related destruction, a loss of the consciousness of tradition, or changes in aesthetic approaches to architecture and space. Many were simply sold.

Interest in collecting these small-scale panels began at the end of the eighteenth century. Romantic yearnings for the Middle Ages led to the historically accurate decoration of Gothic and Gothic Revival castles, which included the installation of medieval and modern stained-glass paintings.⁴ In this way, large, principally royal collections were assembled, only one of which has completely survived: the collection of Prince Franz von Anhalt-Dessau in the “Gothic House” at Wörlitz in the German state of Sachsen-Anhalt. It arrived there around 1786 from Zurich, mainly thanks to the efforts of the Zurich pastor and philosopher Johann Caspar Lavater (1741–1801); the large-scale windows of Gothic House resemble, in their overwhelming scope, monumental church windows. The English, who were particularly avid collectors, brought home stained-glass paintings as souvenirs from Switzerland, one stop on their Grand Tours. They decorated their country houses with these new acquisitions. Soon large *bürgerliche* (bourgeois) collections were being formed in Germany and in Switzerland, many of which were dissolved and sold at the turn of the nineteenth century. As a result, newly founded museums profited greatly from this trend, especially in Switzerland, where in patriotic euphoria they seized the chance to buy back cultural treasures believed to have been lost. In this way, the large collections of the Schweizerisches Landesmuseum in Zurich, the Historisches Museum in Bern, and the Badisches Landesmuseum in Karlsruhe came into being. In the course of the twentieth century extensive holdings also found their way to the United States, where today not only numerous museums but also private estates house important collections. Collecting old stained-glass paintings was and continues to be considered a sign of taste and heightened cultural awareness.

A short historical overview reveals why the custom of giving windows and heraldic panels spread with such overwhelming enthusiasm, particularly in Switzerland. It begins with the emergence of the Swiss Confederation in the thirteenth century. Among the numerous noble families who were fighting over territorial holdings in present-day Switzerland, the Habsburgs were the most successful. As founder and consolidator of Habsburg dynastic power, Count Rudolf IV (1218–1291; after 1273 King Rudolf I) zealously and tenaciously pursued the expansion of familial holdings from Aargau and Alsace into the Upper Rhine region. Through purchase, liens, clever marital politics, extortion, and, of course, warfare, he struggled to acquire the Swiss middle lands, piece by piece. By age fifty he was the most powerful and feared nobleman in the territory today known as Switzerland. The Habsburg, Wildegge, and Brunegg Castles in Canton Aargau survive as reminders of the former presence of Rudolf and his family in this country. With the expansion of the Habsburg family holdings in the last twenty years of his life (Austria, Steiermark, Kärnten, and Krain), King Rudolf I, who was probably born in Kyburg Castle in today’s Canton Zurich, created the geographic foundation of a modern European superpower that under the name of the Habsburg dynasty ruled many of the most important countries on the Continent into the twentieth century. The formation of the Swiss Confederation might be seen essentially as a reaction to the historical power of the Habsburgs.

Resistance to the increasingly threatening stronghold of ecclesiastical and secular princes arose first among the free country folk in inner Switzerland, in the so-called *Waldstätten* (forest cantons): Uri, Schwyz, and Unterwalden. Their presence in the mountains, far from the focal points of political events, gave them a predisposition to independence. People here had always gone their own way, with the mountains furnishing them with a natural military defense comparable to the walls of a city. Their geographic location meant not only security but also constant confrontation with the harsh forces of nature. The battle against the power of the mountains turned these people into tough, brave fighters and taught them that in emergencies only unity could lead them to victory. This need for alliance was geographically strengthened by the fact that they shared the land along the coasts of Lake Lucerne. An important factor was the Gotthard Pass, which had opened around 1200. Trade with north Italian cities brought economic prosperity, organizational expertise, and contact with other peoples and countries, which led to political maturity and determination.

A strong, independent self-confidence developed

here that was less and less respected by the Habsburgs. King Rudolf I acted as both imperial leader and territorial lord, rendering null and void the former confederate policy of imperial independence.⁵ Through the purchase of numerous sites along the Gotthard route, the Habsburg hand slowly but surely closed in a choking grip around the seemingly powerless farmers on Lake Lucerne. In this time of greatest need—it is supposed—the people of Uri, Schwyz, and Unterwalden came together to form a first alliance that was confirmed in the *Bundesbrief* (federation letter) on August 1, 1291, the legendary founding day of Switzerland. This is the first preserved document of a common, independent policy of confederation, the first visible expression of the united confederate concept of liberty. Unlike other successful state formations in early modern Europe, the young confederation was a republic of free men and was not founded on the predominance of one family. This alliance, which by 1513 had grown to thirteen members (the “Thirteen Old Cantons” of Switzerland), constituted the foundation for the great anti-Habsburg uprising that began in the foothills of the Alps immediately after Rudolf’s death. It was the beginning of the Wars of Independence that lasted almost two centuries, a time during which the Swiss won not only their political independence but also their reputation as the best warriors on the Continent. Sought after and wooed by European princes, they fought on all European battlefields far into the nineteenth century. Brilliant victories over the armies of Charles the Bold of Burgundy (1476) and the Swabians (1499) as well as in the Italian campaigns (1512–13) gave the Swiss a sense of power and self-confidence, strengthened their love of freedom, and made them wealthy. Their combat readiness and military superiority, famous in Europe, opened the doors to the royal courts with which they soon cultivated active diplomatic relations. In this context there awakened in the leading political families of Switzerland a strong need for legitimacy and representation aimed at ceremonial etiquette and social recognition.⁶ What would have been more obvious than to adopt the imagery that had fulfilled this function for Europe’s aristocracy and chivalrous society for centuries, i.e., heraldry? Successful military leaders, church dignitaries, and influential politicians began buying patents of nobility and blazon ameliorations from the German emperor, the French king, and the pope. Later, ordinary citizens—such as craftsmen, innkeepers, and farmers—adopted their own coats of arms. These endeavors significantly stimulated the Swiss custom of giving windows and heraldic panels. Moreover, the heraldic presentation found an ideal medium in the colored panels of light-flooded glass.

“In honor of friendship,” as is stated in a docu-



Figure 1. Diebold Schilling. *The Meeting of the Eight Old Swiss Cantons in the City Hall at Stans, 1481*. Pen and watercolor drawing from the *Luzerner Bilderchronik*, 17 × 18.2 cm.

Photo: Korporations-Verwaltung der Stadt Luzern.

ment from 1547,⁷ and as a symbol of confederate solidarity and political independence, the old cantons of Switzerland gave each other stained-glass paintings containing their coats of arms for their newly constructed town halls. The paintings, therefore, are also called *Standesscheiben* (canton panels). As a sign of sovereignty, the canton arms personified the state. Since the late Middle Ages, carved wooden escutcheons had been mounted on public buildings (including bailiffs' or governors' offices, churches, towers, and gates as well as out-of-the-way inns) to document legal sovereignty in the Holy Roman Empire as well as in the Swiss Confederation. In this way, arriving strangers could immediately see whose territory they were treading on. Furthermore, the town hall became the political center of the newly formed city republics and the expression of an independent civic commonwealth. Among all the state buildings the town hall was the most distinguished, and special pains were taken for its decoration. It was "the home of the regiment," in which collective consciousness and action were reflected.⁸ Here the emissaries of the "Old Swiss Cantons" met, here guests of state were received, and here the canton panels shone resplendently in the windows. The lovely pen-and-watercolor drawing from the Lucerne Pictorial Chronicle by the Bern historiographer Diebold Schilling from 1513 (fig. 1) illustrates how the panels may have been installed. It depicts emissaries of the Eight Old Swiss Cantons (Zurich, Bern, Lucerne, Uri, Schwyz, Unterwalden, Zug, and Glarus) convening in the council chamber in the town hall in Stans, today in Canton Unterwalden. Surrounded by bull's-eye glass panes, the colorful stained-glass paintings in which the so-called triple arms of Zug, Uri, Schwyz, Glarus, Unterwalden, and Lucerne can be recognized are set into the top of triple-lancet, late Gothic stepped windows. Also at the top, the carved and painted wooden shields of Obwalden and Nidwalden lean toward each other; in this way, the meeting place is territorially identified.⁹

In 1501, the prominent Zurich stained-glass painter Lukas Zeiner (c. 1454–c. 1515) created a ten-piece canton panel series commissioned by the old cantons for the town hall in Baden. This is considered the first uniformly conceived series of glass panels made at the dawning civic-secular age.¹⁰ In addition, the compositional elements of the series constitute the formal foundation for the heraldic panel type that, apart from developments in period style, remained current in Switzerland and southern Germany for two centuries. Let us illustrate, using the Lucerne canton panel as an example (fig. 2). In the center of the painting is a coat of arms or triple arms flanked by one or two figures. As these individuals often hold shields, they are called shield-bearers. Depending on whether

the donor belongs to the sacred or secular sector, these shield-bearers took the form of saints or angels, knights or noblewomen, courtesans or female sutlers, and distinguished burghers and their wives; also bears, griffins, lions, and, as in the Lucerne panel, wild men. The figures and arms are placed in a symmetrically arranged, illusionistic architecture consisting of two framing columns or pillars. An arch or gable, with space in the spandrels for ornamental decoration and figures, connects the capitals or imposts. The background usually consists of glowing monochrome damask, which after the mid-sixteenth century was replaced by picturesque Swiss mountain, river, and lake scenes.

The wild man in the Lucerne panel is a mythical figure from the medieval imagination, depicted in art and literature far into the sixteenth century. Such figures are identified by their coat of hair covering the entire body except for face, neck, hands, and feet. They wear wreaths on their head and often around the hips as well. For weapons they carry a tree trunk torn out of the ground or a wooden club. Good-natured and peace-loving or demonically wild, the forest people were possessed of a dual character. They represented the possibility of a free, unregimented life; they also threatened civilization with the consequences attached to such an existence. The savage stood for longing and punishment, an inheritance from the penitent saints of the Christian church.¹¹ His popularity as shield-bearer was essentially based on the symbolism of his strength and drive for freedom. Thus he was considered a potent protector of the canton symbolized by the coat of arms and in this way demonstrated its ability to fight.

The most important component of a canton panel is the triple arms. In the Baden cycle this consists of the canton's arms and the imperial shield above it surmounted by the German imperial crown, vertically arranged. The arms are more frequently arranged in the form of a trefoil, as in the canton panels in the Basel town hall (fig. 3). Here two canton shields lean toward each other in heraldic courtesy and are surmounted by the imperial shield and crown. The imperial arms with the haloed double-headed eagle and crown symbolize the imperial independence attained by the confederation after its victory over the Habsburgs in the Battle near Sempach (1386), which had taken legal form in the Sempacher Brief (1393). By this treaty, the then Eight Old Swiss Cantons were placed directly under the king or emperor and received the right of self-administration. The triple arms with imperial insignias found on many municipal panel donations symbolize the city's status as a free imperial city. Although Austria had in the Peace Treaty of Basel (1499) recognized the confederation's independence from imperial ordinances, the depiction of the triple

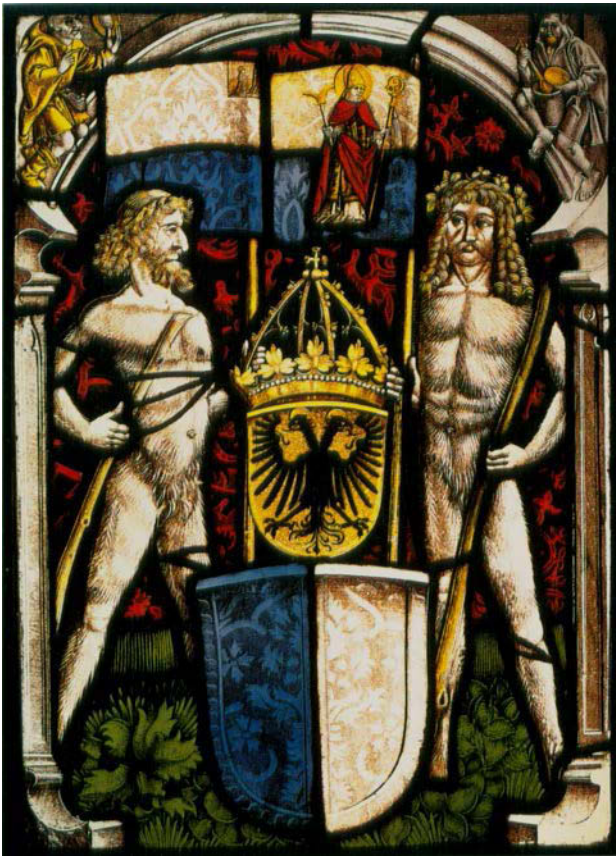


Figure 2. Lukas Zeiner. *Canton Panel of Lucerne*. Zurich, 1501. 47.7 × 34.1 cm. Schweizerisches Landesmuseum Zürich, inv. no. LM 23442.

Photo: Schweizerisches Landesmuseum, Zürich, neg. no. CO 0268.



Figure 3. Antoni Glaser. *Canton Panel of the City of Saint Gall*. Basel, 1520. 71.2 × 54 cm. Basel Town Hall, Great Council Hall.

Photo: Hans Hinz, Basel.

arms remained in use in stained-glass painting. Even after the Treaty of Westphalia (1648), when the secession of the confederation from the empire was legally sealed, the imperial eagle and crown defined the iconographic program of Swiss canton panels until the end of the seventeenth century. As a symbol of freedom and independence, the triple arms long remained an important component of the national iconographic tradition.¹²

Distinguishing features of the Baden panels are the pairs of shield-bearers, who carry banners in the colors of their canton and look like a festive parade marching past the eyes of the viewer. The primary function of the banners, or flags, was their military use in war to mark the position of troops. In addition, the standard-bearer communicated with the troops with the flag, signaling, for example, the length of the battle. In Switzerland the canton banners were venerable symbols of the battles for independence and were held in great respect and esteem. Because of their importance, the custom of dedicating flags and swearing allegiance to the flag developed in Switzerland. The close relationship of the troops to their flag was based on this oath, and the flag thus became a mili-



Figure 4. Hans Funk. *Canton Panel of Bern*. Bern, 1528; monogrammed. Lausanne Town Hall.

Photo: Claude Bornand, Gal. Benj. Constant, Lausanne.

tary symbol for loyalty and honor. Losing a banner in battle was tantamount to defeat, and capturing an enemy flag was tantamount to victory. The pope bestowed decorations in recognition of military services in the form of corner quarters, showing religious themes pertinent to a particular canton and which were sewn onto the upper-left corner of the flags. In the corner quarter of the right-hand banner on the Lucerne panel, for example, the Savior Jesus Christ kneels in prayer at the Mount of Olives (see fig. 2), a decoration awarded by Pope Sixtus IV in 1479. Lucerne's patron saint, the Bishop Saint Leodegar, appears on the left-hand banner with his attributes, the crozier and drill. Such an inclusion of a patron saint in a canton banner is unusual. As a protector in times of peace and war, the saint usually stands next to the donor's arms. This unusual iconography in the Baden cycle's particular iconographic arrangement may have resulted from the confederates' awareness—especially after their victory over the Swabians—of the decisive role played by divine aid. With this veneration of the saints, the Baden cycle takes on the dimension of salvation history.

While the cycle from the Baden Town Hall is today no longer in situ, one of the most important canton panel series has been almost completely preserved in its original site in the Basel Town Hall. The cycle is of invaluable significance for the cultural and artistic heritage of Switzerland, not only for its location but also as a testament to the Renaissance decorative style that emerged in German-speaking lands at the beginning of the sixteenth century. While the cycle itself was carried out in 1519–20, the commission was issued around 1517 by the Basel City Council to Antoni Glaser (before 1500–1551), who between 1510 and 1531 was the official stained-glass painter for the council. A contemporary of Urs Graf, Hans Holbein the Younger, and Niklaus Manuel Deutsch, Glaser, in his panels, shows numerous iconographic and stylistic debts to the graphic work of these artists. Especially manifest is an affinity to Urs Graf, which is not surprising, as the latter lived and worked in Basel from 1509 to 1527.

The panel donated by the city of Saint Gall, an "Allied District"¹³ of the confederation since 1454, is of special significance (fig. 3). This glass painting, considered the most perfect of the entire cycle, is the canonical example of an early Swiss canton panel, even though it no longer contains any colored glass but rather consists of colorless glass with grisaille and silver-stain painting. It must have fascinated nineteenth-century glass painters, for it was copied numerous times. Two soldiers dressed in fashionably slitted mercenary costumes in silk and damask (*Reisläufertracht*),¹⁴ imported from northern Italy, appear in an

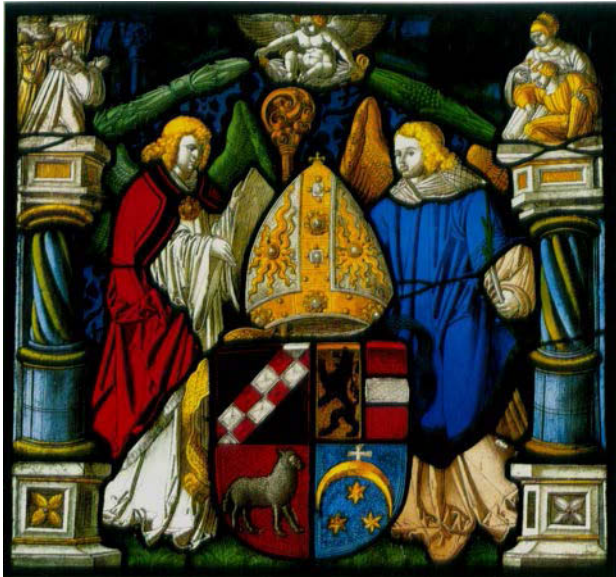


Figure 5. Conrad Wirz von Erlenbach. *Heraldic Panel of the Salem Cistercian Monastery*. Zurich, 1521. Monogrammed; 45 × 49 cm. Cloister Wettingen. West v 1.

Photo: Werner Nefflen, Ennetbaden.

open arcade decorated with side pillars, socle frieze, and segmented arch in imitation of the fenestration of late medieval rooms (see fig. 1). Standing in elegant foot-guard pose, they turn toward the triple arms of their city. Each has a pike displayed next to him. The left figure sports a youthful pageboy under a beret decorated with billowing ostrich feathers. He wears leather armor and a wide chain of honor, a symbol of military success and material wealth. On his hip strap hang a Swiss dagger and a so-called “one-and-a-half-handed” sword, the standard weaponry of a Swiss soldier in the sixteenth century. The figure to the right, undoubtedly older, has his hair cut short underneath his beret and wears an Italian sword with sheath, a Swiss dagger buckled to one side, and a brace on his left arm. In the arch frieze, Swiss mercenaries fight against German lansquenets,¹⁵ and in the upper spandrels imperial horsemen overrun two Swiss foot soldiers who are lying on their back, helplessly flailing their arms and legs. The lower frieze depicts a massacre in the last stages of battle. Visible through the arcade is a bizarre landscape with mountain range, gnarled dying tree, and castle. The Habsburg attributes of the castle (the domicile of nobility) and the lansquenets (the imperial war machine)—recognizable by their slouch hats and cut-off trouser legs—the horsemen as well as the arm shields as a part of their armor here refer to war booty. They are reminders of Saint Gall’s unflagging struggle for freedom during the fifteenth century, which had been repeatedly undermined by the prince-abbot of Saint Gall Monastery, a loyal Habsburg subject. The richly decorated clothing



Figure 6. Christoph Stimmer. *Heraldic Panel for the City of Mengen*. Konstanz(?), 1524. 32 × 22 cm. Pfullendorf Town Hall.

Photo: Foto Clemens, Pfullendorf.



Figure 7. Christoph Stimmer. *Heraldic Panel of Christoph Stimmer*. Konstanz(?), 1525. 32 × 22.5 cm. Pfullendorf Town Hall.

Photo: Foto Clemens, Pfullendorf.

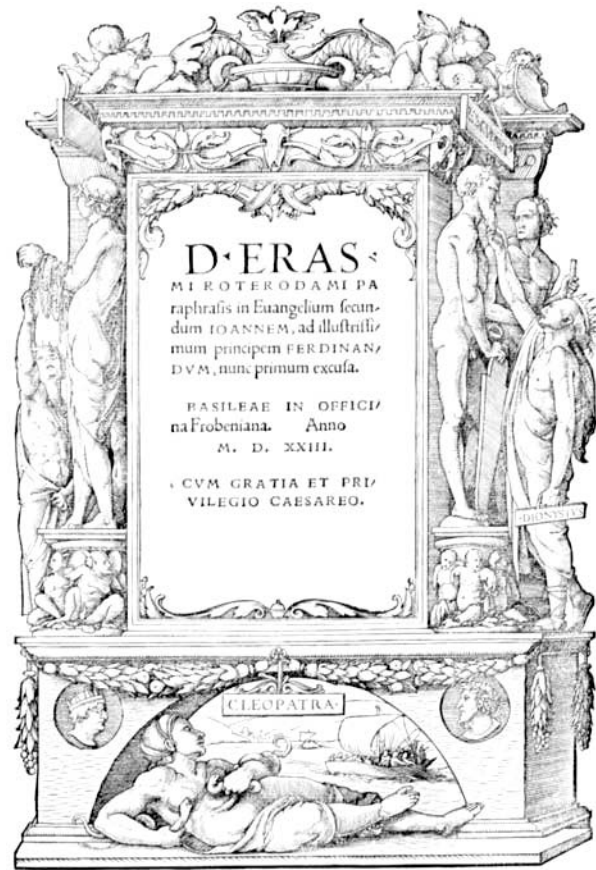


Figure 8. Hans Holbein the Younger. *Title Page Border with Dionysius and Cleopatra* for *Die Paraphrase des Johannes-Evangeliums von Erasmus von Rotterdam*; Johannes Froben, Basel, 1523. Woodcut, 22 × 15.5 cm. Basel University Library.

Photo: Universitäts-Bibliothek Basel.

of both warriors, together with the small, barely visible trunk, hidden in the greenery behind the canton arms, suggest that Saint Gall had also acquired wealth by participating in the Italian campaigns. This glass painting reflects the drama and cruelty of war, the pride of the Swiss in their combat readiness and wealth, and their love of ostentation and haughtiness. Despite their defeat near Marignano (1515), the military fame of the confederation remained undiminished. This gripping narration employing a visual language rich in symbols and gestures renders this glass painting a brilliant historical document.¹⁶

Another outstanding series of window and heraldic panel donations to public buildings is the small, six-part group from 1528 in the Lausanne town hall. It was executed by the glass painter Hans Funk (before 1470–1539), who came from Zurich and worked mainly in Bern (fig. 4).¹⁷ In the panel of the city of Bern two lions support triple arms in their paws. Together with soldiers and bears, lions were the most commonly used shield-bearers in Bern panels. Known for their strength and boldness as well as their violence

and ferocity, lions were considered potent protectors of the canton, symbolized by the triple arms. An example of donations across borders occurs in the Cistercian monastery of Wettingen, located near Zurich in Canton Aargau, which houses the most comprehensive such collection preserved at an original site (fig. 1, p. 2; cat. nos. 131, 141, 143). Among the donations by the confederate cantons and Swiss subsidiary monasteries, by burghers and noble families, by sacred and secular officials from the monastery surroundings and the city of Baden, there is also a donation from the subsidiary monastery in Salem (fig. 5), on Lake Constance, and one by the city of Breisach near Freiburg im Breisgau.¹⁸

Across the Rhine, cycles have been preserved in the town halls of Endingen (1528–29), Rheinfelden (1532–33), and Pfullendorf (1524–25).

The splendid series of thirteen heraldic panels in the council hall of the Swabian town Pfullendorf was a gift from Emperor Charles V and his brother Ferdinand I and from befriended imperial cities and monasteries to celebrate the newly built town hall in the year 1524.¹⁹ Just as in the Baden and Basel cycles, the panels in Pfullendorf are the work of a single glass painter; this was owing to the great importance attached to the artistic unity of the window decoration in public buildings. Characteristic of the series are asymmetrically arranged architectural elements, richly embellished with foliage ornamentation, grotesques, and puttos. Shield-bearers stand in a sweeping pose next to the donor's arms in front of a colored vine-scroll damask background. The asymmetry of the composition is strongly emphasized by the placement of the shield-bearers, who overlap the architecture on one side. Unlike the Swiss mercenaries in the Basel panel (see fig. 3), a German lansquenet in his typical war dress (with leather cap, "hacked-up clothes," cut-off trouser leg, and short and wide lansquenet sword at the hip) appears in the heraldic panel for the city of Mengen (fig. 6). His efforts to impress and his warlike bravado are in no way inferior to those of the Swiss adversaries.²⁰ In addition, the Pfullendorf cycle contains an entirely unique element. The glass painter Christoph Stimmer (d. 1562), father of the famous Schaffhausen draftsman Tobias Stimmer (1539–1584), made a personal monument to himself in the form of the panel he donated to the series and placed at its end (fig. 7). Standing in front of an illusionistic architectural setting, a naked female shield-bearer clad only in a feather hat presents the Stimmer family arms. With her knee-length, curling blond hair blowing in the wind, she is reminiscent of Fortuna. Her right hand

rests on the shield. Over her left hand is draped a white robe, which she has lifted as a favor to the viewer. At the bottom of the panel, inscribed in Latin interspersed with Greek, in a letter form known from the paintings and woodcuts of Hans Holbein the Younger, the glass painter immortalized himself, proudly yet modestly, with the salutation: "I, Christoph Stimmer, have painted these pictures and coats of arms of my own accord, even if they are more than a far cry from the art of one Parrhasius and Apelles. Farewell, readers! In the year of our Lord 1525."²¹ In this statement Stimmer not only identifies himself as the glass painter of the panel series but also as an educated man of his time. In admitting that he cannot paint as well as the greatest painters of Greek antiquity, he asks the viewer not to measure his glass paintings by the work of the ancients. Yet at the same time he does compare himself with these great role models, if self-deprecatingly. In so doing, Stimmer portrays himself chiefly as a painter and a descendant of famous ancient precursors (particularly Apelles), veneration for whom had reached its high point in the 1520s. This comparison with ancient painters is closely connected with the glass painter's striving for fame, status, and immortality.²²

In this context, one should point out that the lateral scenes in the architecture of the heraldic panel



Figure 9. Ropstein workshop(?). *Heraldic Panel of Alexius von Pfirt*. Freiburg, 1529. 46.5 × 37.5 cm. Endingen Town Hall.

Photo: Corpus Vitrearum Deutschland, Freiburg i. Br., Akademie der Wissenschaft und der Literatur Mainz.



Figure 10. Ropstein workshop(?). *Heraldic Panel of Emperor Charles v.* Freiburg, 1533. 63.5 × 55.5 cm. Rheinfelden Town Hall.

Photo: Corpus Vitrearum Deutschland, Freiburg i. Br., Akademie der Wissenschaft und der Literatur Mainz.



Figure 11. Hans Holbein the Younger. *Design for a Stained-Glass Panel with the Arms of the Lachner Family.* Basel, c. 1520–30. Stockholm, Nationalmuseum (inv. no. 48).

Photo: Nationalmuseum Stockholm.

for the city of Mengen (see fig. 6) are based upon the border on the title page to the *Paraphrase of John* by Erasmus of Rotterdam. The woodcut was designed by Hans Holbein the Younger and had been published in Basel in 1523 (fig. 8).²³ It depicts the tyrant Dionysius of Syracuse: on the right as he is about to rob Asclepius and Apollo of their natural “jewels” (golden beard and golden hair) and on the left as he steals the gold chains and rings from a god’s statue. Both acts allude to the corrupt ruler’s constant requisitions to finance his regime. Several ancient authors accused him of the blasphemous theft of temple treasures, the golden locks of an Apollo statue or Asclepius’s golden beard, for example. Cleopatra’s suicide is depicted at the bottom of the page. In the woodcut she is reclining; in the glass painting she is standing upright, almost covered by the right arm of the lansquenet and thus only identifiable by the snake placed in the left portion of the architecture. The Egyptian queen was then considered to have had an unquenchable thirst for power. These scenes, therefore, symbolize the negligent ruler, who, to reach his or her ambitious goals, will not spare the sacred and does not consider the welfare of the people. Such themes in town council chambers served to remind officials to

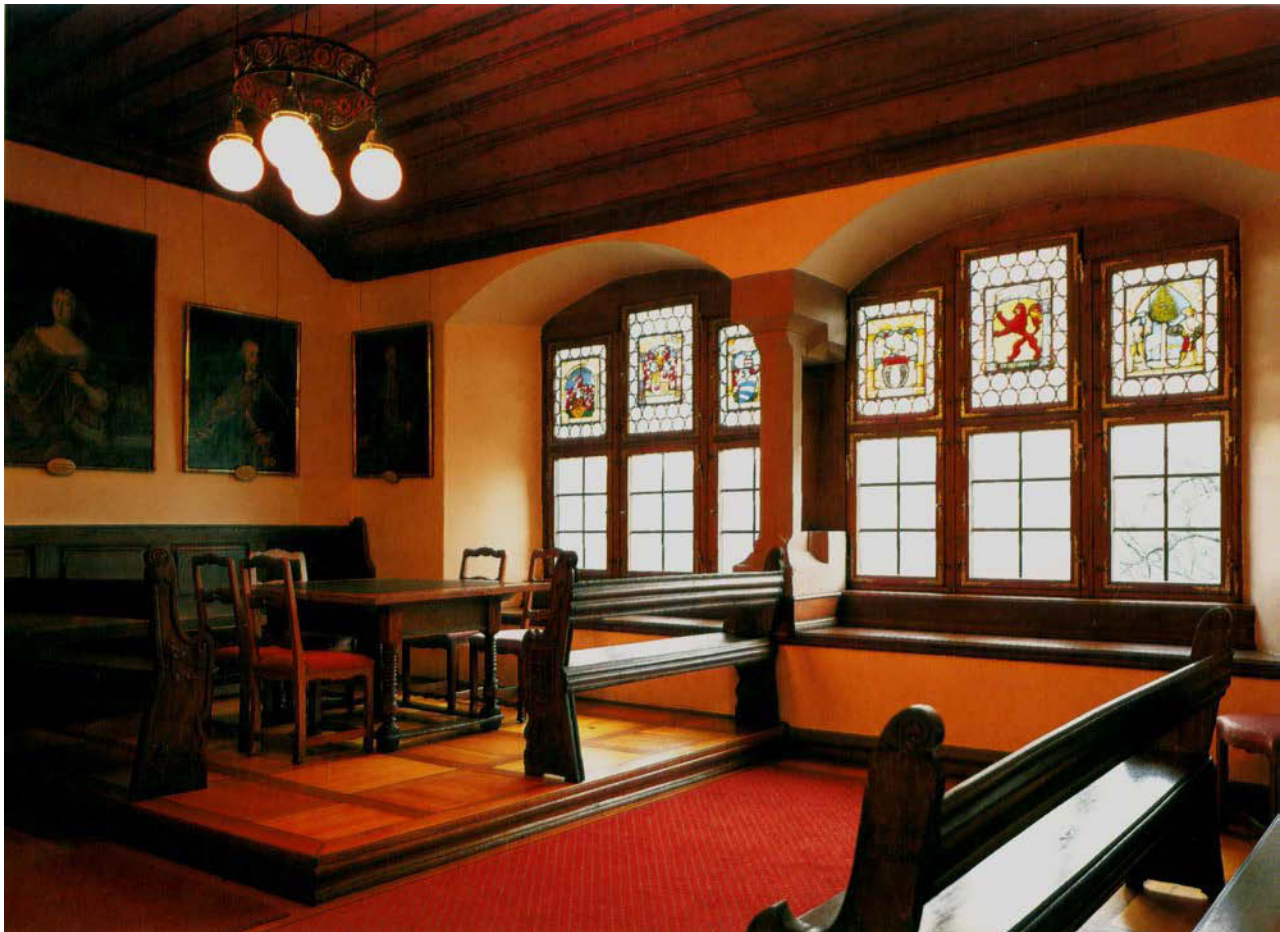


Figure 12. Civic hall in Rheinfelden Town Hall.

Photo: Corpus Vitrearum Deutschland, Freiburg i. Br., Akademie der Wissenschaft und der Literatur Mainz.

safeguard the public interest with just laws and to fulfill their duties in a selfless and incorruptible manner. Thus the rediscovery of ancient history, mythology, and poetry was reflected in the graphic art and glass painting of the sixteenth and early seventeenth century.

To celebrate the town hall renovation in Endingen am Kaiserstuhl in 1527, the emperor and the noble families of the Breisgau region showed their respect in the form of a glass-panel cycle. It is considered a product of the Freiburg stained-glass painting workshop of Hans Gitschmann von Ropstein.²⁴ As a political, religious, and intellectual center of the Austrian lands on the right side of the Rhine, the cathedral and university town of Freiburg im Breisgau offered refuge for the Basel cathedral chapter and many followers of Catholicism after the advent of the Reformation. Because of these historical circumstances as well as the city's proximity to Basel, a center for the arts and printing, the distribution throughout southern Germany of the graphic work of Hans Holbein the Younger was particularly widespread.

The heraldic panel of Count Alexius von Pfirt, whose family had its home in the Upper Alsace and who served the Habsburgs, is a characteristic example of panel donations from the Renaissance nobility (fig. 9).²⁵ The donor's blazon, an upright and crowned silver lion on a black ground, is seen through an arcaded window with tastefully ornamented columns and segmental arch. At the top the barred helm supporting a crown signals the noble lineage out of which an armless crowned man emerges. The mantlings billow in wild profusion between crown and helmet, almost displacing the female shield-bearer on the right. Unlike the naked beauty in the Stimmer panel in Pfullendorf (see fig. 7), who self-confidently displays her body and looks the viewer straight in the eye, the elegantly clad lady in the Pfirt panel shyly bows her head and lowers her eyes. Depicted in the spandrels of the segmental arch is the triumphal procession of an ancient ruler, who sits in a magnificent horse-drawn wagon. The elephants walking ahead and the donor's first name suggest an association with Alexander the

Great, who used pachyderms in his war against the Persians. As we know today, the commissioner of a panel often actively participated in its design, so we can assume that Count Alexius personally requested the depiction of the famous hero of antiquity. His admiration and veneration of Alexander the Great seem to have led the count to elect the hero as his name patron; this choice was also probably affected by his disinclination to be identified with the excessively sad and humiliating story of his holy namesake Saint Alexius of Edessa, who supposedly lived unrecognized for seventeen years underneath the stairs of his parental home, doused with slop by the servants, long-suffering and full of patience.

A part of the Swiss canton Aargau since 1803, Rheinfelden previously belonged to Austria. After the town hall burned down in 1530, a larger building was erected a year later. On this occasion the sovereigns Charles V as Holy Roman Emperor and his brother Ferdinand I as king of the Habsburg patrimonial dominions gave heraldic panels, as did their government officials in their functions as governors, bailiffs, and chairmen of the parish councils as well as the four Austrian *Waldstätte* (forest towns): Rheinfelden, Laufenburg, Säkingen, and Waldshut. Like the Endigen panels, this cycle reflects the particularly strong influences of the graphic work of Hans Holbein the Younger. It is also ascribed to the Freiburg workshop of Ropstein.²⁶ The heraldic panel of Emperor Charles V (fig. 10) closely relates to the design for the panel of the Lachner family in Basel (fig. 11), ascribed to Hans Holbein, which Hans Lehmann discussed in 1940.²⁷ The imperial arms, with an additional small escutcheon in the center, crested by the imperial crown and surrounded by the chain of the Order of the Golden Fleece, is placed in front of the same columned hall as the arms and shield-bearer in the drawing.²⁸ Although the resulting glass painting appears somewhat flat—an impression created primarily by the presentation of the imperial arms and by sporadic paint abrasion—the use of delicate, translucent monochrome glass across large areas lends the work a stately radiance.

Finally, it is instructive to consider the room itself. While in the course of restorations the panel series in Basel, Pfullendorf, and Endingen have been removed from the upper sections of the stepped windows and placed in a lower line at the viewer's level, the fourteen panels in the Civic Hall in the Rheinfelden Town Hall have remained in their original architectural context (fig. 12). Today, as in earlier times, government affairs are carried out in the historical rooms of town halls, and high guests of state and prominent public personalities are received here. Today the function of the rooms has been expanded,

as in Rheinfelden, to include civil wedding ceremonies. Time and again the radiant panels in the windows lend events an illustrious, festive ambiance. Although stained-glass paintings have lost some of their earlier significance, they remain today, particularly in Switzerland, a permanent part of a pronounced national and civic consciousness.

1. The German terms *Ort* and *Stand* denoted individual, fully authorized members of the old Swiss state confederation. After 1798 the term *Kanton* (canton) was used.
2. Becksmann 1975: 65.
3. The Swiss Center for Research and Information on Stained Glass and the Swiss Stained-Glass Museum in Romont are devoted to art-historical research on stained-glass painting and to the promotion of modern stained glass.
4. For the collecting of historical glass painting in the nineteenth century, see Daniel Hess, "Modespiel' der Neugotik oder Denkmal der Vergangenheit? Die Glasmalereisammlung in Erbach und ihr Kontext," *Zeitschrift für Kunstwissenschaft* 49–50 (1995–96): 227–48.
5. In 1231 the free men of Uri received a *Freiheitsbrief* (letter of liberty) from Emperor Friedrich II and thus attained "imperial independence." This put them directly under the emperor and granted them the right of self-administration. In a letter of liberty from 1240, the emperor thanked Canton Schwyz for its military support in Italy.
6. Anderes and Hoegger 1988: 26.
7. Quoted from Hermann Meyer, *Die schweizerische Sitte der Fenster- und Wappenschenkung vom xv. bis xvii. Jahrhundert* (Frauenfeld, 1884): 17 n. 2. This publication is still considered the most comprehensive study of this custom.
8. Thomas Fröschl, "Rathäuser und Regierungspaläste: Die Architektur als Hauptinstrument republikanischer Selbstdarstellung in Europa und Nordamerika vom 16. zum 20. Jahrhundert," in *Zeichen der Freiheit: Das Bild der Republik in der Kunst des 16. bis 20. Jahrhunderts*, catalogue of an exhibition held at the Bernisches Historisches Museum, the Kunstmuseum Bern, June 1–September 15, 1991 (Bern, 1991): 12.
9. The two differing canton arms relate to a geographic division of the country in the mid-fourteenth century. Not until the turn of the seventeenth century was a coat of arms created combining both insignia.
10. For a definitive treatise, see Schneider 1954; most recently Peter Hoegger, *Die Kunstdenkmäler des Kantons Aargau*, vol. 6, *Der Bezirk Baden* (Basel, 1976): 225–29.
11. New York 1980: 17, with older bibliographic references.
12. For national pictorial themes in Swiss art, see Hans-Christoph von Tavel, *Ars Helvetica: Die visuelle Kunst der Schweiz*, vol. 19 (Disentis, 1992); for the Baden cycle, see vol. 10, *Nationale Bildthemen*: 88–100, 91–96, colorpls.
13. This term ("Allied District") applies to cities located in Habsburg territory and with which the Swiss Confederation had entered into a military and trade alliance.
14. Swiss mercenaries paid for foreign military service were called *Reisläufer*. The word *Reise* (trip) had a purely military connotation and meant a military campaign. Since the Battle of "St. Jakob an der Birs" (1444) the French were aware of the bravery of Swiss warriors. In 1470 Louis XI established an alliance with them, and in 1494 they accompanied Charles VIII on his campaign to Italy. After the battle near Marignano (1515), in 1521 Francis I signed an "eternal alliance," which bound the Swiss to the French crown.
15. Concerning the differences between Swiss mercenaries and German lansquenets, compare Bächtiger 1971–72: 205–70.
16. Concerning the motif and stylistic references to the œuvre of Urs Graf and Niklaus Manuel Deutsch, see Giesicke 1994: 130–33.
17. Marcel Grandjean, *Les monuments d'art et d'histoire du canton de Vaud*, vol. 1, *La ville de Lausanne* (Basel, 1965): 413–15, with bibliographic references.
18. Concerning the donations between 1517 and 1530, see Anderes and Hoegger 1988: 86–102, 140–59, colorpls.
19. In 1986, three panels were displayed in Heidelberg Castle; see Heidelberg 1986: nos. D20–22, 267–69, with older bibliographic references.
20. The sudden appearance of warlike bravado among German lansquenets is, according to Bächtiger 1975: 240, closely related to their first victory over the confederation in the Battle of Bicocca (1522).
21. We are grateful to Dr. Ueli Dill, Basel, for the translation revision. Compare Hans Rott, "Ein Gang durch das reichsstädtische Pfullendorf," *Badische Heimat* 21 (1934): 318; Dietrich Rentsch quotes Rott in the Heidelberg exhibition catalogue (see Heidelberg 1986: 269).
22. For a comparison with Apelles in Albrecht Dürer's work, see Daniel

- Hess, "Dürers Selbstbildnis von 1500: 'Alter Deus' oder Neuer Apelles?" *Mitteilungen des Vereins für Geschichte der Stadt Nürnberg* 77 (1990): 80–83. For the significance of Apelles in the age of Hans Holbein the Younger, see Oskar Bätschmann and Pascal Griener, "Holbein-Apelles, Wettbewerb und Definition des Künstlers," in *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 57 (1994): 626–50, as well as Bätschmann and Griener 1997: 19–22 (the fame of Apelles), 22–35 (signatures and inscriptions).
23. The following is founded on the comments by Frank Hieronymus, *Oberrheinische Buchillustration, 1500–1545*, catalogue of an exhibition held at the Universitätsbibliothek Basel, March 31–June 30, 1984 (Basel, 1984), nos. 418, 452–55; p. 604, ill.
 24. Karl Kurrus, "Die Wappenscheiben im Rathaus zu Endingen," in *Schauinsland*, 87 (1969): 5–25, with illustrations.
 25. See Heidelberg 1986: 275, no. D27.
 26. Hans Lehmann, "Zur Geschichte der oberrheinischen Glasmalerei im 16. Jahrhundert," *Zeitschrift für schweizerische Archäologie und Kunstgeschichte* 2 (1940): 30–39, pls. 13–18, describes the glass paintings in Rheinfelden in detail and relates them to the graphic work of Hans Holbein the Younger.
 27. *Ibid.*, 39, no. 14, with illustrations. About the drawing, see Bjurström 1972: no. 48, with comprehensive bibliographic references.
 28. The same architecture appears in two other stained-glass paintings depicting the Zurich patron saints Felix and Regula from the year 1557. Both are located in the cloisters of the Muri monastery. This demonstrates that designs were often re-used for decades (see Bernhard Anderes *Glasmalerei im Kreuzgang Muri* [Bern, 1974], 126–29, with colorpls.).



On the Artistic Technique of Glass Painting in the Age of Dürer and Holbein and Its Conservation Problems

Peter van Treeck

Glass paintings have two surfaces that work together, paintings only one. The technical and optical requirements of painting on glass differ from painting on plaster, canvas, or wood. The only comparable feature shared by both techniques is the opaque, linear contour. Every other painted detail on glass, whether color or tonal value, achieves its intended effect through melting and becomes a filter of light. Effective only in transmitted light, the hues of glass painting do not materialize as they do with reflected light through spectral values of body colors. Rather, hues appear by the selective absorption or diffusion of specific wavelengths of light. Visible colors or tonal values consist of transmitted complementary wavelengths of absorbed light. Chromatic values are produced by ions of specific metals dissolved in glass and vitreous paint, often in concentrations lower than 1 percent.¹ Bright values appear only through intense transmitted light. Dark zones and colors require a reduction of light, achieved by applying a vitrifiable medium densely mixed with substances that provide coloring and opacity.

Technical Development in the Late Fifteenth Century

From about 1430 glass painters adopted stylistic methods from oil paintings and the graphic arts and achieved a high level of creative and technical excellence, which prohibits the assessment of the panels as mere craftlike renderings of designs, in the form of drawings.² In the fifteenth century the stained-glass window became a picture. The glass became the pictorial support, comparable to wood or canvas in painting, and thus lost the meaning it had in the Middle Ages as a radiant two-dimensional extension.³ In their use of colors, glass artists abandoned the rules that had governed the medieval window; they now used color naturalistically. Pictorial backgrounds are opened “to the outside.” Light, usually falling from the upper left,

originates from an imaginary light source. Further, corporeal modeling and shadows are introduced.

For panels composed of different pieces of colored glass, the lead design still primarily aimed at color composition and color division, but with the greater emphasis on glass *painting*, the functions of glass and leading shifted slightly. In the late fifteenth century leading was largely limited to a connecting role, while the glass pieces assumed a greater static role. As larger surfaces for painting, glass pieces were more strongly interlocked with one another formally.

The reduced number of glass cuts led increasingly to the transfer to glass of complicated linear configurations. These linear configurations, however, were limited by technical practicality and graphic details. In other words, artists sometimes drew forms in stained-glass designs that glaziers could not execute, thus requiring the artist to take into account from the beginning a certain change in representation.⁴ Although the diamond glasscutter had long been known, glass cuts were grozed (the edges slowly nibbled away) until after the sixteenth century. The exact cut was not yet common practice. Along with grozing, however, one occasionally finds traces of diamond scratches, so that it must be presumed that the diamond took over the role of the dividing iron, which, with its heated tip, had been used to crack the glass.⁵

The type of glass used from the Middle Ages until the mid-nineteenth century is described in German as *Hüttenglas* (literally, “hut glass,” or glass made in a hut). It is a flat glass smelted in a pot furnace, colored with metal oxides, and blown with a blowpipe. At this time no alternatives existed.⁶ The term *Hüttenglas*, however, does not describe the characteristic features of the glass structure. From the late fifteenth century glass changed in several respects. It changed on the basis of a different mixture of raw material, by degrees

from potash to calcium-sodium glass (more lime and soda instead of wood ash or potassium). In addition, the smelting process improved with the development of furnaces and the raising of the melting temperature, from around eleven hundred to more than thirteen hundred degrees centigrade.⁷ As a result of these changes, the glass was now more homogenous, pure, transparent, and, as a rule, more uniform, with less texture and often thinner than the older glass. Because of a higher lime content and improved refining processes (through the admixture of arsenic, along with already familiar agents like antimony and manganese), from the fifteenth century truly colorless panels, without the earlier greenish tones, which derived for the most part from traces of iron in the raw materials, are found among the light panels. In cabinet panels in particular, glass with little texture was specifically chosen. A high quantity of air bubbles is rare, as encountered, for instance, in the circular panels in Cottbus, c. 1511 (cat. nos. 36–39). In monumental creations as well smoother glass was preferred.

For stained-glass paintings there was always a standard technique; ground color is achieved through transparent colored-glass pieces, modeling and muting values through semitranslucent matts (washes smoothed to a muted, even finish with a wide, soft brush called a badger), drawing through opaque contours, and, since the thirteenth century, through semi-opaque washes. Around 1300 transparent silver stain was introduced. Yet these standard steps developed further. In the fourteenth century “etching” emerged, in the form of a striated scratching of the matts using bristle brushes or other instruments. Artists also increasingly employed stippling, in which the matt was removed with a bristle brush in a dotlike manner in order to lighten it. Strasbourg glass painters working around Peter Hemmel introduced new brilliant graphic elements.⁸ His painting technique must have caused a sensation around 1475. As usual, the glass painter painted the colored glasses cut by the glazier with the semitranslucent, warm, or cool-toned, slightly streaky matt. The colored glasses provide the predominant colors and basic organization of every panel. On top of that he now laid down, in addition to a contour drawing and etched or stippled “lights,” an accentuated graphic modeling of multiple layers of washes and hatching. In this way he achieved great plasticity through chiaroscuro values. Despite this change in painting style, stained-glass panels from the Strasbourg workshop-cooperative and others have a character that is still typically late Gothic.

Since the Middle Ages the predominant painting practice was to begin with a glaze and to end with an opaque contour.⁹ The opposite procedure is easier technically and has been the rule since the late nine-

teenth century. The rationale for the old way was twofold, artistic and technical. Although the process appears more complicated, it in fact required only one firing. In terms of painting technique, it is easier to introduce hatching on top of a glaze without an intermediate firing than the reverse. In short, the application of the contours as the final step allowed a more spontaneous working of the surfaces.

Techniques in the Age of Dürer and Holbein

Glass painting techniques and materials, from about 1490 to 1520, are not fundamentally different than those of an earlier date. The familiar means, however, were interpreted in new and very individual ways, with different accents in individual regions. The small-format cabinet panel, conceived to be viewed from close up, stimulated specific artistic and painterly possibilities, while the monumental creations mostly continued with traditional techniques. Two distinct means of creation were thus developed.

Two processes can be distinguished in the application of matts or glazes, here called “foundations.” First, a soft brush (a badger blender) was used to badger or blend watery black or brown vitreous matting paint, customary in monumental church windows. This procedure was also used for cabinet panels. From about 1510, however, a more advanced technique dominates cabinet panels: wet stippling, a refining of the wet, matted surface through stippling with a large, soft brush (again a badger blender) or with a fine sponge or cloth (in contrast to stippling executed on a dried matt).¹⁰ With this process the matt can be applied very evenly and finely, and the matt is more stable, robust, and resistant to smudging than a badgered matt, allowing it to be painted on more softly.

Working drawings cannot render transitions in modeling from bright to dark as impressively as can light on glass. By etching with a bristle brush the artist can achieve hard and brittle material textures and lively graphic modeling effects. Stippling, however, easily results in hard transitions or spotty, “gray” effects. In both cases particles of vitreous paint remain in the “lights” and reduce the brilliance of the representation. This paint “dust” has an uncontrolled influence on the contrasts. Scratch stippling (*Kratzstuppen*)—the scratching out of blank points of light with a small metal brush with only a few “hairs” (silver-wire brushes)—was an innovation of the late fifteenth century. Only with this technique could the glass painter achieve the brilliant light modeling with well-controlled, continuous transitions and clear, organic structures.¹¹ Stippling and etching with bristle brushes, therefore, occurs more rarely and from this time only in a complementary role. Pointed wooden tools, feather quills, or needles were used to

scratch out the light contours and the brightest lights as hatching.

On the verso (the side facing the outside when a window is mounted) the glass artist worked almost exclusively with washes; the paints were spread with the brush but not badgered. Silver stain was outstanding in color and transparency. It did not become spotty and could achieve tonal values from the brightest lemon yellow to saturated golden yellow, depending on the thickness of application. At this time it was not prone to the brownish density and extreme iridescent blue shimmer that characterizes later glass painting.

The building up of the paint layers demanded specific paint consistencies. Because there was no intermediary firing, corrections while painting were almost impossible since every operation went to the “glass ground,” and the borders of the “holes” that resulted were difficult to close without hard transitions. With the effect of transmitted light, a corrective layer, like that used in panel painting, was not possible. The brushstrokes had to succeed at the first attempt. To prevent the new, wet applications from detaching the paints below, contrasting binding agents were used. Historical sources say little on the matter.¹² Experiments have proven how watery binders—water, sometimes with an addition of gum, also vinegar, wine, or other substances—must be alternated with oily substances, whereby oily brushstrokes are carried well by a matt mixed with a watery binder. The opposite process is more difficult.

Glass paints consist of pulverized glass with metal oxides as coloring agents. They are not soluble but only “diluted” with the binder. Unlike pigments used in oil painting, they can be refined only to a certain degree because of their granular structure, a handicap for the painting process. The glass painter, therefore, ground the paints with a muller for a very long time in order to apply them in the smoothest and most delicate manner. Because the paints dried very quickly, one could make only a few strokes with a loaded brush. Moreover, because, with the exception of contours, the strokes were made with a degree of translucency in mind, it was important that the application with the brush resulted in specific strengths: more liquid or viscous, occurring faster or more haltingly. Lifting off the brush at the end of a drawn line presented a problem. Therefore, the artist generally painted from light to dark and from planes to lines. The form of the brush was also important. Whereas a tracer, with a point, was suited for contours, particularly for opaque contours, because it could best taper the paint, blunt brushes with uniform hair lengths were better for the semitranslucent hatching strokes or washes.¹³

The soft application and gentle pastel-like manner of painting was presumably achieved through addi-

tives. The “paintability” of the paints is improved by the admixture of slippery material, apart from oil, for example, egg, honey, or syrup. Mineral borax has long been known as an ideal substance to make paints malleable. Burned in, it lends a pastellike, soft appearance to surfaces and modeling, and, in addition, it reduces the melting point, and, in the case of vitreous paints, the firing temperature. The use of additives also had drawbacks, namely, that it decreased the resistance of the painting to humidity and other influences. Certain substances cannot be mixed, for example, gum arabic, sugar, borax. They are incompatible and produce damage in the fusing of the paints.

Since the late fifteenth century glass-painting colors in tones of brown (to red) and white (to gray) play a large role in the palette. One can infer by studying enamels that already by the high Middle Ages recipes for red, blue, green, white, and yellow enamel colors were known. But as far as we know these were not used in glass painting. Rather, only black and brown (to rust brown) were used as opaque vitreous paint (*Lot* or *Punctur* in German) or as a thin, watery application. Soon after 1300 strong red-brown contours and washes were substituted for black in drapery and flesh tones, most prominently in panels from the Isle of Gotland. About one hundred years later red appears in a new form to shade planes or details, complementary to black vitreous paint. The moment varies from region to region. An early example of reddish glaze is, for instance, *The Archangel Michael*, c. 1440, in the minster in Ulm.¹⁴ Also significant was the development of hues for shading. After the graphic techniques of modeling and the executing or back-painting of details in color, the most important innovation was the combining and differentiating of color values. In monumental glass painting the practice varied widely by region until the early sixteenth century. The traditional scale was still maintained in Grossgründlach, 1504–11 (cat. no. 29, and Scholz, p. 29), and in Saint Roch in Nuremberg, c. 1520: values of gray, brown, and black vitreous paint were used extensively and in a planar manner. The most modern characteristics occur in the windows in the choir of the Church of the Assumption in Landsberg am Lech, dating to about 1500 and close in style to Hans Holbein the Elder. There the paint buildup in flesh tones and architectural elements is achieved almost exclusively in sanguine tones, from yellowish to brown to reddish brown. Heads and other parts offer early examples of the complementary introduction of semitransparent glass paints in warm and cool tones for realistic representation.¹⁵

Sanguine (*Eisenrot* in German) ranges from matt brown to yellowish, from reddish brown to a flesh color, and from grainy opaque to highly transparent.

The foundation of these hues is iron oxide (Fe_2O_3). Regional differences may result from the different origins of the raw material, which the workshops each obtained from their own places of delivery. Nuances resulted by chance (empirically) because the intensity of color was difficult to manage. Sanguine was known from the fifteenth century at the latest, for instance, as *crocus martis* or pot- or kettle-brown and was produced from iron filings or rust. Although precise recipes for red made from iron oxide (in the form of red ocher, *caput mortuum*, etc.) are first transmitted in manuscripts from the mid-sixteenth century, this tradition reaches far back into time.¹⁶ Depending on the production process, products varied from the clear, transparent sanguine color to the more substantial, ranging from red to brown to blackish brown. The quality varies between the upper, fine, pure extract to the sediment of the processed recipes. A white vitreous paint and a yellow paint were extracted from lead glass. Both are applied as shading colors and are named around 1400. Reddish brown also served for the representation of walls, for which rose-colored glass had earlier been used and continued to be used in stained glass in churches, for example, in Saint Roch, c. 1520, in Nuremberg. Glass painters prepared their own paint, yet they could increasingly obtain half-products in the form of “cakes” (*smalti*, an easily fusible lead glass, from Venice or Amsterdam).

At first glance it is difficult to detect a development in the individual selection and combination of hues in panels from the period around 1500. For the most part a very simple range of colors was used in the first phase of the epoch. Panels made up to about 1500 after Michael Wolgemut, Albrecht Dürer, Hans Baldung Grien, Hans von Kulmbach, and Hans Schäufelein are restricted mostly to matts and contours in black vitreous paint. Afterward it became a rule in all regions to use a grayish brown tone first and then the artist continued with black or brown vitreous paint in different nuances. After painting was begun using gray-brown, frequently further work was consciously done in black and then the panel was back-painted with red to brown. The sanguine on the verso serves as a shading color in combination with the matt, the foundation on the recto. This effect becomes particularly apparent where the back-painting is differentiated more toward yellow or red, according to the tone of the matt or that of the glass. In a Jörg Breu roundel from 1516 (cat. no. 84) the sanguine is even set against the gray-green foundation. The same differentiation between tonal values on the recto and verso occurs in panels from c. 1516–18 after Kulmbach and Baldung, in which only the contours are black and everything else is held to different brown tones. The Breu panel in Frankfurt, c. 1512–16 (cat. no. 81), on the other hand, varies the

combination: a reduction to values of gray and black on the recto is juxtaposed with an amplification to grayish brown and red on the verso. In many examples, further shading on the verso, in white and grayish white, serves as a supplementary density value. From about 1510 the color nuances on the recto and verso were further augmented. At the same time, the simple application of shading survived.

Of great importance as well is the use of hues of “white” glass, which the glass painter employed consciously as an artistic element as the designer used toned paper or paper prepared with a colored ground. For drawings one has long recognized the relation of ground tone, ink color, and the highlights and shadows made from body colors. Around 1500 gradations of “white glass” were intentionally produced, in contrast to the earlier impure and color-tainted “white glasses.”

Thus, including vitreous paints in tones of brown and white, a limited tonal scale was developed for the painting of cabinet panels in the circle of Dürer and Holbein. The artistic aim was oriented above all toward combined tones. In this regard the panels in this exhibition can be divided into four categories: (1) a composition exclusively in warm tones, sometimes with neutral values (gray and black) in the drawing; (2) the painting on the verso, as the only warm tone, is contrasted with an overall cool or neutral palette of the glass and the painting on the recto; (3) an interplay between warm and cool tonalities, in which one or the other component is consistently used for the glass or for the painting; (4) a composition exclusively in cool and neutral tones of gray and black. The last type is rare and appears only until about 1510.¹⁷ Of the other variations, the first exists throughout, the second seems to have died out from about 1515, when the third type occurs for the first time and in different regions. It is characteristic of many panels from the younger generation of glass painters, for instance, Veit Hirsvogel the Younger and Augustin Hirsvogel in Nuremberg, Hans Gitschmann von Ropstein in Freiburg, and others in Basel and Zürich. In panels after Jörg Breu one encounters it first during his later period.

In small-scale panels, in contrast to monumental windows, the brownish black contours seem to imitate the ink used in drawings. In panels from the circle of the younger Hans Holbein, where everything is painted with a distinctly brown “ink” color, this effect is particularly evident.¹⁸ Significantly light and shadow are represented not only through light/dark but also by color values. One created “luminous drawings.”

The different tints of the vitreous paints and glass pieces change their effect, according to their combination, color value, thickness of application (and state of preservation), and influence on one another. Blank

areas produce accidental tonal effects according to the actual background of the panel. Black vitreous paint applied in a watery manner remains relatively neutral. On the other hand, colored matts, which can be more diffuse or transparent, grayer or more intense in color, coinciding in color or complementary, interact in different ways with the glass tone and emphasize it very specifically. The phenomenon is linked with the color value and thickness of the paint layers, which possess different transmission and absorption values. For example, the matts in the glass painting, c. 1511 (cat. nos. 36–39), in Cottbus have a gray, gray-brown, or brown effect, according to the glass tone. The panel in Eisenach, 1516 (cat. no. 84), carries a matt that is gray when applied once and which has a greenish effect when applied thickly or in multiple layers. A very subdued complementary effect is achieved in the Wengi panel, c. 1519–20 (cat. no. 141), in Wettingen by means of the partial, thin application on the recto of a bluish color on yellow, overlaid with watery black. The glazes of whitish color or brown sanguine partially back-painted as thin as a breath on many pieces likewise lend a grayer or browner appearance to the matts on the recto.

The artist also “played” with the thickness of the glass pieces. Where painting on the recto and verso corresponds, an appearance of depth resulted as an optical effect of refraction. In the panels after Breu in Eisenach, 1516 (cat. no. 84), and Frankfurt, c. 1512–16 (cat. no. 81), for instance, the thickness of the glass creates depth in the window reveals of the background buildings and in landscape details. The glass painter suggested spatial recession by drawing the lines increasingly thinly, until they appear only schematically “in the distance.” All these effects were used purposefully in the early sixteenth century, in contrast to the earlier mere light and dark modeling. The effects indicate the increasing extent to which artists and glass painters came to terms with the expressive potential of drawing, either in a traditional, more graphic sense or with newer, pictorial, three-dimensional creative means. Perhaps the impetus for this development came from Augsburg, Basel, or Zürich, while in the preceding time, and in particular for Veit Hirsvogel the Elder, glass painting was powerfully shaped by the Strasbourg workshop-cooperative in the late Gothic period, which was oriented toward the graphic means of engraving.

Despite the breadth of variations, an indispensable minimum of orientation on a preparatory drawing is always necessary for glass painting. Many panels follow their models with extraordinary faithfulness. Others, however, depart considerably, above all in the modeling.¹⁹ The methods used by the glass painters for the transfer of the model to the glass are not en-

tirely known. Tradition acknowledges different tracing methods, albeit not very precisely.²⁰ Some panels from the early fifteenth century to the sixteenth century display traces of preliminary drawings preserved on the verso. These lines provided orientation for the painting on the recto. According to the procedures of the time around 1500 such guidelines would only be conceivable if removed totally before the application of the painting on the verso.²¹ This process, however, is rather unlikely in panels of this time because of the very fine and detailed handwriting and range of variation between translucent and opaque strokes. Working from a drawing placed underneath the glass would have been more practicable. If a paper model served in the first step for modeling the object in the matt but not for the application of the contours, then this would explain why the contours, which are often applied at the end, frequently depart from the preliminary drawing. The drawing, in other words, no longer played a role in the progression of the painting.

The actual practice falls somewhere between, as tests have confirmed. The transfer from drawing to glass—even when exact—happened in and on the matt, namely, in the negative drawing (scratched out of the matt), and with halftone contours. On this base, work continued into the laying down of washes, modeling, and shading.²² The hatching strokes and washes were always freely executed. Here the artistic gifts of the glass painter become apparent, and in this lies the basis for the very different manners of creating planes. The strata of brushstrokes and negative drawing require working before a light, as the painter cannot otherwise recognize the transitions, thickness of application, and degree of translucency.²³ With modeling and shading by hatching, the exact transfer of every single stroke matters little, but their sum and effect as hatched planes are decisive. Already in the models hatching strokes are understood as such planes. The type of hatching method was selected by the glass painter. In this regard, the designs are at times even cursory.

For the paint buildup the order of steps from the matt to the contours was, therefore, determined not only by technical considerations but also by artistic reasons, which became more important, particularly from 1500. This indicates a very different understanding of glass painting than the handicraft-reproductive technique used in glass paintings made since the late nineteenth century, when pieces were contoured exactly after the linear structure of the models. Once the contours were drawn, the representation and expression were finished, and the subject could only be elaborated. In the older technique, by contrast, the representation remained artistically modifiable until the last step. This aspect is critical, since the application of

the contours as a first step would have severely restricted the painter, while as a concluding step it allowed a freer artistic working of the surfaces as well as a limitation of the contours to the most salient parts. To repeat, executing the outlines after the drawn model, as a kind of reproduction, precludes the necessary fluid ductus, which is desirable for a brilliant method of handling brushstrokes. Furthermore, a halting brush application stands in the way of the “paintability” of the paint.

Glass painting in Dürer and Holbein’s time was not reproduction but interpretation. It aimed at the execution of a creative intent, not at a copy. (With the production of multiple copies of a given subject in the sixteenth century, this point of view shifted markedly.) In this regard, designs and panels are two independent species. The quality of the design and that of the executed panel, with all their creative and technical particularities, are only dependent on one another to a limited degree. In the model, idea and execution form a unity; in the panel, they build a synthesis.²⁴

Preservation and Conservation of the Panels

The present-day appearance of glass paintings is dependent on their specific material attributes and the working practices used to produce them. Another weighty factor is earlier retouching, the restoration history of the works. For the care and conservation of glass paintings, recognizing the causes of the processes that lead to damage is of the greatest relevance.

The most obvious type of damage consists of breaks in the glass. These are not only due to mechanical influences. In the period treated here, they also resulted from complicated cuts not suited to glass. Broken pieces and those that had fallen out were “patched” with repair-leads or replaced with new, “whole” glass pieces. Although the leading was not generally defective, almost all stained-glass panels were newly leaded, mostly in the nineteenth century. This occurred when pieces of glass were replaced, cracks were treated with repair-leads, or, primarily, the glazier thought he had to make the panel perfect again from the point of view of craftsmanship.²⁵ This procedure was a fundamental damage, for it robbed the leading of its originality, falsifying it by changing the width of profiles and the salient impression of lines as contours. Shifts of the leading went along with adding repair-leads, the only available technique for stabilizing the panels. Less serious in its consequences was the mounting of strap-leads on top of breaks in the glass.

In the schema of surface damage, monumental glass and cabinet panels differ because their ambient fields, environmental influences, and restoration history vary. Unlike their medieval predecessors, most glasses made since the fifteenth century are no longer

impacted by substance-damaging corrosion. This is the result of a changed composition and more homogeneous fusion. For a short time still, specific glasses with grayish rose, violet, yellow, and similar warm-toned colors are an exception.²⁶ To a very slight degree, pitting occurs as corrosion in the form of tiny dots distributed over the surface, as found, for example, in the panels from Cottbus.

Clarity of effect often makes glass paintings of this period appear to be well preserved. The impression that the painting has escaped glass corrosion because of a more resistant glass surface is relative. All panels show damaged or endangered painting. The focus of this damage has shifted from the vitreous body to the structured surface. To a much different degree than in monumental medieval glass painting, the pictorial effect faded in panels of the sixteenth century through losses in the painting.

Among the panels in this exhibition, six types of damage to the painting can be observed: (1) corrosion of the vitreous paint; (2) loosening of painted details; (3) loss of contours on the matts or on the underdrawing; (4) damage in the darkest parts of the shading; (5) spotty paint losses in the matts like freckles; and (6) planar reductions of the paint. Appearing grayish to whitish in reflected light, paint corrosion causes vitreous paint to lose inner stability and become soft and vulnerable. It results from a chemical transformation of the glass material in the paint, brought about by the impact of acidic or alkaline substances in connection with humidity.²⁷ The vitreous paints, due to this transformation, lose their glassy, solid structure and become crystalline. The process changes the effect of the vitreous paint in transmitted light, making it darker, grayer, or denser and less transparent.

The loosening of painted details results from the lack of fusion between the vitreous paints and the surface of the glass supports. To the extent that the paint is substantially still in good condition, but because the hardness and smoothness of the glass support did not fully bond with it in the firing, small scales of paint, so-called flakes, can loosen or detach. Other types of damage are harder to explain, such as loss of contours on the matts or underdrawing, damage in the darkest parts of the shading, and paint losses in the matts. The first two appear mainly where black vitreous paint lies on top of other vitreous paints. Presumably, specific kinds of paint are incompatible. A main cause for this lies in their dimorphic structure. By studying the original glass paintings and carrying out tests, one arrives at several conclusions.²⁸ On the one hand, paints mixed from a vitrifying agent (the glass flux) and coloring oxides do not sufficiently fuse when they are applied on top of paints in which the glass and coloring agent have been premelted or contain premelted parts.

On the other hand, they are much more sensitive and less durable than when they are applied directly to glass. Such schemata of damage lead us to presume underpainting in the form of “preliminary drawings” as the cause. Similar damage appears when silver stain and vitreous paints touch.

The behavior of the paint layers is also sometimes affected by the application of wet paint over a layer of paint that is already dry (yet still unfired). Humidity enters the surfaces and leaves rims. The structure of the paint can easily become porous in these places, and the fusion with the surface of the glass can be harmed. The corrosive changes have a powdery effect, first appearing as spots and then widening to planar zones. There is a different explanation for the “freckles” that appear only on panels made from about 1500 to about 1550 and which, therefore, are to be sought in the specific technical conditions of this period. The appearance of the dots across the surface is always similar. Nevertheless, their different densities suggest that the phenomenon is not based in the manner of application but in material causes. The triggers could be admixtures in the paints or in the binding agent; for example, borax grains or particles of oils or resins that are not sufficiently dissolved in the paint or traces of a substance used to prepare the surface of the glass for painting.

The sixth type of damage makes the painting of some panels look washed out, dull, or thin. These panels were integrated in rooms that were used daily and were cleaned as a component of the glazed windows. Terms for the damage, “washed off” or “scoured off,” are to be taken literally. The difference in the appearance today between the painting of small-scale panels and that of monumental church inventories is obvious. With the latter, the predominant forms of damage are corrosion, pollution, and strong incrustations caused by humidity. Such damage led to spottiness and paint detaching. There ensued, in the course of restoration history, sometimes radical cleaning methods, for example, wet cleaning with sand and brushes.²⁹ Most scratches on glass paintings can be traced to such a process.

Through their reduction and the changed density and structure in the paint layers, most halftones on the recto took on not only a different light value but also a different tonal value. Through corrosive transformations, for instance, they lost their translucent color and consequently appear grayer or whiter. They also changed in tone because today they refract, scatter, or reflect in a different manner than they did before the chromatic value of an underlying wash, or of the glass, or even of painting on the verso. An example of the gray whitish effect is the Urs Graf panel from Basel, 1520 (cat. no. 135, fig. 94); for the changed color effect

of the matt, see Manuel Deutsch’s panel from Schinznach, c. 1527 (cat. no. 127). Here the wash of black vitreous paint lying over a grayish brown matt is diminished. On the circular panel by Jörg Breu from Eisenach, 1516 (cat. no. 84), the gray matt today appears slightly green in thinned areas.³⁰ In the inscribed border of the trefoil, *Death on Horseback*, 1502 (cat. nos. 19–20, fig. 17), the trace lines have a reddish appearance after the partial loss of black paint owing to the interplay of the strong yellow tones on the verso. Moreover, in panels exposed to intense humidity, paint carried away from one area that can be deposited on another, thereby strengthening contrasts.

Present-day stained-glass conservation focuses on preventive measures, especially protection against damage from climactic and mechanical causes. Furthermore, they include the fixing of endangered elements (the gluing of cracks and splinters or the fixing of loose parts in the leading or of entire panels). It is less often necessary to fix loose paint in small-scale panels because, despite their comparatively less damaged condition overall, they have suffered more through constant cleaning. The fixing of contours has largely been carried out for the last two decades with acrylic resins at specific points (by laying a row of tiny dots rather than applying the resin in a brushstroke). The securing of whole surfaces is problematic. (Due to damages to substances there is an increasing need for action regarding monumental glass painting of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.) Methodological improvements are still being tested.³¹ The removal of deposits is also part of conservation. This is always necessary before stabilization because an extreme buildup of grime and color- or lime-spots, among other things, can damage or destroy the original painting. The accumulation of foreign materials is intensified in panels with many-layered paint structures and can take extreme forms, above all, caused by high humidity. Before every cleaning (*Freilegung*), it is imperative that the restorer identify the paint materials and techniques.

Among the most difficult decisions facing restorers are questions of whether or how damaged or falsified earlier interventions should be reversed or how restorations should be carried out. In terms of artistic content and aesthetics, it is sensible to remove earlier, disturbing additions, if this is possible, without damaging the object. This may include the removal of repair-leads, as, for example, in the panel in Kaiserslautern, c. 1520 (cat. no. 92). A larger problem is presented by (yellowed) synthetic resins used for consolidation of paint, as, for example, the broadly applied epoxy in the panels in the little choir of the parish house of Saint Sebald’s Church, 1517 and c. 1521 (cat. nos. 51–53, 64), in Nuremberg, which cause certain parts to appear

greasy and change their light-values. Equally problematic are glass pieces doubled with artificial resins, which have yellowed. There is no gentle procedure for removing doubling (backing with pieces of protective glass), and if such procedures were carried out, further losses would be incurred.³² A related problem is over-painting or coatings, as in the application of lacquer on the lobes of the Hans Schäufolein quatrefoils, 1510, in the Berlin Kunstgewerbemuseum, which were certainly added to reinforce the thinned paint surfaces (cat. nos. 72, 74, 76).

An interesting chapter in the history of restoration is that of historic replacements. The perfection of these and many copies from the nineteenth century results from a very precise orientation of the glass painters to the historic models painted on glass. They emulated the original techniques with deceptive accuracy, in part using tools that were no longer in general use in their own time.³³ In many pieces from the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries it is difficult to distinguish clearly between copy and fake. There are outstanding "supplementations," which for a long time were not recognized as such, and others, which we know were real fakes because they were made intentionally to replace still extant originals.³⁴

In time additions, like restorations, become recognizable, and even datable. By careful observation, one can discern the nineteenth-century method of handling line, which differs from that used around 1500. In its harder, more brittle manner it is based on the Gothic formal language and translates the texture and plasticity of the early Renaissance back into Gothic structures. This is observable in certain details, such as in the more shallow interpretation of hatching, in the more accurate and therefore more rigid execution, and in the form of the little "hooks," the meticulously regimented crosshatching.³⁵ Furthermore, paint applications on the verso and, in principle, also the matts or washes on the recto are badgered and no longer "flooded" or wet-stippled. In addition, the forms of damage to the imitations have different characteristics, for instance, serious damage to the contours. Freckles are completely absent.

The interest of nineteenth-century glass painters in post-Gothic panels had a pronounced commercial character because of the large international interest in collecting. "Perfect" restorations were not, however, entirely negative in their effect but also had positive aspects, in that they encouraged the preservation and appreciation of stained glass.

1. Karl Hans Wedepohl, "Die Herstellung mittelalterlicher und antiker Gläser," in *Abhandlungen der Mathematisch-Naturwissenschaftlichen Klasse, Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur* (Stuttgart, 1993): no. 3, 19ff.
2. On the false valuation long predominant in art history of glass paintings of the post-Middle Ages as "second-hand art," see M. T. Engels, *Zur Problematik der mittelalterlichen Glasmalerei* (Berlin, 1937): 65. See also Scholz 1991, 1ff.; Barbara Giesicke, *Glasmalereien des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts im Schützenhaus zu Basel* (Basel, 1991): 18. It was related, above all, to the "division of labor," in contrast to the assumed "personal union" between artist-designer and glass painter in the Middle Ages. In fact, the division of labor becomes problematic as soon as designs and compiled models (drawings that select single pieces from other drawings and combine them) are made the sole artistic criteria and are only formally compared to translations onto glass; the latter are thus treated like reproductions. To be fair to the glass objects, however, one must place more emphasis on their specific artistic techniques. On the stylistic connections and relationship of designers and workshops, see, above all, Scholz 1991; Bernhard Anderes, "Zur Kabinettglasmalerei in der Schweiz," in Anderes and Hoegger 1988.
3. On the conceptual definition and development from "intrinsic light/emitted light" (*Eigenlicht/Sendlicht*) to "illuminating light" (*Beleuchtungslicht*) and to pictorial light of the fifteenth century, see Wolfgang Schöne, *Über das Licht in der Malerei* (Berlin, 1954): 82ff. For the following: on color chords and color demarcations, see, above all, Eva Frodl-Kraft, *Die Glasmalerei: Entwicklung, Technik, Eigenart* (Vienna and Munich, 1970), 77ff. The study of medieval window coloring by Viollet-le-Duc received a critical valuation from James R. Johnson, "The Stained Glass Theories of Viollet-le-Duc," in *Art Bulletin* 45 (1963): 121ff.
4. This is especially apparent in the panel *Death on Horseback*, 1502 (cat. nos. 19–20, fig. 17), where the horse's mane was sacrificed to the lead lines and the wood frame was shortened for technical reasons. In fifteenth- and sixteenth-century designs lead-line patterns are often not drawn. Does this mean that they were no longer regarded as a mode of expression, as in the Middle Ages? On design and execution generally, see Scholz 1991: 227–70; and Giesicke, *Glasmalereien des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts*: 15ff., 29ff., 34ff. Further, see Daniel Hess, "Der Weg in die Stube: Zur Entwicklung und Verbreitung der Kabinettsscheibe," in Ulm 1995: 42ff.; Virginia Chieffo Raguin, in Worcester 1987; Timothy B. Husband, in New York 1995.
5. Antonius von Pisa, around 1400, was the first to mention diamond cutting. It is also mentioned in a Bolognese manuscript (Bologna UB MS 2861) from the first half of the fifteenth century; see Mary P. Merrifield, *Original Treatises on the Arts of Painting* (1849; reprint, New York, 1967): 494f. Lastly, on Antonius von Pisa, see *Vetrate: Arte e restauro: Dal trattato di Antonio da Pisa alle nuove tecnologie di restauro* (Milan, 1991). On the technique of glass cutting, see also Sebastian Strobl, *Glastechnik des Mittelalters* (Stuttgart, 1990): 84ff.
6. Exceptions are the rare examples of press glass and cast glass in the Middle Ages; see Friedrich Kobler, "Flachglas," in *Reallexikon zur deutschen Kunstgeschichte* (Munich, 1992): 544ff., with literature.
7. Wedepohl, "Herstellung mittelalterlicher und antiker Gläser": 32ff. See also H. Bronk and G. Schulze, "Cristallo è vitrum blanchum: Die Herstellung von farblosem Glas in Venedig und à la façon de Venise im 16. u. 17. Jh.," in *Archäometrie und Denkmalpflege* 1998, Jahrestagung Würzburg: 117ff.; W. Müller and K. Adam, "Chemische Zusammensetzungen frühneuzeitlicher Flachgläser an Glasmalereien und Blankverglasungen von Kirchenfenstern, ein Vergleich mit Hohlgläserzeugnissen," *Archäometrie und Denkmalpflege* 1998, Jahrestagung Würzburg: 122ff.
8. On Strasbourg glass painting around Peter Hemmel, see Hartmut Scholz 1994, 84ff.; Hartmut Scholz, "Die Strassburger Werkstattgemeinschaft: Ein historischer und kunsthistorischer Überblick," in Ulm 1995: 13ff. The "graphic" in glass painting corresponds largely to the underdrawing in contemporary paintings. Compare the infrared investigations of restored panel paintings.
9. On the painting technique, see Frodl-Kraft, *Glasmalerei*, 38ff., and Strobl, *Glastechnik des Mittelalters*: 94ff. To be corrected are Stefan Trümpler's remarks that the contour is the first step; see "Die Kunst der Glasmaler," in Giesicke, *Glasmalereien des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts*, 11, as well as in Peter van Treeck, "Zur Konservierung der Glasgemälde," in Hartmut Scholz and Peter van Treeck, "Die Glasmalereien in der Imhoffischen Grabkapelle Sankt Rochus in Nürnberg," *Mitteilungen des Vereins für Geschichte der Stadt Nürnberg* 76 (1989): 283f. Here, a rare exception, hatching in black vitreous paint is at times executed before and at times after the matt. It may be a case of making preliminary contours by means of halftone lines.
10. For example, on the panels, Jörg Breu, *The Children of Luna*, c. 1512–16 (cat. no. 81), Museum für Kunsthandwerk Frankfurt; Jörg Breu, *The Month of July*, c. 1520 (cat. no. 92), Pfalzgalerie Kaiserslautern; Augustin Hirsvogel, *Coat of Arms of the Pessler-Topler*, c. 1521 (cat. no. 64), parish house of Saint Sebald's Church, Nuremberg.

11. One recognizes in the repeated dot formations that the tool consisted of three to five wire points.
12. In a manuscript from c. 1550 the following binding agents are named for grinding with vitreous paint: spirits, gum, vinegar, borax water, urine (Cologne, Stadtarchiv, Nachlass Boisserée 1018/612). Attempts to replicate this use of binding agents were carried out in the workshop of Gustav van Treeck in Munich in a research project of the Bundesministerium für Bildung und Forschung (Federal Ministry for Development and Technology), 1989–96, published in *Konservierung und Restaurierung historischer Glasmalereien, Ergebnisse des BMBF-Forschungsprojekts* (Mainz, 1999). Since 1997 related tests have been carried out in the Fachbereich Konservierung und Restaurierung, Department Glasmalerei und Glasfenster, University of Applied Sciences, Erfurt.
13. Such types of brushes from later times have been preserved in collections of historic tools. It may be presumed that they did not significantly change in form. Compare Stefan Trümpler and Fritz Dold, “Die Kunst der Glasmaler,” in Giesicke, *Glasmalereien des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts*, 10ff. On the use of specific brush materials for representing different details, the following are named in the manuscript in the Boisserée Collection (Cologne, Stadtarchiv, Nachlass Boisserée 1018/612): soft brushes for draperies; goat hairs and billy-goat beard for flesh, badger or martens hairs for “Duppelir”-brush (to fill in planes), set into goose quills. These specific consistencies and paint effects have not yet been analyzed.
14. Formerly nave n x. Later examples are given in the figures of the upper clerestory windows in the same building, c. 1470; compare Scholz 1994: 221ff., 232. On vitreous paint and enamels in the Middle Ages, compare Elgin Vaassen, “Zur Tradierung mittelalterlicher Rezepturen für Glasmalereien,” in *Konservierung und Restaurierung*. There it is proven that seventeenth-century recipes were based on older sources, so that one has to assume knowledge of the colors at least since the fifteenth century.
15. Peter van Treeck, “Die Glasgemälde im Chor der Mariä Himmelfahrtskirche: Bestand und Restaurierung,” in *Stadtpfarrkirche Mariä Himmelfahrt, Landsberg a. Lech* (Landsberg am Lech, 1981), 58ff.
16. On this and on vitreous paints in red, white, and sometimes yellow, see Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek, MS HB XI, 48 (fifteenth century); Antonius von Pisa, “Colore bianco per ombrare.” The manuscript in the Nachlass Boisserée (Cologne, Stadtarchiv, 1018/612) also mentions green; see Vaassen, “Zur Tradierung mittelalterlicher Rezepturen für Glasmalereien.”
17. For example, the *Crucifixion*, c. 1490 (cat. no. 6), panel after Michael Wolgemut; *Death on Horseback*, 1502 (cat. nos. 19–20), after Albrecht Dürer; *Order of the Golden Fleece*, 1510 (cat. no. 73), after Hans Schäufelein.
18. For example, Kloster Wertingen, N IV 2, flesh parts of *Stained Glass Panel for Georg Brunner*, Basel glass painter after a design by or after Hans Holbein the Younger, c. 1519.
19. Compare Scholz 1991: 235ff., 318.
20. On the tradition of tracing methods, see a manuscript in the Nachlass Boisserée (Cologne, Stadtarchiv, 1018/612): “So du glass malen wilt, . . . so streiche ganz dün [an] vnd lege es auf die Visirung . . . als dan mache die Hauptstrich nach derselben, . . . vertreibe ds Lot mit einem Haar bensele dieweil es noch feicht v: nass ist” (If you want to paint glass, . . . then brush [over] it very thinly and lay it on the cartoon . . . also then make the main strokes after the same, . . . badger the paint with a hair brush while it is still damp and wet). Compare Johannes Kunckel, *Ars vitraria experimentalis* [Leipzig, 1689; reprint, Hildesheim, New York, 1992]: 349, no. xxxi). For the following, compare Stefan Trümpler, “Rückseitige Vorzeichnungen auf Glasgemälden des frühen 16. Jahrhunderts,” *Corpus Vitrearum Medii Aevi Newsletter* 45 (1994): 36f. Comparable preliminary contouring on the verso is to be seen around 1400 in the choir windows of the parish church in Pollenfeld, Bavaria. It is a matter of strokes that (unintentionally?) were not wiped away before the firing.
21. If this is correct, then it is the reason why in the period treated here one usually finds preliminary guide lines mostly in heraldic panels (lambrequin) and architectural forms, that is, in lines with a clear course.
22. The practice of sketching main contours beforehand on the recto with translucent washed, sometimes even colored, strokes on top of (rarely under) the matt in order to continue to paint on top of this appears from the fifteenth to the end of the nineteenth century. It ended with the introduction of the process of applying the opaque black vitreous paint contours first. A preliminary drawing underneath is much more clearly perceptible through a wet-stippled matt than through one that has been badgered. In the dry, unfired stage the former appears more transparent than the latter, because, like a raster, it is composed of dark and light particles.
23. Historic representations on this process exist. Although from a later time, they may, however, be related to earlier techniques: Jost Amman, *Stände und Handwerker* (Frankfurt, 1568); Christoph Weigel, *Ständebuch* (1698). Further, drawings from the late sixteenth century in the Historisches Museum, Bern, Wyss Collection, 1. 73b, are illustrated in Giesicke, *Glasmalereien des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts im Schützhaus zu Basel*: 9.
24. Stefan Trümpler in Giesicke, *Glasmalereien des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts im Schützhaus zu Basel*, also holds this point of view of the independent artistic quality of the panels.
25. The calamitous instruction for this long-lasting practice goes back to Pierre LeVeil, *Die Kunst auf Glas zu malen* (Nuremberg, 1779–80), 1: 216 (under *Bleifäulnis* [lead corrosion]).
26. Examples include the *Annunciation*, c. 1504–5, after Albrecht Dürer in Nuremberg, Museum Tucherschloss (cat. no. 21, reddish glass pieces); *Beatus* panel, c. 1515–20, after Hans Leu in Bern, Historisches Museum (cat. no. 132, violet glass). The colored glasses referred to are also unstable now and then. Rose and violet glass pieces tend to have a blue cast.
27. Corrosion products originate, similarly to glass corrosion, in salt, mostly sulfate. The process is strongly dependent on the relative amounts between color components and flux (the more limited the portion of the latter, the more susceptible the paint). The size of the grains also plays a role.
28. Studies of the originals and tests were carried out at the Fachbereich Konservierung und Restaurierung, University of Applied Sciences, Erfurt.
29. Antonius von Pisa, in *Vetrate*, 67f.; Strobl, *Glastechnik des Mittelalters*: 221.
30. The extent to which the matt includes a green admixture is not proven. Interestingly copper green was mentioned in the late fifteenth century; compare Becksmann 1995: 25.
31. An earlier method of stabilization, among others, was the coating with “powdered” glass in 1917 of the sixteenth-century glass paintings in Saint Sebald’s Church in Nuremberg. After unfortunate experiences with epoxy resins, stabilization is now done only in spots with Paraloid B72. Developments are being tested, for instance, at the Institut für Silicatsforschung, Würzburg.
32. Chemical means to reverse doubling are seldom used because of the aggressiveness of the procedure, especially to the painting. The epoxy resin is soluble in a very limited way through treatment with methyl chloride or dimethyl formamide. For the following, see the information sheet for the permanent collection galleries of the Kunstgewerbemuseum in Berlin. Retouching in the black vitreous paint surfaces are found, for example, in the Jörg Breu panels (cat. nos. 98–109) in the Bayerisches Nationalmuseum, Munich.
33. This point of view is hardly heeded in art-historical research and in conservation technology. On the description of very similar connections in the nineteenth century, see *Konservierung und Restaurierung historischer Glasmalereien*.
34. For example, Landsberg am Lech, Mariä Himmelfahrtskirche, window n III, c. 1500: heads of Saints Catherine and Barbara. (For one hundred years the originals have belonged to a private collection near Munich.)
35. The panel with the standard-bearer in the Historisches Museum in Bern, c. 1508–9 (cat. no. 118), is a good example of the different forms of hatching found in the scratch etching of original and restored parts.

PRECURSORS



THE MASTER OF THE HOUSEBOOK

(*The Master of the Amsterdam Cabinet*)

Active c. 1470–c. 1500

An anonymous artist practicing in the Middle Rhine around Mainz, the Master of the Housebook takes his name from a manuscript belonging to the princes of Waldburg Wolfegg (Baden-Württemberg, Germany; Schloss Wolfegg).¹ The so-called *Medieval Housebook* contains about sixty pages of manuscript texts and pen-and-ink drawings made around 1475–81, some of which are colored. The text encompasses medical and household recipes as well as chapters on the art of memory, astrology, mining and metallurgy, and the skills and technology of war. The *Housebook* was possibly commissioned by a Knight of the Order of the Jug, a chivalric society founded in the fourteenth century by Ferdinand I of Castile and Aragon (1379/80–1416) and revived by the Holy Roman Emperor Frederick III (1415–1493) in about 1473.² The illustrations of the *Housebook* include allegories of the seven planets then known and their influence on mankind, scenes of tournaments, hunts, a bathhouse, a water-surrounded castle, a mine, a garden of love, designs of military and smelting equipment, and coats of arms. The spirited drawings of

worldly subjects show the Master of the Housebook to be a keen observer of human nature.

The Master of the Housebook is also known as the Master of the Amsterdam Cabinet. This is because of the drypoints by his hand surviving in 123 impressions, eighty impressions are preserved in the Rijksprentenkabinet, Amsterdam. Though none of the drypoints are dated, they were probably made between c. 1470 and c. 1490. In addition to the *Housebook* and ninety-one drypoints, many paintings and stained-glass panels have been attributed to the master, and defining his oeuvre has become one of the most complicated problems faced by historians of Northern art of the late fifteenth century. Some scholars have argued that the master responsible for the Amsterdam drypoints did not make all of the drawings in the *Housebook*. This conclusion led to an attempt to define the oeuvre of a second artist, built around the scenes of courtly love in the *Housebook*. The second artist was dubbed the Master of the Genre and Tournament Pages of the *Housebook*.³ However, the reexamination of the *Housebook*, on exhibit from 1998 to 1999, has led to a conviction on the part of some viewers, the present author and Lee Hendrix included, that Christoph Count of Waldburg Wolfegg is correct in reasserting that the illustrations in the *Housebook* were made by one artist, the same person who made the drypoints.⁴

The Master of the Housebook's place of origin is also controversial. There is much to support his identification as the Dutch-born painter and woodcut designer Erhard Reuwich (Utrecht c. 1455–Mainz c. 1490). Reuwich's woodcut illustrations for *Peregrinationes in terram sanctam* (Journey to the Holy Land; Mainz, 1486),⁵ written by a canon of Mainz Cathedral, Bernard von Breydenbach (d. 1497), bear distinct similarities to some of the drypoints by the Master of the Amsterdam Cabinet. Reuwich had accompanied Breydenbach, Johann Count of Solms-Lich, and the knight Philipp von Bicken to the Holy Land, making drawings of architecture, topography, costumes, and exotic animals, which he incorporated into his illustrations. His mastery of linear perspective is particularly apparent in his panoramas of Venice and Jerusalem. And while a command of perspective is uncharacteristic of the drypoints made by the Master

of the Amsterdam Cabinet, it is apparent in the technical drawings of the *Housebook*. Two silverpoint drawings of young lovers by the Master of the Housebook, c. 1485 (Staatliche Museen zu Berlin-Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Kupferstichkabinett, and Leipzig, Museum der bildenden Künste, Graphische Sammlung)⁶ support the argument that the artist was of Dutch origin; silverpoint was a favorite medium of Netherlandish artists of the late fifteenth century.

The Master of the Housebook worked in Heidelberg in 1480, when he executed the *Dedication Page of "Die Kinder von Limburg": Johann von Soest Presenting His Manuscript to Philip the Sincere, the Elector Palatine*, 1480 (Heidelberg, Universitätsbibliothek).⁷ His elegant court style is thought to have developed at the Count Palatine's court in Heidelberg. Of the large number of paintings attributed to the Master of the Housebook, the most convincing as a work by his hand is the painting of a *Pair of Lovers*, c. 1484, in Gotha (Schlossmuseum),⁸ which has been identified as Count Philipp von Hanau-Munzenberg and the burgher Margeret Weiskircher, who bore him three children.

Many stained-glass panels are also attributed to the Master of the Housebook. Among the works most convincingly attributed to him are *The Madonna and Child on the Crescent Moon*, 1485 (The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Cloisters Collection);⁹ and a fragment of *A Patricians' Tournament*, c. 1480 (private collection, Germany, Schloss Gross-Karben, District of Friedberg),¹⁰ perhaps for the building of the patrician society Alten Limpurg on the Römerberg in Frankfurt. The Master of the Housebook was also active in the design of stained-glass quatrefoils (cat. nos. 1–3). Three small stained-glass panels in the Fürstlich Leiningensche Sammlungen, Heimatmuseum, in Amorbach in Odenwald, are also central to the discussion of the Master of the Housebook on the basis of his identification with Erhard Reuwich and Reuwich's identification as "Master Erhart the painter" from Mainz.¹¹ The three panels were presumably part of a cycle of at least thirty installed by Master Erhard in the upper lights of the windows in the Amtskellerei, Mainz, in December 1486. But it has been argued that Reuwich is not identical to the glass painter from Mainz named Erhart, who worked at the court of the archbishop.¹²

1. Among the essential studies of the Master of the Housebook from the last thirty-two years are Hutchison 1972; Amsterdam 1985; Hess 1994 (along with the review written by J. P. Filedt Kok in 1995); and Washington, D.C., and New York 1998–99. On the Master of the Housebook as a designer of stained glass, see also Becksmann 1968, Husband 1985, and Husband 1998. The discussion of the Master of the Housebook's role as a designer of stained glass has been complicated by the theory that more than one artist was responsible for the *Medieval Housebook*.
2. Christoph Graf zu Waldburg Wolfegg (Washington, D.C., and New York 1998–99: 103, 105) argued convincingly that the original owner of the book was an upwardly mobile middle-class intellectual dedicated to the chivalric ideals of courtly society, rather than a master of munitions as previously believed, and conceivably a Knight of the Order of the Jug. The order, like other societies of its kind, was dedicated to defending the Christian faith and helping the poor. Timothy B. Husband (New York 1999a: 76–77) has asserted that the owner of the Housebook and the Knight of the Order of the Jug, who appears repeatedly in the manuscript's illustrations, are not identical.
3. On the division of hands, see Becksmann 1968; Husband 1985; Amsterdam 1985: 221, 224, 242, and no. 117; Hess 1994: 52–57; Eberhard König in Waldburg Wolfegg 1997: 199–200, 217–19; Husband 1998: note 12 on 183–84; New York 1999a: 53–59 and notes 16–23 on 79.
4. Waldburg Wolfegg 1997: 65 and 105; Washington, D.C., and New York 1998–99: 106–9.
5. Amsterdam 1985: no. 142.
6. Amsterdam 1985: nos. 121–22.
7. Amsterdam 1985: no. 118.
8. Amsterdam 1985: no. 133.
9. Amsterdam 1985: no. 134; Husband 1985; and New York 1999a: 72 (as designed by the Master of the Amsterdam Cabinet).
10. Amsterdam 1985: no. 135; Becksmann 1968: 348–62 (as designed by the Master of the Genre and Tournament Pages of the Housebook).
11. Amsterdam 1985: no. 136; Hess 1994: 58–59, figs. 53–55.
12. Hess 1994: 63–64.



I

I

The Master of the Housebook
(*The Master of the Amsterdam Cabinet*)

Princess Cleodelinda

c. 1475

Pen and brownish black ink on cream laid paper

WATERMARK

None visible (the drawing is laid down)

False Schongauer monogram in pen and black ink, below

11.6 × 9.1 cm

Dresden, Kupferstich-Kabinett, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden

Inv. no. C 1898-24

PROVENANCE

Acquired 1898 from Wilhelm Volck in Saarburg



FIGURE 1. Martin Schongauer. *Saint George and the Dragon*, c. 1470–75. Engraving, 8.4 cm (diam.). Washington, D.C., The National Gallery of Art, Rosenwald Collection (inv. no. 1943.3.60).

Photo: © Board of Trustees, The National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.



FIGURE 2. The Master of the Amsterdam Cabinet. *Saint George (Mounted)*, c. 1475. Drypoint, 14.5 × 10.5 cm. London, The British Museum (inv. no. 1868-8-8-3205).

Photo: © The British Museum.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Lehrs 1899: 181, ill. on 177; Storek 1909: 264, no. 2; Schmitz 1913, I: 111–12, fig. 187 on 111; Winkler 1932: no. 17; Stange 1958: 30, note 56 on 47; Dresden 1963: no. 18; Beckmann 1968: 359, note 30 on 364, fig. 6 on 363; Dresden 1971–72: no. 447; Amsterdam 1985: no. 127; Husband 1985: 149, fig. 18; Scholz 1991: 34, note 123 on 35; Hess 1994: 54–56, fig. 48.

Princess Cleodelinda is a fragment of a design for a stained-glass quatrefoil, corresponding to the left lobe. The right lobe would have depicted Saint George Fighting the Dragon (cat. no. 9). According to legend, the Christian knight saved Princess Cleodelinda of the kingdom of Silene (Libya), who was to give her life as a sacrificial offering to a dragon that was



FIGURE 3. Detail of a woman giving a coin to a beggar, from the Master of the Housebook, *Sol and His Children*, fol. 14r in the *Medieval Housebook*, c. 1475–81. Pen and brown ink, 29.2 × 19.4 cm (fol.). Wolfegg, Kunstsammlungen der Fürsten zu Waldburg-Wolfegg.
Photo: René Schrei, Ravensburg.



FIGURE 4. Detail of land jutting over water in middleground of *A Castle Surrounded by Water*, fol. 19v–20r in the *Medieval Housebook*, c. 1475–81. Pen and brown ink, 29.2 × 38.8 (fols.). Wolfegg, Kunstsammlungen der Fürsten zu Waldburg-Wolfegg.
Photo: René Schrei, Ravensburg.

terrorizing her father's kingdom. But George killed the dragon after first making the sign of the cross, thus converting the king of Silene and his people to Christianity. According to some accounts, George then married the princess. The Master of the Housebook also depicted the story of Saint George and the Dragon in two drypoints (fig. 2).¹ The popularity of Saint George in the visual arts in the late fifteenth century may be related to the emphasis that the Holy Roman Emperor Frederick III placed upon the saint as a protector in battle.²

Few drawings by the hand of the Master of the Amsterdam Cabinet have survived outside of his famous *Housebook*. *Princess Cleodelinda* is among the rare drawings that have. Max Lehrs was the first to publish the sheet one year after it was acquired by the Kupferstich-Kabinet in Dresden.³ Lehrs, followed by Willy F. Storck,⁴ Hermann Schmitz,⁵ Friedrich Winkler,⁶ and Werner Schade,⁷ accepted the little drawing as a work by the hand of the Master of the Housebook, whom he considered identical to the Master of the Amsterdam Cabinet. But Alfred Stange thought *Princess Cleodelinda* might be a product of the master's workshop.⁸ Rüdiger Becksmann observed that *Princess Cleodelinda* was by the same artist who made the genre and tournament scenes of the *Housebook*, whom he identified as an artist from the circle of the Master of the Amsterdam Cabinet.⁹ Daniel Hess considered the lines of *Princess Cleodelinda* mechanical and pedantic and as a result hypothesized that the drawing was cleaned-up copy after the so-called Master of the Genre and Tournament Pages of the Housebook, made by an artist trained as a glass painter and meant to provide

exact guidelines for the transfer of the composition to glass.¹⁰

Princess Cleodelinda is undoubtedly an original drawing by the master responsible for both the drawings in the *Housebook* and the Amsterdam drypoints. Its pen-and-ink lines combine delicacy and sureness in a manner strongly reminiscent of the finest passages in the *Housebook's* drawings. The pose and costume of the princess and the arrangement of her drapery are borrowed from the much-copied engraving by Martin Schongauer (fig. 1).¹¹ So too is the background landscape, with the outcropping of rock to the left of the princess and path winding into the distance. The round face and serene expression of the princess on the other hand recall the women in the *Housebook*. For instance, Cleodelinda and the woman giving a coin to a beggar in *Sol* (fig. 3) are alike in the emphasis placed on the pupils of the eyes and on the lower contour of the nose. The landscape background in *Cleodelinda* is comparable to landscapes in the *Housebook*; the jagged edges and soft, grassy covering of cliffs as depicted in the drawing in Dresden resemble those in the drawing in the *Housebook* of a *Castle Surrounded by Water* (fig. 4).

The Master of the Housebook beautifully evokes the isolation of the princess atop a cliff and her tranquil acceptance of her plight (much like the lamb beside her). He adeptly adapts Schongauer's figure and landscape to the lobe of the quatrefoil. The hem of the princess's garment overlaps the frame of the lobe, bringing her into the viewer's space. At the same time, the contours and hatching strokes of the landscape fan out to lead the eye into depth. The Master of the Housebook was clearly interested in the quatrefoil format for stained glass, which may have originated in Burgundy.¹² He depicted quatrefoils in the windows of the *Bathroom* in the *Housebook* (fig. 37).

1. Amsterdam 1985: nos. 33–34.

2. Grünpeck [c. 1514–16] 1891: 23.

3. Lehrs 1899: 181.

4. 1909: 264.

5. 1913, 1: 111–12.

6. 1932: 10.

7. Dresden 1963: no. 18.

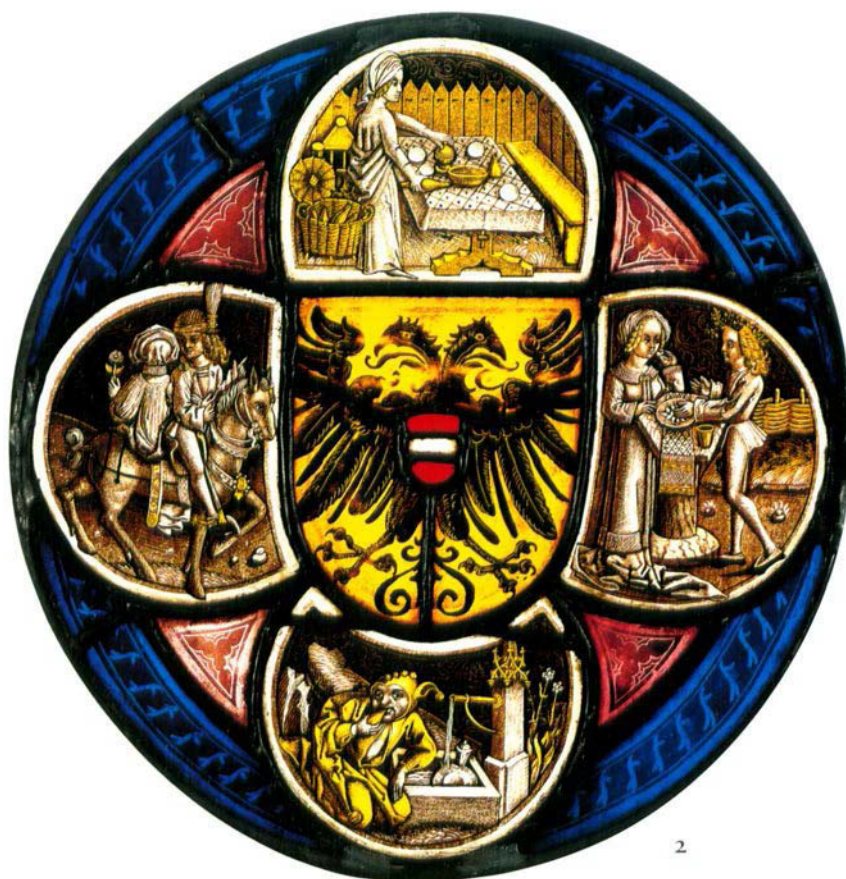
8. Stange 1958: 30. Stange believed that more than one artist was responsible for the *Housebook* and compared the Dresden sheet with the book's *Mining Panorama* (fol. 35r).

9. Becksmann 1968: 359.

10. Hess 1994: 54–55.

11. Bartsch 1803–21: no. 51.

12. Hermann Schmitz (1913, 1: 106–7) noted that quatrefoils are depicted in the windows in the dedication page of a manuscript belonging to Philip the Good (1396–1467) (the narrative *Gerard de Roussillon*, 1447–50, Vienna, Hofbibliothek, no. 2549). See Schestag 1899: fig. 4 on 205.



2

2

After the Master of the
Housebook

Quatrefoil with Genre Scenes

c. 1475

Pot-metal, flashed, and clear glass, yellow stain,
sanguine, black and brown vitreous paint

CONDITION

Some replacements in background
of roundel

COAT OF ARMS

Imperial arms (or a double-headed eagle
displayed sable inescutcheon gules a fees argent
[for Austria])

DIAMETER

32.4 cm

New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art,
The Cloisters Collection, 1911

Inv. no. 11.120.2

PROVENANCE

Richard Zschille, Grossenhain (Hesse); [Otto
von Falke, Berlin]

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Schmitz 1913, 1: fig. 171 on
102, 103; Rorimer 1938: 97; Wentzel 1954: 72;
Knappe 1961a: 61; Wentzel 1966: 360, note 5
on 370; Becksmann 1968: 359, note 35 on 364;
Hayward et al. 1971–72: 142; Witzleben 1977:
49–50, pl. 172 on 139; Corpus Vitrearum
Checklist 1 1985: 128; Husband 1985: 151,
fig. 22; New York and Nuremberg 1986: no. 66b;
Scholz 1991: 34–36, fig. 45 on 41, 250, 300;
Hess 1994: 55–56, note 174 on 125–26;
Husband 1998: notes 14 and 17 on 184.

This quatrefoil represents young lovers on horseback (left) and eating a lovers' feast (right) that the young woman has prepared (above). In contrast to the shared happiness of the couple, a lone fool with a loaf of bread crouches by a fountain (below). Hermann Schmitz identified *Quatrefoil with Genre Scenes* as one of a group of four, three of which were in the Kunstgewerbemuseum in Berlin until they were destroyed in World War II.¹ These three are *A Youth on Horseback*, *a Castle in a Rocky Landscape*, *a Fool and a Young Woman Strolling*, and *a Couple at a Fountain*; *Young Men and Women Playing Checkers, Roulette, Trictrac, and Cards* (fig. 12); and *Quatrefoil with Knights Jousting, Three Heralds, and Two Fools* (fig. 9). The design for the first of these three quatrefoils—*Design for a Quatrefoil with a Castle, Two Lovers, a Jester*

Courting a Woman, and a Man on Horseback with a Lady Seated Behind Him, c. 1475 (fig. 5)—has been called a copy after the Master of the Housebook (or after the Master of the Genre and Tournament Pages). It is arguably by the master's own hand, perhaps a *Reinzeichnung*, or cleaned-up copy made to give clear guidance to the glass painter.² The four panels formerly in Berlin and in New York depict subjects that evoke chivalric literature and the chivalric ideal of love. The three formerly in Berlin bore the coats of arms of the Waldstromer family of Nuremberg. Schmitz believed that, like the quatrefoil in the Cloisters, they originally would have displayed the imperial arms. As Jane Hayward observed, this suggests that they were made either for a royal residence or an official building.³

Schmitz identified *Quatrefoil with Genre Scenes* and its three counterparts, formerly in Berlin, as a series because all four works were executed in the same pictorial manner. As Hayward noted, the glass painter used layers of matt to build up areas of shadow, a stippling brush to achieve texture (stabbing the matt with the brush to lighten it), and a stylus to create highlights. On the verso he employed yellow stain and a reddish brown paint called sanguine

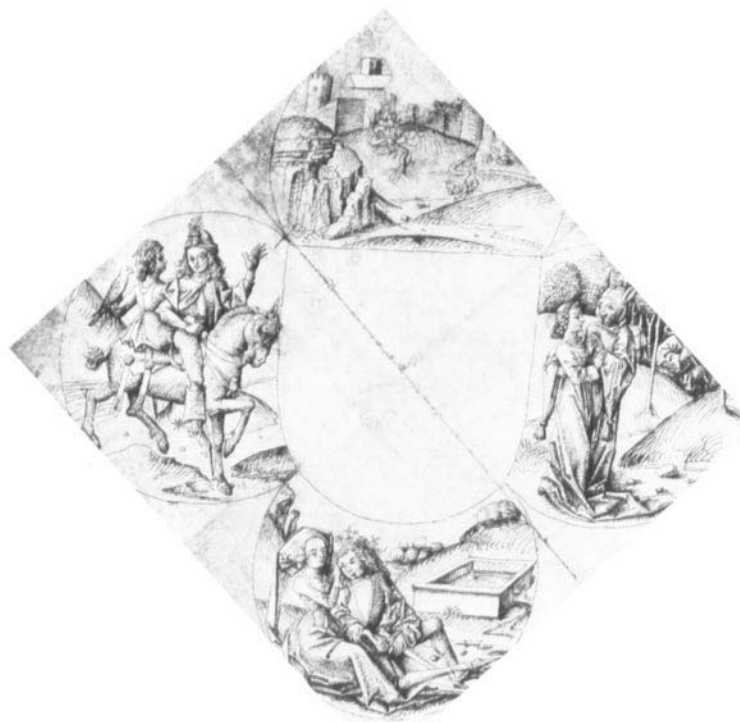


FIGURE 5. By or after the Master of the Housebook. *Design for a Quatrefoil with a Castle, Two Lovers, a Jester Courting a Woman, and a Man on Horseback with a Lady Seated Behind Him*, c.1475. Pen and ink, 24 × 22 cm. Formerly Basel, Hartmann collection, present location unknown. Photo: Hess 1994: fig. 49.



FIGURE 6. After the Master of the Housebook. *Quatrefoil with the Waldstromer Coat of Arms, a Young Man and a Young Woman Eating a Feast, and a Fool Beside a Fountain*, c. 1480–90. Pot-metal, flashed, and clear glass, yellow stain, and vitreous paint, 29.5 cm. Formerly Berlin, Kunstgewerbemuseum; destroyed during World War II. Photo: Schmitz 1913, II: no. 258 on pl. 31.



FIGURE 7. After the Master of the Housebook. *Quatrefoil with the Coat of Arms of the Imperial City of Nuremberg and Love Scenes*, c. 1495–98? Pot-metal, flashed, and clear glass, yellow stain, sanguine, and vitreous paint, 31 cm (diam.). Staatliche Museen zu Berlin-Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Kunstgewerbemuseum (inv. no. 1907,165). Photo: Hans-Joachim Bartsch.

1. Schmitz 1913, I: 103, II: nos. 191–93.
2. Pen and ink, 24.3 × 21.7 cm. Provenance: Professor Grahl, Dresden, c. 1885; F. Becker collection, 1912; H. Oppenheimer, 1922; Hartmann Collection, Basel (last known location). Bibliography: Becksmann 1968: 359, fig. 5 on 362, note 30 on 364 (with a summary of the earlier literature); Amsterdam 1985: no. 139a; Hess 1994: 54–56, fig. 49; Ulm 1995: 45, fig. 3 on 46; Husband 1998: 179–80, fig. 2 and New York 1999a: 72–73, fig. 29 on 74, note 43 on 80. Those who considered the *Housebook* to be the work of more than one hand considered the drawing to be by or after the Master of the Genre and Tournament Pages of the Housebook or a close follower. See especially Rüdiger Becksmann, J. P. Filedt Kok (Amsterdam 1985), and Daniel Hess. While it is not possible to judge from a reproduction whether or not the drawing is a copy, it must be borne in mind that it was not uncommon for artists to copy (or even trace) their own drawings. Dürer is a notable example of an artist who traced his own work. See cat. nos. 66–67, note 4.
3. Jane Hayward in New York and Nuremberg 1986: 207.
4. Scholz 1991: 34–36. See also Knappe 1961a: 60–62.
5. Husband 1998: 181 and note 19 on 184.
6. Schmitz 1913, II: no. 258, formerly Berlin, Kunstgewerbemuseum, destroyed during World War II.
7. Scholz 1991: 34–36.
8. For the last two, see Schmitz 1913, II: nos. 265–66. The color illustration of the last of the three quatrefoils in Freiburg 1998: 458 is reversed. This quatrefoil was attributed to Hans von Kulmbach (Winkler 1941: fig. 6) because the figures in the right lobe resemble a drawing that is incorrectly assigned to him, *A Knight Jousting and a Horseman* (fig. 62, London, British Museum; Winkler 1941: fig. 3; Winkler 1942: no. 95). I still accepted the attribution to Kulmbach in my 1985 dissertation (Butts 1985: 100–101, 103–4). Stadler (1936: 79–80) rightly noted that the corporeal figures and the handling of light and shadow are uncharacteristic of Kulmbach. The vigorous pen-and-ink lines contrast with Kulmbach's more delicate strokes. Timothy B. Husband (1998: fig. 4 on 182) recently described the drawing in London simply as being from the workshop of Dürer, c. 1505.
9. Baltimore, The Walters Art Gallery; New York and Nuremberg 1986: no. 264. The quatrefoil is sometimes incorrectly attributed to Hans von Kulmbach because a drawing by him, *Young Couple on Horseback, Bearded Man with a Turban on Horseback, Piper, and Drummer* (Winkler 1942: no. 94), is related to its lower lobe. But the drawing is later than the quatrefoil. It can be placed in Kulmbach's oeuvre c. 1515 based on the combination of graphic discipline and easy movement of the pen and on the attenuated figures placed solidly on the ground.

(*Eisenrot*), first used in southwestern Germany at the end of the fifteenth century. Sanguine and yellow stain helped the glass painter to achieve vividness new to stained glass without the use of colored glass. The minute style of painting and of etching details into the matted Schmitz to believe that the glass painter was proficient as an engraver or miniature painter. Hartmut Scholz believed that the four quatrefoils could have been made in Nuremberg c. 1490, since until c. 1505 this pictorial style of glass painting, with its tonal modeling in black matt and grainy textures, existed side by side with and a more graphic style in the Nuremberg workshop of Veit Hirsvogel the Elder.⁴ However, Timothy Husband has pointed out that the Cloisters' *Quatrefoil with Genre Scenes* and its counterparts, formerly in Berlin, could have been made in the region where the Master of the Housebook was active, the Middle Rhine, as early as 1475.⁵

This cycle of four quatrefoils after designs by the Master of the Housebook was apparently popular. A lost quatrefoil with the Waldstromer coat of arms (fig. 6)⁶ and a quatrefoil in the Cloisters (cat. no. 3) belong to a second copy of the cycle made around 1480–90, arguably by a glass painter in the Hirsvogel

workshop.⁷ Both copies of the cycle may originally have displayed the imperial arms. The Master of the Housebook's designs were reinterpreted around 1492–1500, as indicated by three quatrefoils in Berlin with the arms of Nuremberg and the empire: a version of *Young Men and Women Playing Checkers, Roulette, Trictrac, and Cards*, after a drawing by Dürer (see cat. nos. 7–8); *Quatrefoil with Genre Scenes* (fig. 7); and *Knights Jousting, Three Heralds, and Two Fools* (fig. 61).⁸ A fourth quatrefoil, bearing the coat of arms of the Geuder family of Nuremberg and the date 1508, reuses the motifs of knights jousting and three trumpeting heralds from the Master of the Housebook (figs. 8–9).⁹



3

3

After the Master of the Housebook

Quatrefoil with Scenes of a Joust

c. 1480–90

Pot-metal, flashed, and clear glass, yellow stain, and black and brown vitreous paint

CONDITION

Some replacements in background of roundel

COAT OF ARMS

Imperial arms (or a double-headed eagle displayed sable inescutcheon gules a fees argent [for Austria])

DIAMETER

32.4 cm

New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Cloisters Collection, 1911

Inv. no. 11.120.1

PROVENANCE

Richard Zschille, Grossenhain (Hesse); [Otto von Falke, Berlin]

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Schmitz 1913, I: 150–51, fig. 245a; Rorimer 1938: 97; Wentzel 1954: 72; Knappe 1961a: 61; Wentzel 1966: 360, note 5 on 370; Becksmann 1968: 359, note 35 on 364; Hayward et al. 1971–72: 142; Witzleben 1977: 49–50, pl. 169 on 138; Corpus Vitrearum Checklist 1 1985: 128; Husband 1985: 151; New York and Nuremberg 1986: no. 66a; Scholz 1991: 34–36, fig. 44 on 40, 250, 300; Hess 1994: 55–56, note 174 on 125–26; Husband 1998: 179–81, color pl. 6, notes 9–19 on 183–84; Munich 1998: 57, fig. 31; Washington, D.C., and New York 1998–99: 56, fig. 31 on 57.

Quatrefoil with Scenes of a Joust was executed around 1480–90 after a lost design by the Master of the Housebook. It is less pictorial than a presumably earlier version of the same subject, formerly in Berlin (fig. 9).¹ The more linear style of the version of *Quatrefoil with Scenes of a Joust* in the Cloisters is comparable to that of a quatrefoil, formerly in Berlin, with a young man and woman on horseback and sharing a meal and with a fool by a fountain (fig. 6).² The quatrefoil in the Cloisters bears the imperial arms, suggesting that it was made for a royal residence or official building.³ The stylistically related quatrefoil in Berlin bore the coat of arms of the Waldstomer family of Nuremberg but may too have originally depicted the imperial arms, as Hermann Schmitz suggested.⁴ Because two glass

painters working in different styles executed cycles of quatrefoils after the same four designs by the Master of the Housebook, Daniel Hess suggested that the quatrefoils after the master's designs may have been mass-produced and the patron's coat of arms added later.⁵ The Master of the Housebook's designs were also reinterpreted around 1492–93 and in the years immediately following by Dürer (see cat. nos. 7–8).

Jane Hayward noted that while the technique of the Cloisters' *Quatrefoil with Genre Scenes* is painterly, the Cloisters' *Quatrefoil with Scenes of a Joust* was made by a glass painter who borrowed much from printmaking.⁶ In particular, she noted that he used trace paint to create hatching lines that follow the contours of forms in the manner of engraving. Hermann Schmitz saw a kinship between the style of glass painting and the woodcuts by Wolgemut and his circle.⁷ Following Schmitz, Hartmut Scholz compared the graphic style to that of grisaille panels in the Hirsvogel workshop after designs by Wolgemut and others (cat. no. 6).⁸

This quatrefoil depicts knights jousting, three heralds, and two romping attendants called *Griesswärtel* (see cat. nos. 78–79), and recalls a depiction of a *Krönleinstechen* (*Deutsches Stechen*,



FIGURE 8. Nuremberg. *Quatrefoil Roundel with Tournament Scenes*, 1508. Pot-metal, flashed, and clear glass, yellow stain, and vitreous paint, 29.8 cm (diam.). Baltimore, The Walters Art Gallery (inv. no. 46.76).

Photo: The Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore.



FIGURE 9. After the Master of the Housebook. *Quatrefoil with Knights Jousting, Three Heralds, and Two Fools*, c. 1475. Pot-metal, flashed, and clear glass, yellow stain, sanguine, and vitreous paint, 29.5 cm (diam.). Formerly Berlin, Kunstgewerbemuseum, destroyed during World War II.

Photo: Schmitz 1913, II: no. 193 on pl. 31.

1. Schmitz 1913, II: no. 193, destroyed during World War II. The Berlin version of *Quatrefoil with Scenes of a Joust* is apparently part of the same cycle of four quatrefoils as *Quatrefoil with Genre Scenes in the Cloisters* (cat. no. 2). As noted above, a drawing by or after the Master of the Housebook for one of the quatrefoils in this group has survived (fig. 5).
2. Schmitz 1913, II: no. 258; coat of arms: Waldstromer family of Nuremberg.
3. Jane Hayward in New York and Nuremberg 1986: 207.
4. 1913, I: 103.
5. Ulm 1995: 45.
6. New York and Nuremberg 1986: 207.
7. Schmitz 1913, I: 151.
8. Scholz 1991: 34, note 122.
9. On tournaments, see Washington, D.C., and New York 1998–99: 51–59.
10. Imhoff 1900: 268.
11. The Walters Art Gallery; New York and Nuremberg 1986: no. 264. Dated 1508, this quatrefoil is loosely based on the same design by the Master of the Housebook that was used for the Cloisters' quatrefoil with scenes of a joust. The quatrefoil in Baltimore is sometimes incorrectly described as after a design by Hans von Kulmbach. See cat. no. 2, note 9.
12. Washington, D.C., and New York 1998–99: 55. Jane Hayward (New York and Nuremberg 1986: 207) thought that the panel in the Cloisters might represent a "tournament masquerade" of the type in Nuremberg in the late Middle Ages at the beginning of Lent. As Hayward noted, this would also explain the social satire and quality of fantasy implied by the inclusion of battling fools.
13. Washington, D.C., and New York 1998–99: 55. For the panel, see Becksmann 1968; Amsterdam 1985: no. 135; and Hess 1994: 52, 54, fig. 46 on 53.

coronal joust) in the *Housebook*.⁹ In this type of joust, combatants in full armor attempt to unseat each other by a blow of the lance on the shield without the lance splintering in the process. To prevent injury, the lances used had blunt ends topped by a small trident (coronael). In the medieval period, participation in tournaments was a privilege of the aristocracy, and apparently in the late fifteenth to early sixteenth century, wealthy families sometimes had their coats of arms depicted on stained glass featuring tournament scenes to demonstrate that they enjoyed the coveted honor. The Waldstromer family of Nuremberg, whose arms appear on the Berlin version of the Cloisters quatrefoil with tournament scenes (fig. 9), was entitled to joust (*turniermässig*).¹⁰ So too were the Geuder and Rieter von Kornburg families of Nuremberg. Their coats of arms identify the combatants in *Quatrefoil Roundel with Tournament Scenes* in Baltimore

(fig. 8).¹¹ In the quatrefoil in the Cloisters, the knight's devices have not been identified. Christoph, count of Waldburg Wolfegg, noted that "it was common to avoid any form of identification such as the family arms, even to ride under imaginary charges and mottos."¹² Such is the case, he observed, with a rectangular stained-glass panel depicting *A Patricians' Tournament* (private collection, Germany, Schloss Gross-Karben, District of Friedberg), designed around 1470–75 by the Master of the Housebook and perhaps intended for the building of the patrician society Alten Limpurg on the Römerberg in Frankfurt.¹³

PETER HEMMEL VON ANDLAU AND THE STRASBOURG WORKSHOP-COOPERATIVE

Andlau (Alsace) c. 1420/25–c. 1501

The biographical details of Peter Hemmel from Andlau (Alsace) are remarkably scant compared to the rich artistic legacy associated with his name.¹ Presumed to have been born at the turn of the second decade of the fifteenth century, he is first documented in 1447 as a citizen of Strasbourg, having married the widow of a glass painter by the name of Heintz.² His name reappears in documents of 1459, 1463, and 1465. He is listed in 1466 as a house owner, and in 1475–76 he served as the guild representative to the city council. Commissions in disparate sites—1473 in Salzburg, 1474 in Obernai, and 1475–76 in Frankfurt—indicate that Hemmel was an established and widely esteemed glass painter.

A document of 1480 confirms an exceptional arrangement whereby Hemmel and the masters of four other independent Strasbourg workshops (*glasere zu Strassburg*)—Lienhart Spritznagel, Hans von Maursmünster, Theobald von Lixheim, and Werner Störer—contracted for an initial four-year period, from 1477–81, to join an a cooperative association, placing them in command of numerous, large, and far-flung commissions. The 1480 document that makes reference to the arrangement concerns the investment of one hundred guilders in the business by the mayor of Strasbourg Georg Stupfler and his wife, and, therefore, specific details of the agreement are unknown. The precise role each of the parties filled, the manner in which responsibilities were apportioned, the degree of specialization, and the custodianship of designs and cartoons are among the many issues that remain frustratingly unestablished. Nonetheless, the Strasbourg workshop-cooperative manifestly executed an astonishing amount of both small- and large-scale stained glass in a distinctive, immediately recognizable, and relatively homogeneous style in and around Strasbourg, in Alsace and Lorraine, and across southern reaches of the Germanic world, from Frankfurt to Wiener Neustadt and, between, in Urach, Tübingen, Freiburg, Lautenbach, Constance, Ulm, Augsburg, Nuremberg, Munich, Salzburg, and Thaur, to name the major sites.

The greater frequency with which the name of Hemmel appears in contract documents relative to those of the four other members of the cooperative—1480 with Rumprecht von Graben in Freiburg; 1483, 1484, 1486, 1496, and 1498 with

René II, duke of Lorraine, in Nancy and Bar-le-Duc; 1485 with the Gutleutkapelle in Obernai; and 1501 with the emperor Maximilian in Thaur in the Tyrol—suggests that Hemmel, presumably the elder member of the cooperative, was its representative and bore legal responsibility for all commissions. Whether Hemmel was simply an entrepreneur who landed commissions and then saw that the work was executed by one of the workshops, drawing on an extensive repository of designs, or whether the workshops and their individual members developed with greater artistic independence within the structure of the cooperative, remains a matter of debate.³

The attribution of panels to one or another master or workshop is greatly complicated by the absence of sufficient documentation. Only a single panel and one glazing program can be linked unequivocally to Hemmel himself: the standing *Virgin and Child* from Obernai that can be identified with one or the other of two documents in the local archives, one dated 1474 and the other 1485,⁴ and the 1473–80 glazing of the nunnery church on the Nonnberg, Salzburg, commissioned by Augustin Klaner.⁵ Only one panel is signed by any of the five Strasbourg masters: the 1504 window in the transept of Metz Cathedral bears the name of Theobald von Lixheim.⁶ Thus, the overwhelming preponderance of the Strasbourg workshop-cooperative's production has been attributed primarily on the basis of style, and the distribution of glass among the various masters and their workshops remains a contentious scholarly exercise.

To a considerable degree, however, the outlines of Frankl's 1956 monographic study still are generally accepted. Based on the 1504 panel, a small body of work was associated with Theobald von Lixheim. Frankl distributed the remaining production among three stylistic groupings, each of which he attributed to an eponymous master: to the Clemens Master, after the panel of *Saint Clemens* in Saint Mary's Church in Ravensburg, he further attributed *The Tree of Jesse* Window in the same church, *The Life of the Virgin* Window in Tübingen, and *The Tree of Jesse* in the Kramer Window in the Ulm minster; to the Master of the Council Window in the Ulm minster, he also gave *The Expulsion and Last Judgment* Window in Tübingen, as well as a number of individual panels; and finally

to the Lautenbach Master, responsible for the extensive glazing of the parish and pilgrimage church in Lautenbach/Renchtal, he attributed, among other works, the 1472 donor panel of Melchior Gmeres in Nuremberg, the panels from the former library of the Constance minster (cat. no. 4), and much of the choir glazing of the collegiate church in Tübingen.⁷ Subsequently, scholars have attempted to improve upon Frankl's work: Becksmann, for example, detected an additional master in the Tübingen glazing whom he dubbed the Freiburg Master,⁸ and, more recently, Gatouillat convincingly demonstrated the participation of the Lautenbach Master in the 1480–81 choir glazing of the Magdalen Church in Strasbourg.⁹ In general, however, further efforts to refine Frankl's admittedly heuristic attributions for all the glass of the Strasbourg workshop-cooperative increasingly have been relinquished to admit a more complex reading of artistic production within workshops responding to diverse artistic influences, shifting patterns of patronage, and economic imperatives.

Perplexing is the paucity of work securely attributable to Hemmel prior to the formation of the cooperative in 1477. He must have produced a large body of work over a then-thirty-year career to position himself as the presumed guiding force behind the sudden succession of extraordinary monumental glazing programs created during the four-year term of the agreement: the axial window at Tübingen (1478); the Kramer Window and Council Window at Ulm (1480–81); and the Volckamer Window at Saint Lawrence, Nuremberg (1481). Subsequent attempts have been made to link Hemmel with earlier, important glazing programs in Strasbourg. Wentzel, for example, identified Peter Hemmel with the master of the 1461 glazing of the former abbey church of Walbourg; Frankl, on the other hand, associated Hemmel with the 1465 nave glazing of the church of Saint Wilhelm in Strasbourg, which, in part, employed cartoons previously used at Walbourg. Particularly in *The Passion* windows, Frankl saw a glass painter who had not yet fully emerged as an independent artist yet was fully capable of bringing individual voice to his painting. By 1465, however, Hemmel must have been a mature artist of about forty years of age; he was nearing sixty by the termination of the four-year con-

tract in 1481. Searching for a mature work prior to 1477, Scholz points to the Saint Catherine Window, executed about 1475 for the church of Saint William;¹⁰ Becksmann, on the contrary, stresses that one can only look to the Nonnberg glazing for the hallmarks of Hemmel's style.¹¹ In either case, well taken is the observation that the female heads with smooth, broad planes marked with small, pointed features and the powerful, craggy male heads—all finely modeled with dense, stippled matt (on stippling, see Peter van Treeck's essay)—that characterize the Catherine Window reemerge in the axial window at Tübingen and then in the Ulm Council Window and other glazings Frankl attributed to his Clemens Master; it is likewise evident that many elements of the Nonnberg panels, such as the highly formulated head types and the alternating backgrounds and tracery patterns, reappear in the Council Window and the other work associated with this master by Frankl.¹²

However instructive the stylistic apportioning of the Strasbourg workshop-cooperative production may be, the nature of the workshops of the cooperative should also be borne in mind. By the closing decades of the fifteenth century, workshops of all types were increasingly operated as highly organized and commercially viable enterprises. Often conservative in nature to broaden the appeal of their products, these workshops developed a range of compositional concepts, relied on extensive supplies of models and designs, and adhered to the distinctive style of the master. The workshops were large and typically involved, in addition to the master, several assistants, including journeymen and appren-

tices. All had to work in the master's signature style, which was key to the marketing of the product. This praxis was compounded in the case of the Strasbourg workshop cooperative as a considerable degree of stylistic homogeneity had to be maintained between the five associated workshops. The collective "look" superceded the individual "hand." In this regard, these late medieval masters undoubtedly would find the modern impulse to identify individual or, in the present case, even workshop styles curiously obsessive.

Furthermore, in the later half of the fifteenth century, Strasbourg became a major artistic center flourishing under a broad range of influences. It is abundantly clear that Hemmel was familiar with compositional formulas of Netherlandish painters, particularly of Rogier van der Weyden (c. 1399–1464), through the engravings of Martin Schongauer and, perhaps, even more directly, the influence of Dieric Bouts (act. 1444–75). Hemmel and his associates likewise must have had intimate knowledge of Nicolaus Gerhaert van Leiden, for his sculpture had considerable impact, both stylistically and conceptually, on the Strasbourg glass-painting workshops. Regional panel painters were also highly influential, and the intimate relationship between a group of drawings collectively attributed to the Master of the Drapery Studies, and the Strasbourg workshop-cooperative has been the subject of extensive investigation.¹³ Thus, Strasbourg was a rich and highly charged creative center, attracting gifted artists from many points across northern Europe; the collective influence, as much as that of any individual master, was seminal to the extraordinarily rich and extensive production of the Strasbourg workshop-cooperative.

4

Strasbourg Workshop-Cooperative, The Lautenbach Master

Mater Dolorosa

c. 1480

Pot-metal glass and vitreous paint

49.8 × 41.6 cm

New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Cloisters Collection, 1998

Inv. no. 1998.215b

PROVENANCE

Former Library (subsequently the chapter house), Constance minster; sale, Auktionen H. Helbig, Munich, November 21, 1912, lot 55, a, b, ill.; Bodmer family, Zürich, 1912–97; [Dr. Barbara Giesicke, Schliengen]

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Wentzel 1951: 39; Frankl 1956: 123, no. 22, 126, no. 44, figs. 228–29; Becksmann 1979: 86–88, 115–19, 122, pl. 7 c (former library), pl. 120, figs. 386–87; Husband in New York 1999b: no. 230, 190–91; Husband in de Montebello forthcoming.

Enshrouded by white drapery, the haloed Virgin, with eyes downcast and arms crossed over her breast, is placed in a living shrine defined by two flanking treetrunks whose branches form an ogive arch above. The Virgin is apparently standing on an attached platform; her drapery overlaps the severed trunk in front of her, the central element in the dendriform tracery, which is set before a broad damascene pattern on a deep blue ground. Only the spire finials along the bottom edge appear to be made of stone, and even these, each pair canting inward, would seem to be metamorphosing into arboreal form.

Although presented as the *Mater Dolorosa*, the Virgin sheds no tears, and the calm serenity of her expression suggests that grief over the death of her son has been mitigated by a recognition of the redemptive value of his sacrifice. This theme is reinforced by *The Man of Sorrows* (fig. 10),¹ with whom the *Mater Dolorosa* was originally paired, as the display of Christ's wounds underscores the very means—his flesh and blood embodied in the Eucharist—by which mankind can attain salvation.² Together these images constitute a compelling devotional ensemble that appears to have derived from early Netherlandish diptychs,³ but it became widespread in panel painting, graphic art, and sculpture.

1. For the most recent and concise discussion of Peter Hemmel and the Strasbourg workshop-cooperative, see Hartmut Scholz, "Die Strassburger Werkstattgemeinschaft: Ein historischer und kunsthistorischer Überblick," in Ulm 1995: 13–22.
2. For a listing of all documentary records concerning Hemmel and the Strasbourg workshop-cooperative, see Scholz in Ulm 1995: 23–26.
3. Wentzel (1954: 64–66) took the former view, while Frankl (1956: 56–96) argued for the latter.
4. Ancien Musée Historique, Dépôt du Grenier de l'Ancienne Halle aux Blés; see Ulm 1995: 122, no. 24.
5. Becksmann 1995: 210–11, no. 67.
6. The identity of Hans Wild, whose name appears on the banderole of one of the prophets in the Kramerfenster, Ulm minster, has to date defied satisfactory explanation.
7. For a summary of Frankl's attributions, see Frankl 1956: 94–96.
8. Becksmann 1970.
9. Gatouillat 1990: 44–50.
10. Ulm 1995: 19.
11. Becksmann 1995: 211.
12. Scholz in Ulm 1995: 19–20.
13. See Ulm 1995: 160–230.



FIGURE 10. Strasbourg Workshop Cooperative (The Lautenbach Master). *The Man of Sorrows*, c. 1480. Pot-metal glass and vitreous paint, 49.5 × 41.6 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Cloisters Collection, 1998 (1998.215a).

4

The library of the Constance minster was constructed under the direction of Vincenz Ensinger, in charge of the minster fabric from 1453 until 1489, and it must have been completed prior to about 1480, when the windows were glazed. The original function of the finely proportioned room is indicated by the low, generously sized windows: those on the west and north sides, equipped with built-in window seats, had blank glazings in the lancet registers, providing ample light throughout the interior space, while colored glass was confined to the traceries; only the six east windows, all but one comprising three lancets with three registers of rectilinear panels, were fully glazed. The glazing of the east windows was removed between the late eighteenth century (1777?) and 1829 and was auctioned in 1891; today, only twenty-three panels are known to have survived and are now dispersed amongst museums in Basel, Berlin (now destroyed), Cologne, Frauenfeld, New York, and Prague.⁴ Of the rectilinear panels, only the present panel and its companion are

figural; the rest are canopies of architectural or arboreal traceries against damascened grounds.⁵ The glazing program, as a consequence, cannot be reconstructed, although standing figures undoubtedly were included; it is clear, however, that the canopies and traceries alternated between architectural and arboreal and the damascened backgrounds between red and blue, all of which must have brought striking rhythmic continuity to this exceptional program.

The subtle gradations in the stippled modeling of the broad, rounded face of the Virgin, the drawing of the hands, and the treatment of the drapery—broad planes juxtaposed with tubular folds and deep crevasses—all find close comparison in the works of the Lautenbach Master, *The Annunciate Virgin* from the west window at Lautenbach being a compelling, if somewhat more refined, example. The Constance architectural and arboreal traceries, however lush and inventive, lack the balance and rich density of their counterparts in Lautenbach. In terms of the development of technical

mastery, the enrichment of ornamental vocabulary, and the increased coherence of compositions, the glazing of the Constance minster library—as Becksmann long ago pointed out⁶—falls neatly between the 1478 choir windows of the collegiate church in Tübingen and the 1482 glazing of the Lautenbach parish church.

1. The Cloisters Collection, 1998 (1998.215a). See New York 1999b: no. 230, 190 for color illustration. The head of Christ is a replacement of the mid-nineteenth century based on a composition of Hans Holbein the Younger.
 2. This theme was employed again by the Strasbourg workshop-cooperative in the Volckamer Window, about 1481, in Saint Lawrence, Nuremberg. Here, however, the *Mater Dolorosa* is placed behind the vertical tree trunk and thus is curiously obscured.
 3. See, for example, the diptych after Memling, now in the Musée des Beaux-Arts, Strasbourg (Friedländer 1967–76, VI: pl. 92, 41d); or that by the workshop of Dieric Bouts, now in the National Gallery, London; or the close version of this in the Louvre, Paris (Friedländer 1967–76, III: pls. 92, 83, and 83a).
 4. See Becksmann 1979: 119–22 for a summary catalogue of these panels.
 5. The “fish bladder” traceries, probably from one of the north windows and now in the Historisches Museum Basel, each have an angel playing a musical instrument.
 6. Becksmann 1979: 118.

THE MASTER OF THE COBURG ROUNDELS

(The Master of the Drapery Studies)

Active in Strasbourg, c. 1470–c. 1500

Also known as the Master of the Drapery Studies for the prevalence of this subject in his drawings, the Master of the Coburg Roundels was active in Strasbourg as a painter and designer of stained glass. He is most appreciated for his drawings, which number some 120 sheets, constituting one of the largest bodies of drawings of a northern European artist of the pre-Dürer era. The sheets were often copied from other sources—including paintings, engravings, and sculpture—and show knowledge of the work of Netherlandish artists such as Rogier van der Weyden (c. 1399–1464), and German masters such as Martin Schongauer and the most important mid-century artist in Strasbourg, the Master of the Karlsruhe Passion, who may have been the teacher of the Master of the Coburg Roundels. The connection of his drawings to Strasbourg stained glass indicates that the Master of the Coburg Roundels was active in the glass painter's atelier known as the Strasbourg workshop-cooperative (cf. Hartmut Scholz's essay in this volume, pp. 19–20, and cat. no. 4). He was also active as a painter, with the principal examples including the ten panels of a Passion cycle of 1488 in the Church of Saint Pierre-le-Vieux, Strasbourg.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Christiane Andersson in *Detroit, Ottawa, and Coburg* 1983: 108 (for further literature); Michael Roth in *DOA* 1996, xx: 648–49 (for further literature).



5

5

The Master of the Coburg Roundels

Studies of Christ's Loincloth

c. 1480–81

Pen and brown and black ink, brown and gray wash on cream laid paper

WATERMARK

Gothic P with a flower (close to Piccard 1961–, IV: 4, pt. 3, sec. 9, no. 1142)

28 × 20.6 cm

Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum

Inv. no. 93.GA.10

PROVENANCE

Thomas Lawrence, London (Lugt 1921: 2445); Ludwig Maximilian, Freiherr von Biegeleben, Vienna (Lugt 1921: 385), (sale, C. J. Wawra, Vienna, February 15, 1886, lot 2649); Eugène Rodrigues, Paris (sale, Frederik Muller, Amsterdam, July 12, 1921, lot 92); Hendrikus Egbertus ten Cate, Almelo, the Netherlands (Lugt 1956: 533b); Anton Schmid, Munich and Vienna; art market, Germany; art market, Boston.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Thorlacius-Ussing 1926: 248; Buchner 1927: no. 5 on 293–94, fig. 58 on 296; Winkler 1930: 110, under no. 29, 150, 152; Naumann 1935: 19; Hannema 1955: no. 290 on 160; Detroit, Ottawa, and Coburg 1983: 110, under no. 29, figs. 27–28 on 392–93; Roth 1988: no. 44 on 122–24; Roth 1992: no. 22 on 158, 159; Ulm 1995: 180, figs. 52.1, 52.2, under no. 52; Hendrix 1996: 43–50.

The drawings of the multifaceted Master of the Coburg Roundels yield a rich fund of information about the design of stained glass in late-fifteenth-century Strasbourg. He was in demand as a designer of small-scale stained glass, as evidenced by the circular drawings in Coburg from which he derives his name, which are both glass designs. As indicated by one of them, *The Virgin and Child with Angels in a Rose Arbor* (inv. no. Z 232), which contains color notations by the glass painter, the master represents an early case of the clear division of labor between designer and glass painter that would thoroughly pertain during the sixteenth-century.¹ The master also designed large-scale glass, especially, it seems, for the so-called Strasbourg workshop-cooperative, as indicated in particular by several of his drawings that are preparatory to the Volckamer Window in the Church of Saint Lawrence, Nuremberg.² One of the fluttering draperies in a study of loincloths in Strasbourg, Cabinet des Estampes et des Dessins (inv. no. XLIX.85), seems to be preparatory to that worn by Saint Sebastian in the Volckamer Window.³ The Getty drawing—a tapestry of nine interlocking loincloths (with two more on the verso), each folded differently and oriented in a different direction—is extraordinarily close to the Strasbourg sheet and certainly served the same function as a model-book page of drapery motifs that could be used in glass designs and probably paintings. While in earlier scholarship the drawings of the master were viewed as primarily copies of works of art by others, more recent research, principally that of Christiane Andersson and Michael Roth, has understood them more within the mentality of the late Middle Ages as opposed to the Renaissance, and, within this context, as incorporating greater invention than previously appreciated. The loincloths on the Getty sheet, for example, do not copy other works of art, but rather paraphrase the Schongaueresque motif of Christ's fluttering loincloth.⁴ Indeed, in following the involuted folds over the page, one appreciates the master's intricate visual sensibility, as he plays one subtle variation against another. This late medieval type of "invention" provided the artist with an abundant fund of motifs. Exemplifying the type of use to which the Getty sheet could have been put is the circular stained-glass design at Coburg, *The Crucifixion with the Virgin and Saint John* (inv. no. Z 255), in which the fluttering loincloth of Christ repeats some of the same features of the third drapery on the lower left in the Getty drawing.⁵

HIRSVOGEL

(Hirschvogel, Hirsfoegel)

The Hirsvogel were Nuremberg's leading stained-glass painters from around 1485 until well into the sixteenth century.¹ Veit Hirsvogel the Elder (1461–1525) was the son of a glass painter named Heinz (died before 1485). Veit established the family workshop in 1485 after his father's death. In 1495 he was appointed the city's official glass painter, achieving a virtual monopoly on the production of stained glass in the city until his death thirty years later. Veit's brother, Hans Hirsvogel the Elder (d. before 1528), is presumed to have been among the glass painters who worked in the shop. Veit was eventually assisted as well by his three sons: Veit Hirsvogel the Younger (1487–1553), Hans Hirsvogel the Younger (d. 1516), and Augustin Hirsvogel (1503–1553). In 1526, a year after Veit Hirsvogel the Elder's death, Veit Hirsvogel the Younger was appointed as the city's official glass painter. Veit Hirsvogel the Younger's son Sebald (1517–1589) later succeeded him and held the post for thirty-three years.

It is possible that Heinz Hirsvogel was one of the many glass painters who worked with Michael Wolgemut to produce monumental windows for the eastern choir of Saint Lawrence (glazing essentially done from 1476 to 1481; see Hartmut Scholz's essay, p. 27). If so, he may have been assisted by Veit Hirsvogel the Elder. The latter is presumed to have spent his journeyman's years in the Strasbourg workshop of the glass painter Peter Hemmel von Andlau in the early 1480s. The dominant style in the Hirsvogel workshop until around 1505 was derived from Hemmel. This pictorial style, characterized by hard contours and tonal modeling in black matt, into which hatching and highlights are scratched, gave way around 1505 to a more linear style introduced around 1497 and emulating drawings by Michael Wolgemut and Albrecht Dürer. The two styles are seen side by side in the window of the Bishops of Bamberg, 1502, in the eastern choir of Saint Sebald (cat. no. 18).

1. Cf. Christiane Andersson in Detroit, Ottawa, and Coburg 1983: nos. 28, 43.

2. Cf. the essay by Hartmut Scholz in this catalogue, pp. 19–20, figs. 2–3.

3. As discussed by Michael Roth in Ulm 1995: 180, under no. 52.

4. Cf. Ulm 1995: 180, under no. 52.

5. For the Coburg drawing, cf. Detroit, Ottawa, and Coburg 1983: no. 29.

The so-called Bamberg Window is the first virtually intact monumental window from the Hirsvogel workshop. It is only one of two monumental stained-glass projects that can be connected to the Hirsvogel workshop by documents, the second being the windows of the Saint Roch Chapel of 1520, commissioned by the Imhoff family of Nuremberg. Writing in 1547, the Nuremberg calligrapher Johann Neudörfer noted the Hirsvogel's role in the execution of the Bamberg Window (cat. no. 18), Emperor's Window, 1514 (cat. no. 49), Margrave's Window, 1515 (cat. no. 50), and Pfinzing Window, 1515 (cat. no. 27), in the eastern choir of Saint Sebald. In addition to monumental stained-glass windows, Veit Hirsvogel the Elder and his workshop produced the small glass panes so popular in the decoration of civic buildings, cloisters, and private homes in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

Unlike Hemmel, who apparently worked consistently from his own designs, the Hirsvogel often worked from drawings provided by artists outside the workshop. (They also worked from their own designs, made by recycling cartoons and borrowing from contemporary prints.) For the first decade of its existence, c. 1485–95, the Hirsvogel workshop relied heavily on the woodcuts and stained-glass designs of Wolgemut and his workshop. Then, beginning around 1496, Dürer's designs came to the fore. Dürer's monumental figures, achieved by modeling in swelling and tapering lines, are ubiquitous in the stained glass of Nuremberg in the last years of the fifteenth century and the first decades of the sixteenth century. Also under Dürer's influence, the compartmentalized and decorative approach that typified late Gothic windows was replaced by 1515 by a more monumental conception, in which stately figures and illusionistic settings unified all the panels of a window. During Dürer's second trip to Italy in 1505–7, Hans Baldung as-

sumed the leading role as designer of stained glass for the Hirsvogel workshop. He designed the Löffelholz Window in Saint Lawrence (1506) and many of the panels for of the cloister of the Carmelite convent, around 1505 (cat. no. 29).

In 1505, Veit Hirsvogel the Younger was eighteen years old and Hans Hirsvogel the Younger about seventeen (Augustin was just two). Hartmut Scholz proposed that one of them, preferably Hans, might have been the member of the Hirsvogel workshop to collaborate with Baldung in translating his drawings into glass, capturing their precise lines that evoke engraving.² This may be true. But Veit Hirsvogel the Younger and Hans did not emerge as artistic personalities until around 1513–20, when they signed some of their works. In 1513, Veit Hirsvogel the Younger monogrammed and dated a cartoon he made after one of Hans von Kulmbach's designs for a cycle of small panels depicting the Four Fathers of the Church (cat. nos. 47–48). He also monogrammed and dated a group of three rectangular panels depicting angels holding coats of arms in the parish house of Saint Sebald in 1517 (cat. nos. 51–53) and the windows of Saint Roch in 1520. Hans Hirsvogel the Younger's monogram and the date 1514 appear on four rectangular panels with angels holding coats of arms, also in the parish house of Saint Sebald. The graphic style of this short-lived glass painter is known through a design for three circular stained-glass panels. It is monogrammed *HHF* and depicts kneeling donors.³ Augustin Hirsvogel worked with his father and brothers from c. 1520. He is thought to be the glass painter responsible for translating the designs of his contemporary, Sebald Beham, into painted glass in three rectangular panels depicting angels holding coats of arms in the parish house of Saint Sebald, c. 1521 (cat. nos. 63–64). The panels are characteristic of Augustin's tonal style, which broke decisively with the more linear style of his older brother Veit.

Veit Hirsvogel the Elder died in the year Nuremberg embraced Luther's cause (1525). The coming of the Reformation discouraged commissions for monumental church windows, since the Reformers cast doubt upon the efficacy of such donations for assuring the salvation of the donor. Commissions for cabinet panels replaced those for monumental glass windows as the mainstay of the Hirsvogel

workshop. But the business was apparently suffering in 1528, when Veit and Augustin were forced to sell the family home for 580 Rhenish guilders.⁴ Augustin apparently set up his own business making glassware in the Venetian manner. He also continued to make cabinet panels, working extensively from his own designs by c. 1530–36. It is then that he drew fifty-three hunting scenes for an extensive series of stained-glass roundels (Budapest, Szépművészeti Múzeum), two of which survive (Munich, Bayerisches Nationalmuseum).⁵ Augustin has also been credited with the two rectangular panels *David and Bathsheba* and *Samson and Delilah* from the series *The Power of Women* and a circular variant of *Samson and Delilah* (Nuremberg, Germanisches Nationalmuseum).⁶ The prominence of landscape and its calligraphic treatment call to mind Augustin's later landscape etchings. Augustin apparently continued his activity as a glass painter after leaving Nuremberg in 1536. In 1548, he was paid for a coat of arms of Vienna painted on glass.⁷ Augustin had settled permanently in Vienna by 1544, working for Archduke Ferdinand I (1503–1564) as a cartographer. His oeuvre includes a textbook on geometry and more than three hundred etchings. The Viennese goldsmith Veit Hirsvogel (1543–1574) is thought to be Augustin Hirsvogel's son.

1. On the biography of the Hirsvogel, see Frenzel 1960; Frenzel 1961; Knappe 1973; Peters 1980; Rainer Kahsnitz in Imhoff 1984: 107–8; Jane S. Peters in *DOA* 1996, xiv: 572–74; and especially Scholz 1991.

2. Scholz 1991: 319–21.

3. *Design for Three Circular Stained-Glass Panels with Kneeling Donors: Erhard Kaser and His Two Wives, Kunigunda and Katherina* (Dresden, Kupferstich-Kabinett, Scholz 1991: 320–21, fig. 421 on 320).

4. See Knappe 1973: 82; Scholz 1991: note 727 on 325.

5. Peters 1980: 79–85, figs. 1, 4.

6. Peters 1980: 86–88, figs. 18–20.

7. Peters 1980: 81, note 14 on 90.

MICHAEL WOLGEMUT

Nuremberg 1434/37–Nuremberg 1519

Michael Wolgemut painted altarpieces, memorial pictures, and portraits and designed woodcuts and stained glass. He is best remembered today as the teacher of Albrecht Dürer, and in his wide-ranging artistic activity he may have served as a model for his famous student. Wolgemut was probably trained in the workshop of his father, the painter Valentin Wolgemut (act. 1433–36, d. 1469–70). He also worked in the atelier of the painter Gabriel Mälesskircher (d. 1495) in Munich. In 1472, Wolgemut married the widow of the Nuremberg painter and glass painter Hans Pleydenwurff (c. 1420–1472), who had died earlier that year. By the end of the fifteenth century Wolgemut was Nuremberg's leading producer of altarpieces with painted wings and carved shrines. (The altarpieces he completed in 1479 for Saint Mary's in Zwickau and in 1508 for the parish church in Schwabach are still in situ.) Wolgemut's paintings were strongly influenced by Netherlandish art. Still he showed a preference for line over color that was typical of Nuremberg. The engravings of Martin Schongauer also had a strong impact on Wolgemut.

As much an entrepreneur as an artist, Wolgemut commissioned painters, sculptors, glaziers, carpenters, and smiths to work in his thriving atelier. As a result, his own artistic contributions are often difficult to distinguish from those of his many collaborators and assistants. This is true in the case of the altarpiece in Schwabach. Wolgemut was required to gild the figures in the shrine and the reliefs inside the inner pair of wings. But he only painted the pictures on the wings of the predella. Wolgemut's workshop also did a thriving business producing woodcut illustrations. In this he worked closely with Dürer's godfather, the printer and publisher Anton Koberger (c. 1445–1513). Wolgemut and his workshop, which included his stepson Wilhelm Pleydenwurff (d. 1494), produced ninety-one full-page illustrations for the Franciscan preacher Stephan Fridolin's (d. 1498) *Schatzbehälter oder schrein der waren reichthuener des hails unnd ewyger seligkeit* (Treasure box or shrine of the true riches of salvation and eternal blessedness; Nuremberg, 1491).¹ Wolgemut and Pleydenwurff were also the principal designers of woodcuts for the lavishly illustrated *Weltchronik* (Chronicle of the

world; Nuremberg, 1493)² by Hartmann Schedel (1440–1514).

Wolgemut's workshop designed and executed the central windows of the eastern choir of the Church of Saint Lawrence in Nuremberg, a task that would have required the services of many transient glass painters. The most prestigious of these commissions was for the Emperor's Window.³ It was commissioned around 1477 either by Emperor Frederick III (r. 1440–93, emperor from 1452) or by the City Council, hoping to be reimbursed by the emperor. Frederick and his consort Eleonore of Portugal (1437–1467) are depicted prominently in the window. Wolgemut's workshop also produced the adjacent windows on either side of the Emperor's Window. One was commissioned in 1476 by the priest Dr. Petrus Knorr (d. 1478) and the other paid for by a posthumous donation by the priest Dr. Konrad Konhofer (d. 1452).⁴ Wolgemut's windows in the eastern choir of Saint Lawrence influenced the Hirsvogel workshop into the 1490s.⁵ It is even possible that Heinz Hirsvogel (d. before 1485), Veit the Elder's father, worked with Wolgemut on the windows in Saint Lawrence and that Veit assisted his father. Wolgemut's workshop has also been credited with the choir window for Dr. Lorenz Tucher (1447–1503) in the Church of Saint Michael in Fürth, one panel of which depicts Tucher, who was provost of the Church of Saint Lawrence in Nuremberg (dated 1485; Nuremberg, Germanisches Nationalmuseum).⁶ While no designs for the windows by Wolgemut's hand or from his workshop survive, the figures and compositions are paralleled in his paintings and woodcut illustrations. In the monumental windows produced in Wolgemut's workshop, colored glass and yellow stain play a peripheral role, while clear glass dominates. A graphic quality is derived from the use of brown wash beneath contours and tiny lines and hatching strokes in black vitreous paint.

When Veit Hirsvogel the Elder established a workshop in Nuremberg around 1485, working in a style strongly influenced by the stained glass of the Strasbourg master Peter Hemmel von Andlau, Wolgemut's role in the medium diminished. Still, he and his workshop apparently continued to furnish the Hirsvogel workshop with designs for monumental windows and small-scale

panels. The latter could be executed in grisaille in a graphic style reminiscent of Wolgemut's woodcuts, as is the case with *The Crucifixion*, c. 1490 (cat. no. 6). Or they could be carried out using colored glass in a pictorial style derived from Hemmel. This is the case with a panel depicting Saint Sebald and bearing the coats of arms of the Pirckheimer, Löffelholz, and Vorchtel families of Nuremberg (Nuremberg, parish house of Saint Sebald, formerly in the north sacristy of Saint Sebald's church).⁷ The panel, which dates from around 1500, was presumably commissioned by Dr. Johannes Pirckheimer (act. 1456–c. 1500) and his wife, Barbara Löffelholz. Hartmut Scholz observed that it was probably produced in the Hirsvogel workshop based on a drawing in Erlangen (Graphische Sammlung der Universität) thought to be from the Wolgemut workshop.⁸ Wolgemut's figures and compositions still influenced the glass painters in the Hirsvogel workshop in the second decade of the sixteenth century.⁹

1. New York and Nuremberg 1986: no. 86.

2. New York and Nuremberg 1986: no. 87.

3. New York and Nuremberg 1986: no. 44.

4. See Ursula Frenzel (1970), who successfully argued that Wolgemut's workshop also executed other windows, which exist today in fragmentary form.

5. See Frenzel 1970. Ursula Frenzel (1970: 43) argued that Wolgemut was the leading figure in the production of glass in the choir of Saint Lawrence, even in those windows, like the Rieter and Haller Windows, which were designed by other painters and/or glass painters.

6. New York and Nuremberg 1986: no. 43.

7. Scholz 1991: 30–32, fig. 32.

8. See Hartmut Scholz (1991: 30–32, figs. 32–33). Scholz noted that the drawing could have been executed earlier than c. 1500 and that the panel could be a later, second use of it. He also pointed out that the drawing could have been executed by a member of the Hirsvogel workshop trained in Franconia. Scholz (1991: note 101 on 27–28) noted that Wolgemut's workshop will remain a loose concept until there is further study of painting in Franconia, and specifically Nuremberg, in the late Gothic period. For an overview of late Gothic Franconian painting, see Peter Strieder (1993b).

9. For an overview of Wolgemut's influence on the Hirsvogel workshop, see Hartmut Scholz (1991: 23–42, 218–19 and figs. 311–14 on 220–21). On Wolgemut, see Strieder 1993b: 65–85, 199–217; Peter Strieder in *DOA* 1996, xxxiii: 299–302.

6

After Michael Wolgemut?

The Crucifixion

c. 1490

Clear glass of a grayish green tone, yellow stain, and black vitreous paint

CONDITION

Monolithic glass cracked and mended with lead in seven places, replacement glass lower left, upper left, upper right; modern border leading; panel attached to supporting glass pane on the reverse, glue yellowed, painting strongly reduced (washed off)

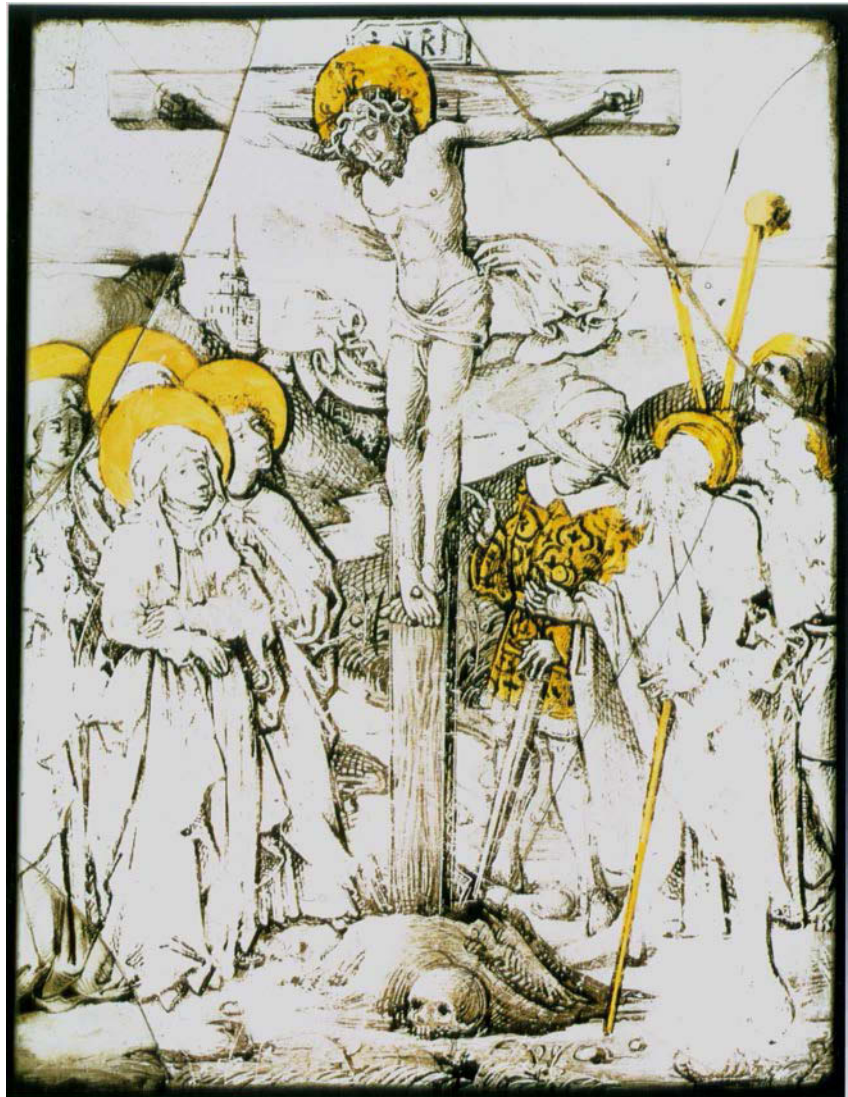
22.6 × 17.9 cm, including lead border

Nuremberg, Germanisches Nationalmuseum

Inv. no. MM III

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Essenwein 1898: 17; Scholz 1991: 33–34, fig. 36 on 36.

Wolgemut and his workshop produced monumental stained-glass windows until about 1485 and later provided designs for large windows and small panels produced in the Hirsvogel workshop. *The Crucifixion* was painted on a single piece of clear glass using gray matt and black trace lines. Contours and hatching strokes are applied with a brush, and hatching and light contours are “picked out” of the black vitreous paint. The only color is yellow, achieved by applying yellow stain to the verso of the glass for halos and other details. This small grisaille panel is typical of a graphic style of glass painting that emerged in Nuremberg in the late fifteenth century and that paralleled similar developments in woodcuts produced in the workshop of Michael Wolgemut. This graphic style was practiced in the Nuremberg workshop of Veit Hirsvogel the Elder alongside a more pictorial style derived from



6

Peter Hemmel von Andlau. No design for *The Crucifixion* has survived. In fact, there is only one known case in which a design from the circle of Wolgemut and the panel executed after it survived.¹ But the doll-like figures, symmetrical composition, landscape setting, and emphasis on textures like the wood of the cross in *The Crucifixion* recall paintings, drawings, and woodcuts of the subject made by Wolgemut and his circle in the last quarter of the fifteenth century.²

1. See the discussion of *Saint Sebald* in the biography of Wolgemut (above).

2. Compare, for instance, a woodcut of 1484 attributed to Wolgemut (New York and Nuremberg 1986: no. 85) and *The Crucifixion* from Wolgemut's altarpiece of 1479 in Zwickau (Strieder 1993b: fig. 73 on 68–69, no. 49). Hartmut Scholz pointed to stylistic similarities in *The Crucifixion* and a *Passion* series comprising nine panels in the Schlossmuseum in Gotha (Scholz 1991: 34, figs. 38, 40, 42 on 38–39). That series was painted c. 1490–1500 and was of Nuremberg origin. Six of its compositions are derived from engravings made c. 1480 by Israhel van Meckenem (c. 1445–1503). Scholz connected *The Crucifixion* to the panels in Gotha because of similarities in the figures and “handwriting,” as well as in the form of cross and treatment of the inscription. *The Crucifixion*, however, does not seem to have been part of the *Passion* series in Gotha since its proportions are slightly taller than those of the panels in Gotha. The figures in *The Crucifixion* are also taller and thinner than their counterparts in Gotha.

NUREMBERG



ALBRECHT DÜRER

Nuremberg 1471–Nuremberg 1528

The leading figure of German Renaissance art, Dürer is best remembered for introducing the forms and ideas of the Italian Renaissance into Northern Europe. Dürer painted altarpieces and portraits, but it was primarily through his engravings and woodcuts that his influence became widespread in Europe. His lifelong interest in art theory was supported by his friendship with the humanist scholar Willibald Pirckheimer (1470–1530) and led to treatises on geometry, proportions, and fortifications. Dürer also took an active interest in the religious debates of his day, becoming a follower of Martin Luther, as proven by an emotional entry in the diary of his trip to the Netherlands (1520–21).¹ A prolific draftsman, Dürer designed sculpture, metalwork, and stained glass. His patrons included Emperor Maximilian I, who paid him an annuity from 1515. Dürer's work for the emperor included designs for over-life-size bronze statues for the ruler's tomb monument² and huge woodcuts, most notably *The Triumphal Arch of Maximilian I*, 1515.³

Dürer initially trained as a goldsmith with his father, Albrecht Dürer the Elder (1427–1502), from 1485 to 1486. From 1486 to 1489, he was apprenticed to the painter Michael Wolgemut in Nuremberg's largest workshop for altarpieces and woodcut illustrations.

(Wolgemut also produced stained glass in his active atelier; see the biography of the artist and cat. no. 6.) Dürer's travels as a journeyman between 1490 and 1494 took him to the early centers of humanism along the Upper Rhine: Colmar (1492), Basel (by August 1492–93), and Strasbourg (1493–94), perhaps by way of Frankfurt and Mainz. In Mainz, Dürer could have made contact with Erhard Reuwich.⁴ The native of the Dutch city of Utrecht is sometimes identified with the Master of the Housebook, whose drypoints had already had an impact on Dürer as an apprentice and whose designs for stained-glass quatrefoils were apparently used by glass painters in Nuremberg c. 1480–90 (cat. no. 3). Dürer traveled to Colmar hoping to meet the second great intaglio printmaker to influence him as an apprentice, the engraver Martin Schongauer (c. 1450–1491), but he arrived after the master's death. Dürer probably used contacts provided by his godfather, the Nuremberg printer Anton Koberger (c. 1445–1513), to find work designing book illustrations for publishers in Basel. He returned to Nuremberg in 1494 and married Agnes Frey (1475–1539), the daughter of brassworker Hans Frey (1450–1523), on July 7. The couple had no children. Dürer traveled to Italy twice, in 1494–95 and 1505–7.

Dürer seems to have designed stained glass throughout most of his career, perhaps even while traveling as a journeyman (cat. no. 7). His earliest drawings for stained glass show the impact of the Master of the Housebook and Schongauer (cat. nos. 7, 9). Later he worked closely with the workshop of the stained-glass painter Veit Hirsvogel the Elder and was the key figure in the transition from the Gothic to the Renaissance in the design of stained glass in Nuremberg. (Dürer's most talented follower, Hans Baldung Grien, developed these new ideas in the design of stained glass first in Nuremberg and then in Strasbourg and Freiburg.) A style of stained-glass painting indebted to Peter Hemmel was dominant in Nuremberg until c. 1505; but by c. 1497, Dürer's designs for stained glass began to give shape to a new style.⁵ At thirty Dürer received a commission to design the bishop of Bamberg's monumental window in the eastern choir of Saint Sebald in Nuremberg (fig. 13, p. 28). Dürer was particularly prolific as a designer of

stained glass after his return from Italy in 1507. Around 1508, he designed the stained glass of the All Saints Chapel of the Twelve-Brothers House (cat. no. 23), for which he also painted his famous *Adoration of the Trinity Altarpiece*, dated 1511 (Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum), based on a design dated 1508 (fig. 24).⁶ Also around 1508, Dürer participated in the design of the stained-glass panels for Nuremberg's Carmelite monastery. (He was clearly responsible for designing *Joachim Parting from Saint Anne*, now in the parish church in Nürnberg-Grossgründlach [fig. 14, p. 30].⁷) Around 1509–13, Dürer made designs for the Schmidtmayer Window in Saint Lawrence in Nuremberg (figs. 3–4, p. 5).⁸ He probably helped his follower Hans von Kulmbach move from a traditional late Gothic conception to a spacious Renaissance interpretation in Kulmbach's designs and cartoons for the Emperor Maximilian's monumental window at the center of the eastern choir of Saint Sebald, dated 1514 (cat. no. 49). A cartoon by Dürer's hand for the window commissioned by the provost of Saint Sebald, Melchior Pfünzing, for the church's eastern choir and finished in 1515 (cat. no. 27), demonstrates the artist's continued involvement with the medium. In addition to designing monumental stained glass, Dürer made numerous drawings for small-scale silver-stained and small-scale and medium-sized pot-metal panels for religious and secular settings. These include panels commissioned by members of the patrician Tetzl and Tucher families of Nuremberg (cat. nos. 11–17, 19–22). He and his followers contributed to the continued popularity of the quatrefoil in Nuremberg in the first decades of the sixteenth century (cat. nos. 7–8, 25–26, 30–31, 55–58, 71–76, and 110), continuing a tradition established in Nuremberg by the well-loved designs by the Master of the Housebook. Dürer also carried on the tradition of the Wolgemut workshop in the design of small rectangular panels and may even have executed commissions on behalf of Wolgemut before establishing his own workshop after his return from Italy in 1495 (cat. nos. 11–17).⁹

1. Fry 1995: 83–88.

2. See Strauss 1974, III: no. 1515/50 and VI: no. xw.677;

Anzelewsky and Mielke 1984: no. 153; and Koreny 1989.

3. Bartsch 1803–21: no. 138.

4. Hutchison 1990: 33–35.

5. Hartmut Scholz published the definitive study of Dürer and stained glass in 1991; see Scholz's book for a full discussion of Dürer's role in the design of monumental stained glass in the last years of the fifteenth century and first decades of the sixteenth century. Scholz convincingly argued that Dürer designed numerous stained-glass panels in the ten years following his return from Italy in 1495. These included several in the Obere Pfarrkirche in Ingolstadt (Scholz 1991: figs. 53–55, 97–98, 102): *Saint Paul*, 1497; *Saint Thomas Aquinas*, 1497; *Saint Barbara*, c. 1497–1503; *Saint Nicholas*, 1504; *Saint Wolfgang*, 1504; and *Saint John the Evangelist*, c. 1505; and in the church of Saint Jakob in Nuremberg (Scholz 1991: figs. 56, 366, 89): *Saint James the Greater*, c. 1497–1502; *Saint Matthias*, c. 1497–1502; and *Saint Anthony Abbot*, c. 1500–1505. Scholz (1991, figs. 63–67) also argued compellingly that Dürer influenced and may have had a role in designing the *Holy Kinship Window*, c. 1500, in Saint Lawrence in Nuremberg.

6. Anzelewsky 1991: no. 118.

7. For the attribution to Dürer, see Hartmut Scholz 1991: 117–19, figs. 158–62 on 118–20.

8. Two sketches by Dürer's hand for the Schmidtmayer Window are known (Strauss 1974, II: 1509/9, 1509/10). On the window, see Scholz 1991: 136, 138–39, 151, 230, 279, 285, and figs. 184–91 on 140–42.

9. Scholz 1991: 41, notes 133–34 on 42.



7

7

Attributed to Albrecht Dürer

Seated Couple Playing Trictrac and Standing Woman Playing Checkers

c. 1492–93

Pen and brown ink, on two pieces of cream laid paper, pieced together and laid down on a third sheet of paper

10.2 × 13.6 cm

Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France

Inv. no. Cote B.13 rés.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Bouchot 1908: pl. 84 (reversed); Winkler 1929: fig. 21 on 37 (reversed), 38, 44; Lugt and Vallery-Radot 1936: no. 19, pl. 12; Stadler 1936: 79; Winkler 1941: 243, 244, fig. 4; Winkler 1942: no. 96; Winkler 1959: 27, pl. 17a; Knappe 1961a: 61; Oettinger and Knappe 1963: note 360 on 112; Butts 1985: 100–103, 105, 108–9; Butts 1986: note 13 on 525; Butts 1990: note 28 on 77–78; Scholz 1991: note 237 on 108, note 388 on 202, fig. 293 on 204, 250; Paris 1991–92: no. 92; Fitz 1995: note 49 on 52.

This drawing of two women and a man playing board games is a study for a stained-glass quatrefoil in the Kunstgewerbemuseum in Berlin (cat. no. 8). In fact, the small drawing consists of two fragments of the design for the quatrefoil, which have been mounted on a third sheet of paper. The dividing line is behind the seated man. The two parts of the sheet correspond to the right lobe and the right portion of the left lobe of the quatrefoil in Berlin. Described as the work of an anonymous German artist by Henri Bouchot in 1908,¹ the sheet in Paris was first attributed to Hans von Kulmbach by Friedrich Winkler in 1929.² Subsequent authors, including the present author in 1985, accepted the attribution to Kulmbach.³ Only Franz Stadler (1936) took exception, assigning the drawing to the school of Dürer, noting that the figures in the Paris drawing are more corporeal than Kulmbach's and the pen strokes firmer than his.⁴ In 1986, I identified Dürer as the artist responsible for *Seated Couple Playing Trictrac and*

Standing Woman Playing Checkers.⁵ The drawing is closely comparable to a tiny pen-and-ink drawing on a pear wood block, *Terence Writing His Comedies* (fig. 11), one of many designs for woodcut illustrations for an edition of the comedies of Terence (Publius Terentius Afer, c. 185/95 B.C.–c. 159 B.C.), which Dürer made in 1492–93, when he was a journeyman in Basel.⁶

The wood block, in Basel, and the drawing, in Paris, are almost equal in size and style and indicate that Dürer made no distinction between drawing lines for a block cutter (*Formschneider*) to follow and drawing lines for a glass painter to transcribe. In both cases, Dürer avoided cross-hatching in creating shadow. He also planned for the unarticulated glass or unarticulated paper to create highlights and thus to enhance the three-dimensionality achieved by his fluid contours and sure hatching strokes. Strikingly similar in *Seated Couple Playing Trictrac and Standing Woman Playing Checkers* and *Terence Writing His Come-*



FIGURE 11. Albrecht Dürer. *Terence Writing His Comedies in a Landscape*, 1492–93. Pen and black ink on pear wood block, 9.3 × 14.7 × 2.4 cm. Basel, Öffentliche Kunstsammlungen, Basel, Kupferstichkabinett (inv. no. Z 425).

Photo: Öffentliche Kunstsammlung Basel, Martin Bühler

dies are the calligraphic formulas for suggesting curling locks of hair or sprouting tree branches. Also compelling is the comparison of the heavy-lidded and contemplative profiles of the poet Terence and the woman playing checkers at the far right of the Paris drawing. In each case, the upper profile is formed by one line that curves gracefully to form the forehead, tip of the nose, and nostril. This line joins the contour of the lower face, which begins below the nose and forms the full lips, the bulbous chin, and the arc of flesh beneath the chin. The costumes and hairstyles of the stylish young people in *Seated Couple Playing Trictrac and Standing Woman Playing Checkers*, the shapes of their faces, the modeling of their limbs, and the fall of their draperies all have parallels in Dürer's drawings illustrating the comedies of Terence. Even the way the stripes on the cloak of the man playing trictrac follow both the

movement of the cloth and form of his body beneath is paralleled in one of the Terence drawings, *The Mother-in-Law* (act 3, scene 4).⁷

The long-accepted attribution of *Seated Couple Playing Trictrac and Standing Woman Playing Checkers* to Hans von Kulmbach cannot be sustained. The variety and calligraphic beauty of lines that characterize the drawing in Paris are absent from Kulmbach's work, as a comparison with Kulmbach's drawing in Strasbourg of an abbot (cat. no. 35) clearly demonstrates. In *Seated Couple Playing Trictrac and Standing Woman Playing Checkers*, contours and hatching strokes lend substance to draperies and plastic strength, sculptural roundness, and columnar stability to the figures. (Note how the tree trunk and the lower contour of the man's cloak recede forcefully.) These qualities connect the sheet with Dürer, as does the importance given to the ornamental beauty of single lines, laid down in clear configurations. Compare, for instance, Dürer's *Saint Benedict in Solitude* (cat. no. 13), in which the elegance of single lines is as important as the combined effect of the lines as shading. For Kulmbach, by contrast, hatching strokes suggest the flicker of light over forms. Faceted drapery and the conflation of planes leave his forms weightless and tied to the picture surface. Kulmbach's forms lack architectonic vigor (note the columns), his draperies lack substance, and there is a minimal sense of recession. The sheet in Paris is also characteristic of Dürer rather than Kulmbach in its dependence on Schongauer, apparent in the compact figures with their thin, tapering hands. Kulmbach's earliest drawings, which date from c. 1504, have a breadth of form in the picture plane, which indicates that his style, unlike Dürer's, was not shaped

by the late Gothic art of Schongauer and the Master of the Housebook. Instead it was shaped by the art of Jacopo de' Barbari, Dürer, Baldung, and possibly Lucas Cranach the Elder.⁸

The identification of a drawing for a quatrefoil as a work by Dürer's hand from c. 1492–93 allows us to push back his activity as a designer of stained glass by several years. It establishes Dürer as the link between quatrefoils designed by the Master of the Housebook around 1475 (cat. nos. 2–3) and quatrefoils designed by Dürer's followers—Hans Baldung, Hans von Kulmbach, and Hans Schäufolein—in the second decade of the sixteenth century (cat. nos. 110, 55–58, and 71–76). In fact, Dürer derived his composition from an earlier quatrefoil designed by the Master of the Housebook around 1475, which depicts young people playing checkers, trictrac, roulette, and cards (fig. 12).⁹ Dürer updated the costumes. He also apparently brought the highly systematic hatching systems of Schongauer to bear upon the Master of the Housebook's lost design in order to lend weight and substance to the Master of the Housebook's more diminutive figures. Dürer's emulation around 1492–93 of a design for stained glass by the Master of the Housebook strengthens Jane Hutchison's argument that Dürer might have traveled to Mainz around 1490–91 and sought out Erhard Reuwich, the Dutch master sometimes identified with the Master of the Housebook, before seeking out Schongauer in Colmar in 1492.¹⁰

1. Bouchot 1908: pl. 84.

2. Winkler 1929: 38, 44.

3. Butts 1985: 100–103, 105, 108–9.

4. Stadler 1936: 79.

5. Butts 1986: note 13 on 525. The sheet had already been compared to drawings that some assign to Dürer. Stadler compared the sheet in Paris to Dürer's *Young Woman Offering a Carnation* in the Kunstsammlungen der Veste Coburg, which he, however, did not assign to Dürer. Christiane Andersson is among those who assign *Young Woman Offering a Carnation* to Dürer (Detroit, Ottawa, and Coburg 1983: no. 19). Winkler (1929: 38) compared the drawing in Paris to a design for a triptych in the Albertina, then assigned to Kulmbach, but published in 1986 as a work by Dürer (Butts 1986).

6. Pen and black ink on a pear wood block, 9.3 × 14.7 × 2.4 cm, Basel, Öffentliche Kunstsammlung Basel, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. no. Z.425 (Basel and Berlin 1997–98: no. 10.4.1). The humanist Sebastian Brant (1457/8–1521) planned the edition of the comedies of Terence, and Johann Amerbach (c. 1440–1513) of Basel was to be the publisher. But the project was abandoned, made redundant by a 1493 edition of the plays by Johann Trechsel of Lyons. Thus, most of Dürer's drawings, made directly on the blocks, survived.

7. Strauss 1974, I: no. 1492/119.

8. On Kulmbach's stylistic development as a draftsman, see Butts 1985: esp. 90–130.

9. Schmitz 1913, II: no. 192, pl. 31, destroyed during World War II.

10. Hutchison 1990: 33–35.



8

8

After a design attributed to
Albrecht Dürer

Quatrefoil with Couples Playing Games

c. 1495–98?

Pot-metal, flashed, and clear glass, yellow stain,
and vitreous paint

The Roman numerals I–IIII are scratched into
the glass cuts on the verso

CONDITION

The left side of the lower lobe is replaced with a
fragment of seventeenth-century painted glass;
lead border nineteenth century

COAT OF ARMS

Eagle with the marshaled coat of arms, Austria-
Burgundy

DIAMETER

With double lead border: 32 cm

Berlin, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin-Preussischer
Kulturbesitz, Kunstgewerbemuseum

Inv. no. 07,163

PROVENANCE

Acquired 1891

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Schmitz 1913, II: no. 267,
pl. 41; Winkler 1929: fig. 22 on 44; Winkler
1941: 243, fig. 5 on 245; Knappe 1961a: 61;
Steinke 1985b: 1; Scholz 1991: note 121 on 34,
202, fig. 294 on 205.

This quatrefoil is based on a design by Dürer from c. 1492–93, which exists in fragmentary form in Paris (cat. no. 7). Dürer's drawing updates an earlier quatrefoil made after a lost drawing by the Master of the Housebook from around 1475, which depicts young people playing board games, roulette, and cards (fig. 12).¹ The panel after Dürer's design has at the center the combined coat of arms of Austria and Burgundy, referring to the alliance through marriage of the German King Maximilian and Mary, duchess of Burgundy, in 1477. (She died in 1482, five years after their marriage.)

This quatrefoil after Dürer's design is apparently from the same series as two additional quatrefoils in Berlin: a quatrefoil with the Imperial eagle and jousting scenes (fig. 61) and a quatrefoil with the coat of arms of the Imperial city of Nuremberg and love scenes (fig. 7).² These three quatrefoils are incorrectly discussed in the literature as part of the same group with three more: two quatrefoils after drawings by Hans von Kulmbach with hunting and fishing scenes (cat. nos. 57–58) and *Quatrefoil with Tournament Scenes*, dated 1508.³ Hermann Schmitz assigned all six panels to the Dürer school c. 1500–1508.⁴ Friedrich Winkler believed all six panels to be from c. 1508 and after designs by

Kulmbach, based in turn on the Master of the Housebook.⁵ In fact, the six panels are based on designs made by Dürer, Kulmbach, and possibly one or more additional artists over a period of at least twenty-five years between c. 1492–93—the date of Dürer's drawing for *Quatrefoil with Couples Playing Games* (cat. no. 7)—and c. 1518—the date of Hans von Kulmbach's drawings for quatrefoils with hunting and fishing scenes (cat. nos. 55–56).

Hartmut Scholz noted that the six panels depart from the tradition of the Hirsvogel workshop in Nuremberg in their avoidance of cross-hatching.⁶ The attribution here of *Seated Couple Playing Trictrac and Standing Woman Playing Checkers* (cat. no. 7) to Dürer, c. 1492–93, suggests that this innovation can be credited to Dürer, perhaps as early as his years as a journeyman. As observed above, in the drawing in Paris, Dürer helped the glass painter avoid cross-hatching in creating shadow as he had guided the *Formschneider* to do in his drawings for woodcuts dating from 1492–93. The glass painter followed Dürer's design in Paris closely but did not manage to capture some of the subtleties of Dürer's drawing, most notably the expression of serene inwardness on the face of the woman playing checkers. The glass painter's use of black

FIGURE 12. After the Master of the Housebook. *Quatrefoil with the Waldstromer Coat of Arms and Young Men and Women Playing Checkers, Roulette, Trictrac, and Cards*, c. 1475. Pot-metal, flashed, and clear glass, yellow stain, and vitreous paint, 29.5 cm (diam.). Formerly Berlin, Kunstgewerbemuseum; destroyed during World War II. Photo: Kunstgewerbemuseum Berlin, Archiv.



vitreous paint to create dark backgrounds as foils for the figures looks to earlier panels after the Master of the Housebook's drawings.⁷

Less clear than Dürer's innovation in the avoidance of cross-hatching is the nature of the commission that gave rise to this quatrefoil. Dürer apparently revised a design by the Master of the Housebook while still a journeyman around 1492–93. But it is uncertain when Dürer's drawing was used to make the quatrefoil in Berlin. Perhaps a patron in Nuremberg engaged the young artist to design a quatrefoil in the manner of the Master of the Housebook, whose glass designs may have already been used by Nuremberg's glass painters. Perhaps the commission was given after Dürer's return from Italy in 1495, and he used a drawing made as a journeyman several years earlier. As Hartmut Scholz noted, around 1495–96, Dürer may have carried out commissions on behalf of his former teacher Wolgemut before establishing his own workshop.⁸ A date in the late 1490s for *Quatrefoil with Couples Playing Games*

is suggested by the male figure in the lobe at left. It appears to be an idealized self-portrait of Dürer, with the curling locks and beard he sported in his painted *Self-Portrait* of 1498 in the Prado in Madrid.⁹ Dürer is still clean-shaven in *Self-Portrait with Eryngium*, dated 1493, in the Louvre in Paris.¹⁰

When *Seated Couple Playing Trictrac and Standing Woman Playing Checkers* and the related panel in Berlin were attributed to Kulmbach and dated c. 1508, it seemed the Dürer follower was looking back to quatrefoils designed by the Master of the Housebook three decades earlier. Now it is apparent that it was Dürer who was looking at the Master of the Housebook and his circle, during his journeyman years, when his interest in that master and Schongauer were strongest. Dürer formed the link between the quatrefoils of the Master of the Housebook and those of his followers Baldung (cat. no. 110), Schäufelein (cat. nos. 71–76), and Kulmbach (cat. nos. 30–31, 55–58).

1. Schmitz 1913, II: no. 192, pl. 30, formerly in the collection of the Kunstgewerbemuseum in Berlin, destroyed during World War II. Schmitz asserted that the quatrefoil was made in the Upper Rhineland or Swabia c. 1480–90. Scholz (1991: 34–36) assigned the work to Nuremberg, c. 1490. But Timothy Husband (1998: 180–81, note 19 on 184) argued that the quatrefoil was painted in the Middle Rhine region, close to the origin of the *Housebook* itself. He implies that this could have been as early as 1475 or shortly thereafter. See also cat. nos. 2–3.

2. Berlin, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin-Preussischer Kulturbesitz, inv. nos. 07,164 and 07,165; Schmitz 1913, II: nos. 265 and 266, pl. 40. It is unclear whether updated versions by Dürer of the Master of the Housebook's compositions also served as the basis for these two quatrefoils. A drawing in the British Museum (fig. 62) is clearly related to the right lobe of a quatrefoil with the imperial eagle and jousting scenes. But the authorship and dating of the sheet are problematic. See cat. no. 2, note 8. It is possible that the drawing in the British Museum could have been based on the quatrefoil or on a lost design for it.

3. On *Quatrefoil with Tournament Scenes* (Baltimore, The Walters Art Gallery, inv. no. 46.76), see New York and Nuremberg 1986: no. 264 and cat. no. 2, note 9.

4. Schmitz 1913, I: 154–57.

5. See Winkler 1941 and cat. nos. 55–58 below.

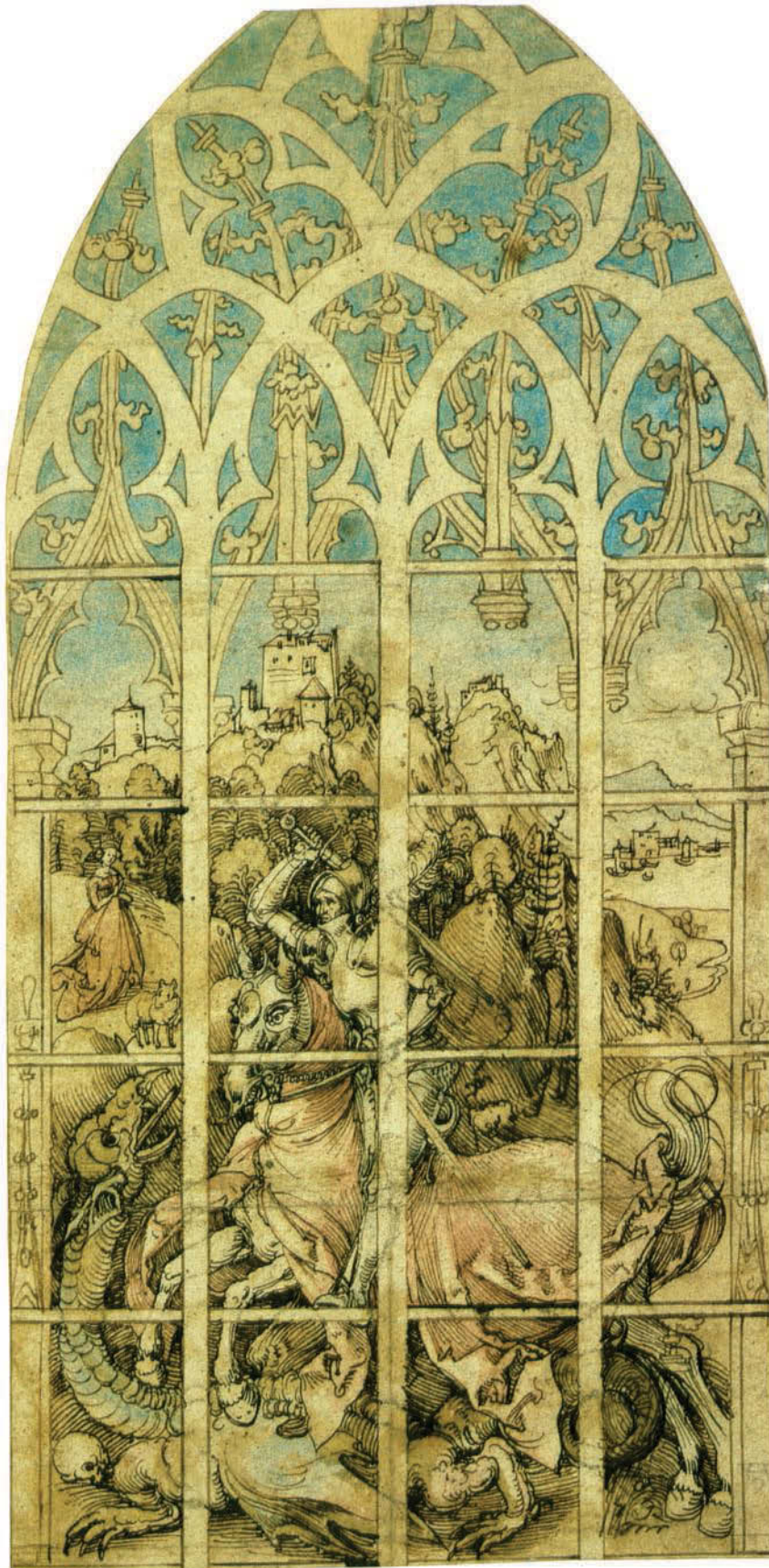
6. Scholz 1991: 202.

7. The later addition of a dark varnish to the quatrefoils in Berlin exaggerates the dark backgrounds. See Schmitz 1913, I: 154.

8. See the biography of Dürer and cat. no. 14, note 6.

9. Anzelewsky 1991: no. 49.

10. Anzelewsky 1991: no. 10.



9

Albrecht Dürer

Design for a Stained-Glass Window with Saint George Fighting the Dragon

c. 1496

Pen and brown ink, brush and greenish brown, blue, and red watercolor, over leadpoint underdrawing, on cream laid paper

False Dürer monogram in black chalk, lower right

28.6 × 14.2 cm

Frankfurt am Main, Graphische Sammlung im Städelschen Kunstinstitut

Inv. no. 6952

PROVENANCE

Acquired 1890 at the auction of the Mitchell Collection, F.A.C. Prestel Frankfurt, 7.5.1890, no. 32.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Frankfurt 1907–13, I: no. 2; Schmitz 1913, I: fig. 230 on 139, 140; Lippmann and Winkler 1883–1929, VI: no. 686; Beets 1927–28: 19; Tietze and Tietze-Conrat 1928–38, I: no. A91; Flechsig 1928–31, II: 71; Winkler 1936–39, I: no. 197; Panofsky 1943: no. 810; Winkler 1957: 88, 120; Frenzel 1961: fig. 1 on 33, 34; Oettinger and Knappe 1963: 71, note 357 on 111; Frankfurt 1971: no. 242; Hütt 1971, I: 226–27; London 1971: 12; Nuremberg 1971: 393; Schilling and Schwarzweiller 1973: no. 85; Strauss 1974, I: 1499/9; Scholz 1991: 43; Scholz 1995: 27–28, fig. 1, note 1 on 40.

9

The historic George of Cappadocia was a Roman soldier who was martyred during Emperor Diocletian's (245–313; r. 284–305) persecution of the Christians. Saint George's legendary defeat of a dragon symbolized Christ's triumph over the devil. The princess Cleodelinda of the kingdom of Silene (Libya), shown kneeling in the background of Dürer's drawing, was prepared as a sacrificial offering to the dragon. But George, in armor and on horseback, killed the dragon after making the sign of the cross, thus converting the king of Silene and his people to Christianity. The popularity of Saint George fighting the dragon as a subject in the visual arts in the late fifteenth century in Germany was certainly in part related to the Order of Saint George, founded by the Holy Roman Emperor Frederick III and approved by Pope Paul II in 1464, and the secular confraternity of Saint George, founded in 1494 under Frederick III's son and successor, Maximilian I.

With the exception of *Seated Couple Playing Trictrac and Standing Woman Playing Checkers* (cat. no. 7), this drawing for a monumental church window with Gothic tracery is the earliest known design by Dürer for stained glass. Hermann Schmitz assigned it the date c. 1498–1500.¹ As Schmitz noted, the figure on horseback and the dragon call to mind details of Dürer's woodcut *The Whore of Babylon* (fig. 13) from *The Apocalypse*, made in 1496–98 and published in 1498.² The toylike yet compact figures of humans and animals reflect the formative influence of the prints of Martin Schongauer and the Master of the Housebook on the young Dürer. Beginning in 1494, the broad and weighty forms of the early Italian Renaissance masters, notably Andrea Mantegna (1431–1506) and Antonio Pollaiuolo (1431/2–1498), would gradually transform Dürer's style. By 1500 he had begun a systematic study of human and animal proportions.

Saint George Fighting the Dragon had been the subject of a small circular engraving by Schongauer (fig. 1) and a quatrefoil design by the Master of the Housebook (cat. no. 1). Both the Master of the Housebook and Dürer relied upon Schongauer's engraving. Dürer's placement of the dragon and legendary warrior



FIGURE 13. Albrecht Dürer. *The Whore of Babylon*. Woodcut from *The Apocalypse*, published 1498, 39.6 × 28.6 cm. The Saint Louis Art Museum, Gift of Miss Berenice Ballard in memory of her father and mother Mr. and Mrs. James R. Ballard (inv. no. 846: 1940). Photo: The Saint Louis Art Museum.

saint at the lower left of the drawing against the background of rocks seems to derive from Schongauer. But Dürer exploited the tall vertical format of a Gothic church window to enhance the spaciousness of Schongauer's composition. The interlocking layers of tracery, before a blue sky, add to the spatial effect.

Dürer planned his composition in metalpoint, then drew the tracery in pen and ink, and finally added the narrative scene in pen and ink and delicate greenish brown, blue, and red watercolor. He attempted to simplify the glass painter's task by avoiding cross-hatching. But, as Friedrich Winkler implied, this design for a monumental church window with the life-size figure of Saint George in a spacious landscape would have presented a challenge to glass painters accustomed to composing from small pieces of colored and clear glass.³ Winkler rightly called this work one of Dürer's most daring designs for stained glass.

1. Schmitz 1913, 1: 140. While the dates assigned to the drawing vary, only the Tietzes (1928–31, 1: A91) denied Dürer's authorship, placing the work in the circle of Kullmbach, c. 1510. Equally untenable is Walter Strauss's assertion that a workshop assistant may have completed the drawing based on Dürer's underdrawing (Strauss 1974, 1: 1499/9).

2. Bartsch 1803–21: no. 73.

3. Winkler 1936–39, 1: no. 197



IO

Albrecht Dürer

Saint Augustine Dispensing the Rule of His Order

c. 1496–98

Brush in black ink and gray wash, black chalk framing lines, on three pieces of laid paper, mounted on cardboard backing and darkened to brown

CONDITION

The wash is slightly faded

WATERMARK

Indecipherable (drawing laid down)

Signed in monogram bottom center in brush in black ink: AD

84.6 × 36.4 cm

Rotterdam, Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen

Inv. no. MB 1953/T 19

PROVENANCE

From the collections of D. Kaieman, sale, Paris, April 27, 1859, lot 805; A. de Hévesy; F. Koenigs (Lugt 1956: 1023a); inv. no. DI 183; Loan Service for the State Distribution of Works of Art, 1953; inv. no. N.K. 1400

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Lippmann and Winkler 1883–1929, vi: no. 698; Beets 1927–28: 18–24; Nuremberg 1928: no. 238; Tietze and Tietze-Conrat 1928–38, I: 373; Flehsig 1928–31, II: 433; Winkler 1936–39, I: no. 210; Rotterdam 1938–39: no. 45; Panofsky 1943: no. 788; Winkler in Thieme and Becker 1907–50, xxxvii: 40; *Jaarverslag Museum Boijmans* 23 (1953): 10; Musper 1953: 22, 344; Haverkamp-Begemann 1955: 82–84, fig. 5; Winkler 1957: 119; Bauch 1958: 50–51; Knappe 1960: 186; Knappe 1961a: 82, 90, fig. 59; Hütt 1971, I: 242–44; Nuremberg 1971: no. 719, fig. on 388; Meij 1974: no. 23; Strauss 1974, vi: no. xw. 210; London 1988: 129; Butts 1990: 73, note 34 on 78; Scholz 1991: 43, 54, fig. 62 on 57, 278, note 753 on 337; Rowlands 1993, I: 67, under no. 142, and 190, under no. 405.

IO

The protagonist of this large cartoon for stained glass was identified by Eduard Flechsig as Saint Augustine with six choir monks.¹ Flechsig pointed out that the figures are wearing Augustinian vestments, as pictured in a woodcut in the *Missale Romanum*, printed by the Augustinians in Nuremberg in 1491.² Friedrich Winkler found Flechsig's identification of the subject convincing, particularly because the monks in the drawing and one in the woodcut wear similar caps.³ Augustine of Hippo (354–430) is one of the four great Fathers of the Western Church (cat. nos. 30–31, 36–43, 47–48) and a patron saint of theologians and scholars. The Augustinian Order was formed in the eleventh century based on rules drawn from the saint's writings, and he is sometimes depicted, as he is here, dispensing those rules to the monks.⁴ Although Dürer's cartoon has not been connected with any surviving window, it is likely that the Augustinians in Nuremberg commissioned the drawing. Dürer later formed close ties with the Augustinians in Nuremberg. By the time he departed on his second trip to Italy in 1505, Dürer was attending services at the Augustinian Church of Saint Veit, favored by his friend Pirckheimer and other members of the City Council.⁵

Nicholaas Beets was the first to publish the cartoon, arguing convincingly for its attribution to Dürer.⁶ Beets praised the compact composition, which symbolized the close-knit religious group; the plastic strength of the figures; and Dürer's sensitivity to the needs of the glass painter, seen in the manner in which he reserved within the gray washes areas representing highlights. Beets found par-

allels in Dürer's work from the late 1490s, including the woodcuts of *The Large Passion* and *The Apocalypse*.⁷ In particular, Beets compared the lively play of hands, heavy drapery, and inner tragedy expressed on the faces. Beets also compared the monogram on *Saint Augustine Dispensing the Rule of His Order* to one used by Dürer on a number of early drawings and prints, for example, *The Vision of the Seven Candlesticks* from *The Apocalypse*, made in 1496–98 and published in 1498.⁸ Like Beets, Winkler considered the drawing and its Dürer monogram authentic.⁹ He saw the elasticity of the swelling and tapering lines as particularly characteristic of Dürer, while noting that the overall effect of the drawing was weakened by the fading of the gray washes. In 1957, Winkler argued that the cartoon could have been executed as early as 1496 or 1497, a conclusion supported by its comparison to *The Apocalypse*.¹⁰

Not everyone has accepted the attribution of *Saint Augustine Dispensing the Rule of His Order* to Dürer. Flechsig called the monogram spurious and ascribed the drawing to Hans Schäu-felein.¹¹ Erwin Panofsky assigned the work to the so-called Benedict Master,¹² whom Winkler and Beets correctly identified with Dürer (cat. nos. 11–17). But Dürer's keen powers of observation are clearly apparent in the avoidance of symmetry in the faces, notably the upper lips and bulbous eyelids of the figures. The three-dimensionality of the faces and composition is adeptly carried through in the Gothic framework of the branches above.

II

Albrecht Dürer

Saint Benedict Gives a Peasant the Blade of His Scythe, Which Had Fallen into the Water

c. 1496

Pen and brown ink, brush and green, blue, and red watercolors, ruled border in pen and black ink (probably added later by another hand), on cream laid paper, mounted down

WATERMARK

Indecipherable (drawing laid down)

False Dürer monogram in pen and brown ink, lower right; paraphs of R. de Cotte and A. Coypel in pen and brown ink, upper right

Coat of arms of the Pfänzing family of Nuremberg

19 × 17.3 cm

Paris, Musée du Louvre, Départments des Arts Graphiques

Inv. no. 18642

PROVENANCE

Royal collection (paraphs of R. de Cotte [Lugt 1921: 1963] and A. Coypel [Lugt 1921: 478])

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Schönbrunner and Meder 1896–1908, v: n.p., under no. 551; Dodgson 1903–11, 1: 502; Weisbach 1906: 79; Rauch 1907 (pt. 2, Wolf Traut): note 3 on 21–22; Röttinger 1907–9: 7–9; Dodgson 1909: 3–4, 12; Stadler 1913: 214–15, 244–45; Dodgson 1918: 46; Bock 1920: 211; Braun 1924: 11; Röttinger 1926: 65–66, pl. 31; Lippmann and Winkler 1883–1929, vi: no. 696; Schenk zu Schweinsberg 1927: 34, 36; Dodgson and Parker 1928: 20; Römer 1928: 128; Flechsig 1928–31, 11: 429; Tietze and Tietze-Conrat 1928–38, 1: 372–75, ill. on 332; Beenken 1929: 246; Holzinger 1929: 35–38, note 29 on 76; Winkler 1936–39, 1: no. 199; Démonts 1937–38, 1: no. 118, pl. 45; Panofsky 1943: no. 791; Winkler in Thieme and Becker 1907–50, xxxvii: 40; Musper 1953: 22, fig. 64 on 92; Dubler 1957: 59, 77, 114; Winkler 1957: 119; Oehler 1959: 174–75; Nuremberg 1961: 221–22; Munich 1967–68: 21; Zink 1968: 93; Hütt 1971, 1: 229; Koschatzky and Strobl 1971: 162; Nuremberg 1971: no. 713; Pilz 1972: 105; Strauss 1974, vi: no. xw 199; Anzelewsky and Mielke 1984: 28; London 1988: 70; Scholz 1991: note 135 on 43–44, 44–45, 50, 70; Paris 1991–92: no. 96; Rowlands 1993, 1: 66, under no. 142.

1. Flechsig 1928–31, 11: 433.
 2. The woodcut is illustrated by Friedrich Winkler (1936–39, 1: appendix, pl. 19).
 3. Winkler 1936–39, 1: no. 210.
 4. See Aurenhammer 1960: esp. 262.
 5. Hutchison 1990: 93, 123.
 6. Beets 1927–28: 18–24.
 7. Bartsch 1803–21: nos. 6, 8–13 (*Large Passion*) and nos. 61–75 (*Apocalypse*).
 8. Bartsch 1803–21: no. 62.
 9. Winkler 1936–39, 1: no. 210.
 10. Winkler 1957: 119.
 11. Flechsig 1928–31, 11: 433.
 12. Panofsky 1943: no. 788.



II

The life of Saint Benedict of Nursia (Umbria) (c. 480–547) is recounted in *The Dialogues of Gregory the Great* (540?–604) and in Jacobus de Voragine's (c. 1230–c. 1298) *Golden Legend*. According to *The Dialogues of Gregory the Great*, a humble Goth expressed a wish to adopt the religious life. Benedict received him and one day assigned him the task of cutting thick bramble bushes to clear space for a garden. Using an iron bush-hook, the Goth went about the task with such energy that the iron slipped from the handle and fell into a bottomless lake. Benedict restored the blade of the unhappy Goth's scythe merely by dipping the handle into the water.¹ This drawing represents one of twelve narrative scenes from the life of Benedict, which Dürer depicted as part of a series of designs for stained glass. Eleven drawings and three small grisaille panels from the series are known. (Two of the panels are after extant drawings, while a third, formerly in the Schlossmuseum in Gotha, is after a lost design.)² In the order of the narrative of Benedict's life, the scenes represented are *Saint Romanus Handing the Habit to Saint Benedict*; *Saint Benedict in the Cave at Subiaco*; *The Self-Mortification of Saint Benedict*; *Saint Benedict Gives a Peasant the Blade of His Scythe, Which Had Fallen into the Water*; *Placidus Saved by Maurus with the Help of Saint Benedict*; *Florentinus Attempting to Poison Saint Benedict*; *Saint Benedict and the Devil*; *King Totila Visits Saint Benedict*; *Saint Benedict Reviving an Infant*; *Saint Benedict Visiting His Sister, Saint Scholastica*; *Saint Benedict in Solitude*

(*Nocturnal Vision*); and *Saint Benedict Teaching*.³

The drawings and panels bear the coats of arms of five Nuremberg families: the Tetzels, Rummels, Pesslers, Waldstromers, and Pfnzings (see also cat. nos. 14–16). On the basis of these coats of arms, Ursula Frenzel proposed that the Nuremberg patrician Friedrich Tetzl the Younger commissioned the series in honor of his marriage to Ursula Fürer (d. after 1535) on February 6, 1496.⁴ Elisabeth Pfnzing (d. 1361) was the wife of Friedrich Tetzl the Elder (d. 1367). The coat of arms of the Waldstromer (cat. no. 16) belonged to Jobst Tetzl the Elder's wife (d. 1437); the combined crests of the Rummel and Pessler (cat. no. 14; fig. 14) families refers to the two wives of Jobst Tetzl (d. 1474), Agnes Rummel (d. 1455 or 1460) and Margarete Pessler (married June 11, 1462). Hartmut Scholz thought that the inscription *Michel Wolgemut 2* on a drawing in the Graphische Sammlung Albertina in Vienna by Dürer for *The Life of Saint Benedict* might be an indication that the series was commissioned from Wolgemut. Scholz argued that just after his return from Italy in the spring of 1495, Dürer may have worked with Wolgemut and gotten commissions through Wolgemut before setting up his own workshop.⁵

The panels were presumably commissioned for Nuremberg's Benedictine Monastery, Saint Aegidius. But their intended location within the monastery is not known. According to Ursula Frenzel's theory, the series replaced damaged glass panels from c. 1360 in the Tetzl family chapel, located on the south side of the choir of the church. This, she observed, might explain the presence of the Pfnzing arms, shown on this sheet and on the panel formerly in Gotha, as substitutes for the arms of Elisabeth Pfnzing and her husband Friedrich Tetzl the Elder in the stained glass that was being replaced. Gottfried Frenzel, however, thought the series of panels after Dürer's designs might have been made for the glazing of the cloister of the monastery during the replacement of damaged glass from c. 1418–25 (see below, cat. no. 14).⁶

In spite of the fact that one of the drawings for the series, *Saint Benedict Teaching* (cat. no. 12), bears an inscription in Dürer's own hand on the verso, the attribution of the drawings of *The Life of Saint Benedict* to Dürer has been much debated, as discussed at greater length below (cat. no. 12). Friedrich Winkler argued strongly that all but two of the drawings were by Dürer's hand; the remaining two he considered to be copies (cat. nos. 15, 17).⁷ Beginning in 1971, when a number of the drawings could be studied together in the Dürer exhibition

in Nuremberg, Winkler's opinion found widespread support. So too did Winkler's assertion that three of the four drawings with touches of watercolor, including *Saint Benedict Gives a Peasant the Blade of His Scythe, Which Had Fallen into the Water*, were the first to be executed.⁸ Ursula Frenzel agreed that these three drawings, improvised and painterly, were meant to inform the patron and glass painter of Dürer's artistic intention rather than to guide the glass painter with specific information such as an intended palette.

While the spatial relationships in the drawing in Paris are not entirely clear, the sheet is one of Dürer's most beautiful works. The delicate application of blue, green, and red watercolor recalls Dürer's *Saint George Fighting the Dragon*, c. 1496 (cat. no. 9). With just three colors Dürer evokes a much wider palette; with equal success, blue suggests the water in the lake and the stubble of beards while modulating the green in the mountains. Line is also used economically in a manner entirely characteristic of Dürer. A single, well-placed stroke of the pen shapes the cheek of Saint Benedict. A simple contour suggests the fleshiness of the angel's face. Combined with short, curved hatching strokes, contours suggest the strength of the angel's wings. The extreme economy of means used in representing the boat and mountains recalls Dürer's woodcuts like *The Seven Trumpets* from *The Apocalypse*, made in 1496–98 and published in 1498.⁹ Color and contour are adeptly integrated in the faces, with the white of the paper used for highlights. The varied facial expressions—beatific, thoughtful, concerned, attentive—lend liveliness to the narrative, as do the asymmetry of features and the swiftly drawn areas of hatching and crosshatching. At the left arm of the angel, these quickly articulated hatching strokes are freed from their role of describing objects and suggest the fall of strong light across forms.

1. Uhlfelder 1967: 13–14.

2. The panel, *Saint Romanus Handing the Habit to Saint Benedict*, was lost in 1945 (Winkler 1957: 119).

3. See Strauss 1974, vi: no. XW.198–209. See also Dubler 1957: 59. Elisabeth Dubler's book traces the representation of Saint Benedict in the visual arts from the tenth century.

4. Nuremberg 1971: 387–88. As Ursula Frenzel noted, Winkler dated the drawings c. 1500 based on an incorrect marriage date of 1499 for Friedrich Tetzl and the false assumption that the drawings were part of the same commission as a drawing for a round stained glass panel with Saint Benedict, which is dated 1501 (Washington, D.C., The National Gallery of Art, Lessing Rosenwald Collection, inv. no. 1943.3.8363). The drawing in Washington, D.C., is probably by a gifted stained-glass painter who closely approximated Dürer's graphic language. See cat. nos. 19–20, note 18.

5. Scholz 1991: 41, note 134 on 42. The drawing is *Saint Benedict in the Cave at Subiaco* (Vienna, Graphische Sammlung Albertina).

6. Nuremberg 1961: no. 396.

7. Winkler 1936–39, I: nos. 198–208.

8. The two other drawings are *Saint Benedict in the Cave at Subiaco* and *Maurus Rescuing Placidus from Drowning with the Assistance of Saint Benedict* (London, British Museum). Winkler considered a fourth drawing with watercolor a copy (cat. no. 15); Koschatzky and Strobl (1971: no. 22) thought the priest bringing bread to Benedict in the drawing in Vienna might be a portrait of the donor, since his costume is the same as that of Sixtus Tucher in Dürer's *Design for a Stained-Glass Trefoil with Sixtus Tucher by His Open Grave* (cat. no. 19). The number "2" on the sheet apparently reflected its place in the narrative.

9. Bartsch 1803–21: no. 68.



I 2

Albrecht Dürer

Saint Benedict Teaching

c. 1496

Pen and brown ink, framing lines in metalpoint, on cream laid paper, the arch above silhouetted and laid down on a second piece of paper

WATERMARK

Bull's head with cross and flower (similar to Briquet [1907] 1966: 14548=Tirol, Würzburg 1463)

Inscribed on verso in Dürer's hand in pen and brown ink in seven lines, with the female names crossed out: *wie ein priester ein bericht/Ursula/Fronika/Helena/Barbra/Katerina/Einn Engell* (Like the report of a priest/Ursula/Veronica/Helen/Barbara/Catherine/An angel)

25.3 × 17.8 cm

Nuremberg, Germanisches Nationalmuseum

Inv. no. HZ 5480

PROVENANCE

Josef Daniel Böhm Collection, Vienna; Bernhard Hausmann, Hannover (Lugt 1921: 378); Rudolf and Erwin Blasius, Braunschweig and Bad Gandersheim, respectively; Frau Irmgard Peterson née Blasius

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Hausmann 1861: 94–95; Thausing 1876: note 2 on 206; Thausing 1884, 1: 277; Schmidt 1893: 306; Schönbrunner and Meder 1896–1908, v: n.p., under no. 551; Dodgson 1903–11, 1: 502; Weisbach 1906: 79; Rauch 1907 (pt. 2, Wolf Traut): note 3 on 21–22; Röttinger 1907–9: 6; Dodgson 1909: 3–4, 12; Stadler 1913: 214–15, 244–45; Dodgson 1918: 46, 51; Weixlgärtner 1920: 49; Braun 1924: 11–12; Röttinger 1926: 65–66, pl. 30; Lippmann and Winkler 1883–1929, VI: no. 690; Schenk zu Schweinsberg 1927: 34, 36; Dodgson and Parker 1928: 20; Nuremberg 1928: no. 147; Römer 1928: 128; Tietze and Tietze-Conrat 1928–38, 1: 372–75; Beenken 1929: 246; Holzinger 1929: 35–38, note 29 on 76; Flechsig 1928–31, II: 429–32; Winkler 1936–39, 1: no. 202; Démons 1937–38, 1: 25; Panofsky 1943: no. 794; Winkler in Thieme and Becker 1907–50, XXXVII: 40; Rupprich 1956–69, 1: 206, no. 19; Dubler 1957: 59, 77, 130; Winkler 1957: 119; Nuremberg 1961: 221–22; Schilling 1961: 91; Oettinger and Knappe 1963: 13, note 67 on 96, note 364 on 112; Munich 1967–68: 21; Zink 1968: no. 69; Hütt 1971, 1: 232; Koschatzky and Strobl 1971: 162; Nuremberg 1971: no. 714; Pilz 1972: 105; Strauss 1974, VI: no. xw 202; Anzelewsky and Mielke 1984: 28; Butts 1986: 519, note 10 on 524; London 1988: 70; Paris 1991–92: 99–100; Rowlands 1993, 1: 66, under no. 142.

I 2

This drawing depicts Saint Benedict seated at a teacher's desk instructing three monks. It presumably illustrates a passage from *The Dialogues of Gregory the Great* under the heading "That Saint Benedict Had Written a Rule for Monks." Gregory said of Benedict: "However, I want you to realize that in addition to the many miracles which made him famous, he also distinguished himself by his teaching."¹ The dove probably represents the soul of Benedict's twin sister, Saint Scholastica, founder of an order of Benedictine nuns. Brother and sister met once a year at Monte Cassino. According to tradition, at their last meeting they spoke of the joys of heaven into the morning. When Scholastica died three days later, Benedict repeatedly had a vision of a dove ascending into heaven. This drawing is one of twelve narrative scenes from *The Life of Saint*

Benedict, which Dürer depicted as part of a series of designs for small grisaille panels (cat. nos. 14, 16). The stained-glass cycle was presumably commissioned in honor of the marriage of the Nuremberg patrician Friedrich Tetzl the Younger and Ursula Fürer in 1496. *Saint Benedict Teaching* is the only drawing in the group to bear an inscription in Dürer's hand on the verso. Part of the inscription ("like the report of a priest") refers to the subject on the recto.²

Dürer's drawings of *The Life of Saint Benedict* are not all executed in a uniform manner. *Saint Benedict Gives a Peasant the Blade of His Scythe, Which Had Fallen into the Water* (cat. no. 11) is swiftly rendered and touched with watercolor, presumably to give the patron and glass painter a sense of Dürer's artistic intention. *Saint Benedict Teaching* was by contrast painstakingly executed to provide guidelines for the glass painter. Taller in format than the drawing in Paris, *Saint Benedict Teaching* more closely approximates the size of the extant panels and thus was presumably made after the drawing in the Louvre. The absence of color notations suggests that the patron, designer, and glass painter have now agreed to forego color and execute the glass panels in yellow stain and vitreous paint on clear glass. Borderlines in metalpoint define the limits of the figural composition, and a place is reserved for a coat of arms. (One can assume that the patron specified which coat of arms was to be added by the glass painter.) In the drawings in Paris and Nuremberg, Dürer has moved from compositional sketch (*Ideenskizze* or *Kompositionsvorslag*) to to-scale design (*massstabgerechte Visierung*).³ His drawing in Nuremberg has the appearance of a *Reinzeichnung*, or cleaned-up copy. Dürer provides simple, clear guidance by means of carefully articulated contours and areas of hatching. Cross-hatching is kept to a minimum. Shadow is primarily indicated by the close spacing of hatching lines. Furthermore, the hatching lines, notably those in the habits of the foremost monk and Benedict and in the wall and sky in the background, emphasize the picture plane. The lack of spaciousness and absence of subtle variations in the modeling led many scholars to reject the drawings for *The Life of Saint Benedict* cycle as works by Dürer, in spite of the inscription in his hand on the verso of this sheet.⁴

- Uhlfelder 1967: 46.
- Elisabeth Dubler (1957: 114, 118, 128–130) believed that Dürer (whom she cautiously refers to as the Benedict Master) might have relied on visual sources even more than on *The Dialogues of Gregory the Great* in composing his images of *The Life of Saint Benedict*. She noted what she considered to be striking similarities between Dürer's compositions in Paris (cat. no. 11), Berlin (cat. no. 13), Darmstadt (cat. no. 15), and Nuremberg (cat. no. 12), and the illuminations in the so-called *Bis-bini-Vita*, a manuscript known in five illustrated copies made between c. 1310 and the end of the fifteenth century. (A copy in the Pierpont-Morgan Library in New York [copy γ, Ms. 55 in the Pierpont Morgan Library] may date from 1310–20 and may have originated in Sankt Florian.) On the manuscripts, see Dubler 1957: 53–54. Dubler asserted that Dürer must have known the "authors portrait" in the *Bis-bini-Vita*, which showed Benedict at a writing table penning his rule for monks, inspired by the Holy Spirit in the form of a dove and accompanied by three monks. See also cat. no. 13.
- See Scholz 1991: 14 for an excellent discussion, in German, of the different types of drawing for stained glass.
- In 1861, Hausmann attributed the drawings to Dürer and dated them before 1510 (Hausmann 1861: 94–95). Moriz Thausing (1876: note 2 on 206), followed by Werner Weisbach (1906: 79), described the drawings as the work of an older master who was also responsible for the woodcuts illustrating *Revelationes Sanctae Birgittae* (Nuremberg, 1500). The woodcuts are now widely accepted as Dürer's work. Wilhelm Schmidt (1893: 306) attributed the drawings to Dürer's follower Hans Schäufler, an opinion that was revived by Eduard Flechsig (Flechsig 1928–31, II: 429–32) and again as recently as 1991–92 (Paris 1991–92: no. 96). Campbell Dodgson (1903–11, I: 502) proposed that Dürer's follower Wolf Traut (c. 1485–1520) was the so-called Benedict Master but later opted for "anonymous" (Dodgson 1909: 3, 4, 12). Christian Rauch (1907, part 2, Wolf Traut: note 3 on 21–22) assigned the drawings to Hans von Kulmbach, while Heinrich Röttinger (1907–9: 6) argued for Hans Wechtlin's authorship. Later, Röttinger proposed Peter Vischer the Elder as the artist responsible for the drawings of *The Life of Saint Benedict* and the woodcuts illustrating *Revelationes Sanctae Birgittae* (Röttinger 1926: 65–66, 281). Ernst Holzinger (1929: 35–38, note 29 on 76) assigned the drawings to the circle of Hans von Kulmbach, as did Hans Tietze and Erica Tietze-Conrat (1928–31, I: 373–75). Erwin Panofsky (1943: nos. 790–800), followed by Walter Strauss (1974, VI: xw. 198–209), simply assigned the drawings to the Dürer workshop, c. 1500. Fritz Zink (1968: no. 69) described them as being by the Benedict Master (school of Albrecht Dürer), c. 1500. As noted above, Winkler's conviction that the drawings were by Dürer has been widely shared since 1971, when six drawings and a panel were exhibited together in Nuremberg (Nuremberg 1971: nos. 712–18). Among those who argue Dürer's authorship convincingly are Ursula Frenzel (Nuremberg 1971), Fedja Anzelewsky (Anzelewsky and Mielke 1984: no. 25), and John Rowlands (London 1988: 70; Rowlands 1993: 66).

I 3

Albrecht Dürer

Saint Benedict in Solitude (Nocturnal Vision)

c. 1496

Pen and brown ink, black chalk framing lines,
on cream laid paper

False monogram of Albrecht Dürer at lower right
in pen and brown ink

24.4 × 18.5 cm

Berlin, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin-Preussischer
Kulturbesitz, Kupferstichkabinett

Inv. no. Kdz 47

PROVENANCE

Alexander Emil Posonyi-Hulot (Lugt 1921:
2040/41); acquired 1877

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Thausing 1884, 9: 277;
Schmidt 1893: 306; Schönbrunner and Meder
1896–1908, V: n.p., under no. 551; Dodgson
1903–11, I: 502; Weisbach 1906: 79; Rauch
1907 (pt. 2, Wolf Traut): note 3 on 21–22;
Röttinger 1907–9: 6–9, note 1 on 8; Dodgson
1909: 3, 4, 12; Stadler 1913: 214–15, 244–45;
Dodgson 1918: 46; Bock 1920: 211; Bock 1921:
23; Braun 1924: 11–13; Röttinger 1926: 65–66,
pl. 30; Lippmann and Winkler 1883–1929, VI:
no. 693; Schenk zu Schweinsberg 1927: 34, 36;
Dodgson and Parker 1928: 20; Römer 1928:
128; Tietze and Tietze-Conrat 1928–38, I: 372–
75; Beenken 1929: 246; Holzinger 1929: 35–
38, note 29 on 76; Flechsig 1928–31, II: 429;
Winkler 1936–39, I: no. 205; Démons 1937–
38, I: 25; Panofsky 1943: no. 797; Winkler
in Thieme and Becker 1907–50, xxxvii: 40;
Muspier 1953: 22; Dubler 1957: 59, 77, 128–
29; Winkler 1957: 119; Nuremberg 1961: 221–
22; Oettinger and Knappe 1963: note 301 on
108; Munich 1967–68: 21; Zink 1968: 93;
Hütt 1971, I: 235; Koschatzky and Strobl 1971:
162; Nuremberg 1971: no. 716; Pilz 1972: 105;
Strauss 1974, VI: no. xw 205; Anzelewsky and
Mielke 1984: no. 25; London 1988: 70; Paris
1991–92: 99–100; Rowlands 1993, I: 66, under
no. 142.



This design for one of the series of at least twelve small stained-glass panels illustrating *The Life of Saint Benedict* depicts a vision of the saint, which is interpreted in *The Dialogues of Gregory the Great*.¹ Benedict, in prayer at his window one night, saw a light from above that surpassed the day in brightness. Suddenly it appeared as if the whole world collected itself before his eyes below a ray of sunlight. Then he saw the soul of Germanus, bishop of Capua, being carried to heaven by angels in a fiery globe. Later it was discovered that Bishop Germanus died at that moment. Gregory explained: "To say that the world was gathered together before his eyes does not mean that heaven and earth shrank, but that the mind of the beholder was expanded so that he could easily see everything below God since he himself was caught up in God. In that light which gleamed for the outer eyes, then, there was an inner light of the heart. When this carried the soul of the beholder to the upper regions, it revealed to him how narrow in compass everything below really was."² In Dürer's drawing, Saint Benedict's vision of the universe is represented by a disk at the lower left. The objects depicted within this circular form include ships, a church, books, a spinning wheel, and a sword, perhaps symbolizing trade and exploration, religion, learning, crafts, and the administration of justice. The objects seem to reflect the Benedictines' division

of their time between contemplation, prayer, and manual labor, and their high regard for education, liturgy, and arts. Elisabeth Dubler described the cosmos represented by Dürer as a paradisiacal ordering of firmament and stars, water and land, animals and plants, house and ship, jug and plate, machine and book.³ She went on to say that, instead of representing the intricate brightness of life, here the intellect counts the components of creation and the achievements of the human mind.

Like *Saint Benedict Teaching*, *Saint Benedict in Solitude* is a to-scale design meant to provide precise guidelines for the glass painter. It appears to be a *Reinzeichnung*, or cleaned-up copy, perhaps even a tracing. Dürer is known to have traced the main contours of his compositions, then added details and hatching, as part of his working process.⁴ As in the sheet in Nuremberg, Dürer used clear hatching systems, avoided cross-hatching, except in small areas, and organized contours and hatching strokes to emphasize the picture plane. As noted above (cat. no. 12), Dürer's authorship of the drawings of *The Life of Saint Benedict* has often been doubted. But his sure grasp of three-dimensional form is apparent in the head of the saint. Also characteristic of Dürer is the balance between the beauty of individual lines and the combined effect of the lines as shading.

1. Uhlfelder 1967: 44–46.
 2. Uhlfelder 1967: 46. The authors would like to thank Anne Lauder for bringing this passage to their attention when they first began work on the drawing.
 3. Dubler 1957: 128–29. As noted above (cat. no. 12, note 2), Dubler thought Dürer might have relied on visual sources even more than on *The Dialogues of Gregory the Great* in composing his images of *The Life of Saint Benedict*. Dubler noted what she considered to be striking similarities between Dürer's compositions in Paris (cat. no. 11), Darmstadt (cat. no. 15), and Nuremberg (cat. no. 12), and the illuminations in the so-called *Bis-bini-Vita*, a manuscript known in five illustrated copies made between c. 1370 and the end of the fifteenth century. Dubler compared Dürer's *Saint Benedict in Solitude* to the representation of Benedict's nocturnal vision in a copy of the *Bis-bini-Vita* painted in Metten in 1414 (copy M, Clm 8201 in the Staatsbibliothek in Munich). There, she observed, the artist represented the cosmos in terms a disk filled with details from the life of knights and peasants. Dubler asserted that if Dürer had been guided by the text of *The Dialogues of Gregory the Great* rather than by visual representations, he would most likely have included the death of Germanus. Dubler noted that a fiery ball became one of Benedict's attributes in visual representations during the Baroque period.
 4. As noted in cat. nos. 66–67, note 4, Dürer's *Entombment*, 1504, in the National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., is inscribed in his own hand, *Durchzeichnet* (traced).

I4

After Albrecht Dürer

Saint Benedict and the Devil

c. 1496

Clear glass of a grayish green tone, yellow stain, sanguine, and black vitreous paint

CONDITION

Two glued cracks, glue yellowed; halftone painting slightly reduced, minor losses in contours, sanguine strongly washed off; modern lead border

Coat of arms of the Tetzl family of Nuremberg surrounded by the collar of the Order of the Jug

24.5 × 18 cm, including the lead border

Nuremberg, Germanisches Nationalmuseum

Inv. no. MM 786

PROVENANCE

Collection of the Duke of Sachsen-Coburg-Gotha

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Winkler in Thieme and Becker 1907–50, xxxvii: 40; *Germanisches National-Museum* 1955: 21, fig. 5; Winkler 1957: 119; Knappe 1961a: note 245 on 60; Nuremberg 1961: 221, no. 396; Munich 1967–68: 21; Zink 1968: 93; Koschatzky and Strobl 1971: 162; London 1971: 12; Nuremberg 1971: no. 718; Pilz 1972: 106; Strauss 1974, vi: 2960; London 1988: 70; Scholz 1991: note 135 on 43–44, note 144 on 45, fig. 50 on 47, fig. 283 on 197, 198; Rowlands 1993, i: 66, under no. 142.

Dürer's drawing of Saint Benedict and the devil (fig. 14) and the small grisaille panel executed after it depict a scene from *The Life of Saint Benedict* as recounted in *The Dialogues of Gregory the Great*.¹ Benedict heals a young monk, the son of a tax collector, who was crushed when the devil pushed down a wall during the building of a church. The setting for the miracle is Monte Cassino, where Benedict founded the famous monastery and promulgated the Rule of the Order. The place was said to have been the site of a temple of Apollo, which was razed after Benedict converted Apollo's followers to Christianity.

In executing *Saint Benedict and the Devil*, the glass painter closely followed the design by Dürer.² One notable change is in Benedict's hand gestures. Perhaps Dürer had provided alternate hand gestures, as he did in sketches on the verso of two other drawings for *The Life of Saint Benedict*.³ The coat of arms was also changed by the glass painter. In the stained-glass panel, the crest of the Tetzl



14

family is surrounded by the collar of the chivalric Order of the Jug, probably, according to Ursula Frenzel, in honor of Jobst Tetzl (d. 1474), who was the guardian of the Church of Saint Aegidius where the Tetzels had a family chapel.⁴ In Dürer's drawing, the coat of arms combines the crests of Jobst Tetzl's first and second wives, Agnes Rummel (d. 1455 or 1460; two cocks)⁵ and Margareta Pessler (bird's leg). Married in 1462, the latter had nine children and outlived her husband.

Hartmut Scholz hypothesized that

the commission for the panels depicting *The Life of Saint Benedict* may have been carried out by Dürer for his former teacher Wolgemut before the younger man established his own workshop in Nuremberg.⁶ Certainly the panel after Dürer's design depicting *Saint Benedict and the Devil* was executed in the same glass painter's workshop, perhaps even by the same glass painter who executed *The Crucifixion*, c. 1490, after a design by Wolgemut or his workshop (cat. no. 6). Both panels are painted in

grisaille in a linear style, reminiscent of woodcut. And in both the glass painter made extensive use of sharp objects to scratch hatching and light contours out of the matt. The glass painter responsible for *Saint Benedict and the Devil* showed great understanding of the energy and subtle modulation of Dürer's line and the expressive power of his faces and hands. The identity of the glass painter is, however, difficult to surmise. As Hartmut Scholz has pointed out, it is even impossible to say whether the stained-glass



FIGURE 14. Albrecht Dürer. *Saint Benedict and the Devil*, c. 1496. Pen and brown ink, 23.5 × 17.5 cm. Formerly in the collection of Professor Cantacuzino, Bucharest, present whereabouts unknown. Photo: Winkler 1936-39, I: no. 206.

panels of *The Life of Saint Benedict* were executed by a specialist in small-scale stained glass within the Hirsvogel workshop or by a different workshop entirely.⁷ Scholz did note similarities with the linear style employed in painting monumental glass windows in the Hirsvogel workshop, specifically in one of the hands identifiable in the Window of the Bishops of Bamberg in Saint Sebald in Nuremberg.⁸

As noted above (cat. no. 11), the stained-glass panels depicting *The Life of Saint Benedict* were presumably commissioned for Nuremberg's Benedictine monastery, Saint Aegidius. Determining their intended location within the monastery is complicated by the fact that the church was destroyed by fire in 1696. Ursula Frenzel argued that they replaced damaged glass panels from c. 1360 in the family chapel, located on the south side of the choir of the church.⁹ Gottfried Frenzel, on the other hand, thought they might have been made for the glazing of the cloister of the monastery, which replaced damaged glass from c. 1418-25.¹⁰ Hartmut Scholz correctly observed that the small panels must be viewed at close range. Thus he favored Gottfried Frenzel's theory, since the windows in the cloister would have been smaller and lower than the chapel windows.¹¹ On the basis of Dürer's use of watercolor on three of his designs (cat. no. 11), Scholz hypothesized that the commission might originally have been for large colored-glass panels for the Tetzl family chapel rather than for small grisaille panels for the cloister. Unfortunately little is known about the building history of the refectory, monk's cells, and cloister of Nuremberg's Benedictine monastery.¹² What is known is that the stained-glass panels depicting *The Life of Saint Benedict* were made during the tenure of Johannes Rotenecker (Radenecker), who was abbot of Saint Aegidius from 1477 to 1504. Abbot Rotenecker was particularly interested in the history of the Benedictine Order. He assisted Abbot Johannes Trithemius von Sponheim in collecting information about important Benedictine scholars for a literary catalogue, writing to the abbot of the monastery San Paolo fuori le mura in Rome in order to trace, for instance, forgotten Benedictines from Monte Cassino.¹³

I5

By or after Albrecht Dürer

The Self-Mortification of Saint Benedict

c. 1496

Pen and black ink, brush and green, pink, gray, and blue watercolor, on cream laid paper

COAT OF ARMS

Coat of arms of the Tetzl family of Nuremberg

23.8 × 17 cm

Darmstadt, Hessisches Landesmuseum

Inv. no. AE 387

PROVENANCE

Perhaps in the Welser collection, auctioned by Frauenholz in Nuremberg (Frauenholz, auction 5 according to Heller 1827, II: 69)

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Weigel 1865: 194, no. 44; Schönbrunner and Meder 1896-1908, v: no. 551; Dodgson 1903-11, I: 502; Weisbach 1906: 79; Rauch 1907 (pt. 2, Wolf Traut): note 3 on 21-22; Röttinger 1907-9: 7-9; Dodgson 1909: 3, 4, 12; Stadler 1913: 214-15, 244-45; Dodgson 1918: 46, 51; Braun 1924: 11-12; Röttinger 1926: 66, pl. 27; Lippmann and Winkler 1883-1929, VI: no. 694; Schenk zu Schweinsberg 1927: 34-36; Dodgson and Parker 1928: 20; Nuremberg 1928: no. 208; Römer 1928: 128; Tietze and Tietze-Conrat 1928-38, I: 372-75; Beenken 1929: 246; Holzinger 1929: 35-38, note 29 on 76; Flechsig 1928-31, II: 429; Winkler 1936-39, I: no. 207; Démons 1937-38, I: 25; Panofsky 1943: no. 799; Winkler in Thieme and Becker 1907-50, xxxvii: 40; Dubler 1957: 59, 77, 109; Winkler 1957: 119; Nuremberg 1961: 221-22; Munich 1967-68: 21; Zink 1968: 93; Hütt 1971, I: 237; Koschatzky and Strobl 1971: 162; Nuremberg 1971: no. 717; Pilz 1972: 106; Strauss 1974, VI: no. xw. 207; Anzelewsky and Mielke 1984: 28; London 1988: 70; Scholz 1991: note 135 on 43-44, note 144 on 45; Paris 1991-92: 99-100; Rowlands 1993, I: 66, under no. 142.

1. Uhfelder 1967: 19-20.

2. *Saint Benedict and the Devil*, c. 1496, pen and brown ink, 23.5 × 17.5 cm, formerly in the collection of Professor Cantacuzino, Bucharest, present whereabouts unknown. See Winkler 1936-39, I: no. 206; Strauss 1974, VI: no. xw. 206.

3. See Strauss 1974, VI: nos. xw.201a and xw.203a.

4. Nuremberg 1971: no. 718. On the Order of the Jug, see also the biography of the Master of the Housebook, above.

5. Dürer's wife, née Agnes Frey, was the daughter of Anna Frey, née Rummel (d. 1521). In the fifteenth century, the Rummels were one of Nuremberg's wealthiest families. Anna Rummel brought a dowry of eight hundred florins to her marriage with Albrecht Dürer the Elder, four times the dowry that Agnes Frey brought to her marriage.

6. Scholz 1991: 41, note 134 on 42. See cat. no. 6, note 9.

7. Scholz 1991: 46-48. Scholz also noted that the coarse, graphic manner of the glass painter was characteristic of small-scale stained glass in Nuremberg until about 1510.

8. Scholz (1991: 198) proposed that the glass painter responsible for *Saint Benedict and the Devil* might be identical with the master who painted the head of Bishop Philip von Henneberg in the so-called Bamberg Window in Saint Sebald in Nuremberg. On the Bamberg Window, see Scholz's essay and cat. no. 18.

9. Nuremberg 1971: 387.

10. Nuremberg 1961: no. 396.

11. Scholz 1991: note 135 on 44. A series of small grisaille panels, one of which is dated 1511 (cat. no. 32), were designed by Dürer's follower Hans von Kulmbach, presumably for the same cloister.

12. See Zankl 1935 on the church before the fire of 1696. See also Pilz 1972.

13. On Rotenecker, see Franz Machilek's biography in Imhoff 1984: 59-60 and cat. no. 33. If, as Dubler asserted, Dürer had access to illuminations in manuscript biographies of Saint Benedict (see cat. no. 12, note 2; cat. no. 13, note 3; cat. nos. 15-16), perhaps it was through Rotenecker.





After Albrecht Dürer

The Self-Mortification of Saint Benedict with a Donatrix and an Angel Holding a Heraldic Shield

c. 1496

Clear glass of a grayish green tone, yellow stain, sanguine, and black vitreous paint

CONDITION

Shatter crack, loss below at left edge, chipping along break lines, some surfaces scratched and abraded.

Coat of arms of the Waldstromer family of Nuremberg (a shield damascened sable, two prongs crossed)

22.5 × 16.3 cm

Boston, Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum

Inv. no. C6E13

PROVENANCE

A. Pickert, Nuremberg

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Winkler 1957: 119; Knappe 1961a: note 245 on 60; Nuremberg 1961: 221–22; Munich 1967–68: 21; Zink 1968: 93; Nuremberg 1971: 387; Koschatzky and Strobl 1971: 162; London 1971: 12; Nuremberg 1971: 387; Pilz 1972: 106; Strauss 1974, VI: 2962; Cambridge 1978: 99; London 1988: 70; Corpus Vitrearum Checklist IV 1991: 98; Scholz 1991: note 135 on 43–44, note 144 on 45, fig. 276 on 193, 198; Rowlands 1993, I: 66, under no. 142.

While the drawing *The Self-Mortification of Saint Benedict* bears the coat of arms of the Tetzl family, the grisaille panel executed after it shows a winged angel holding the Waldstromer coat of arms, which belonged to the family of Jobst Tetzl the Elder's wife (d. 1437). The scene of *The Self-Mortification of Saint Benedict* was one of at least twelve from *The Life of Saint Benedict* depicted by Dürer in designs for a stained-glass cycle that was presumably commissioned in connection with the marriage of Friedrich Tetzl the Younger and Ursula Fürer on February 6, 1496 (see also cat. nos. 11–12), for the Benedictine monastery, Saint Aegidius, in Nuremberg. The drawing in Darmstadt and small grisaille panel in Boston depict a young Benedict overcoming sexual desire by throwing himself into a thorn bush. According to *The Dialogues of Gregory the Great*:

One day while he was alone, the Tempter was present. A small dark bird, commonly called a blackbird, began to flutter about his face and to press upon him so persistently that he could have caught it if he had wished. But when Benedict had made the sign of the cross, the bird went away. After it had left, however, a greater temptation of the flesh than he had ever experienced overtook the holy man. For the evil spirit brought back before his mind's eye a certain woman whom he had once seen. . . . He was overcome by sensuality, and almost considered abandoning his solitary retreat. Then suddenly God graciously looked upon him and he returned to himself. Since he saw that thickets of nettles and thorn bushes were growing nearby, he stripped off his garment and flung himself naked upon those stinging thorns and burning nettles. . . . So through the wounds of the skin he drew out from his body the wound of the mind by changing his lust to pain.¹

Gregory used the story to illustrate why the young “must be subordinate and serve, and be worn out by obedient toil” while the “temptation of the flesh burns hot.” From the fiftieth year, he asserts, “the body begins to cool” and the mind becomes tranquil, making the monk an ideal teacher of souls and guardian of the hearts of the faithful. The woman at the lower right, dressed in the costume of a lady of Nuremberg,² symbolizes the source of Benedict's unchaste thoughts and feelings. Noting the conflation of the story of the blackbird and

that of Benedict's self-mortification as well as the juxtaposition of the prostrate saint and the seated woman, Elisabeth Dubler suggested that Dürer might have known the so-called *Bis-bini-Vita*, a manuscript recounting Benedict's life that is known in five illustrated copies made between c. 1310 and the end of the fifteenth century. Dubler pointed to similar pictorial elements in an illumination in an early fourteenth-century copy of the *Bis-bin-Vita* in the Pierpont Morgan Library in New York.³ One wonders whether such a visual source was made accessible to Dürer by the abbot of Saint Aegidius, Johannes Rotenecker, who was avidly interested in the history of the Benedictine Order (see cat. no. 14, note 13; cat. nos. 32–35).

Friedrich Winkler judged the drawing in Darmstadt to be a copy after Dürer made in the glass painter's workshop; he described the lines as too dry and weak to have been executed by Dürer himself.⁴ Furthermore, Winkler argued, the framing line, drawn with a straight-edge in pen and black ink, indicates that this was the final pattern (*Vorlage*) for the glass panel, executed by the glass painter himself. (This type of drawing is also called a “workbench drawing” and was made by tracing in order to preserve the “working design.”)⁵ Winkler might also have noted that the drawing in Darmstadt is executed in black ink, while the other extant designs from the series are in brown ink. The drawing *The Self-Mortification of Saint Benedict* has undeniable weaknesses, most notably the poorly articulated body of Benedict beneath the thornbushes, the lack of articulation of his wrists, and the want of three-dimensionality in the coat of arms. On the other hand, the beautifully rendered figure of the woman is worthy of Dürer. The simple contours of her face and nose lend roundness to her head. The contours and modeling of the woman's dress and of the church in the background are clear and effective. The watercolor too is adeptly applied in a palette consistent with Dürer's own (cat. no. 11).

The stained-glass panel in Boston is similar in execution to the one in Nuremberg depicting *Saint Benedict and the Devil* (cat. no. 14). The glass painter translated the linear design into a painted work that balances tonal modeling in gray matt, applied in the manner that wash would be in a drawing, and linear modeling in black paint for contours, hatching, and cross-hatching. The glass painter also makes free use of pointed tools to scratch highlights and hatching strokes into the gray matt. This technique is used to particularly great effect in the long, curving highlights of the river and the scribbled cross-hatching of the moun-

tain in the background. Here the glass painter is improvising, as the pen-and-ink and watercolor drawing includes no modeling of this kind. The verso is articulated with yellow stain and sanguine.

In the figure of Benedict, the hatching strokes used to model the torso resemble those in the drawing in Darmstadt. The lack of anatomical clarity in the body beneath the thornbushes is comparable to the drawing. This could suggest either that the glass painter was also responsible for the sheet in Darmstadt or that he suffered from a lack of direction provided by Dürer in this part of the design. The figure of the woman in the panel departs from her counterpart in the drawing. Her face is more rounded and the folds of her drapery softer. The kerchief wrapped around her head and falling across her shoulders emphasizes the soft forms of her face and shoulders.

17

Albrecht Dürer

King Totila Visits Saint Benedict

c. 1496

Pen and brown ink, gray wash, brown ink framing lines, on cream to beige laid paper

22.5 × 17.2 cm

Private collection, Switzerland

PROVENANCE

Jonkheer C. van de Poll, Castle Hollenfels, Luxembourg; by inheritance to a Dutch nobleman; Christie's, Amsterdam, November 14, 1994, lot 216

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Lippmann and Winkler 1883–1929, VI: introduction, ill. opposite 20; Beets 1927–28: 17–19, fig. on 18; Tietze and Tietze-Conrat 1928–38, I: 372–75; Flechsig 1928–31, II: 430; Winkler 1936–39, I: no. 208; Démons 1937–38, I: 25; Panofsky 1943: no. 800; Winkler in Thieme and Becker 1907–50, XXXVII: 40; Dubler 1957: 59, 77; Nuremberg 1961: 221–22; Munich 1967–68: 21; Zink 1968: 93; Hütt 1971, I: 239; Koschatzky and Strobl 1971: 162; Nuremberg 1971: 387; Pilz 1972: 106; Strauss 1974, VI: no. XW. 208; Anzelewsky and Mielke 1984: 28; London 1988: 70; Paris 1991–92: 99–100; Rowlands 1993, I: 66, under no. 142.

Totila was king of the Ostrogoths in Italy. *The Dialogues of Gregory the Great*¹ recount how Totila tested Benedict's gift of prophecy by sending his swordbearer, Riggo, to the saint at Monte Cassino disguised as the king. Benedict immediately discovered the deception. Then Totila visited Benedict, prostrating himself and refusing to stand up in spite of the saint's entreaties. Benedict blessed Totila, but not before striking terror in his heart by prophesying: "Your evil deeds, past and present, are many. It is time at last to refrain from sin. You are about to enter Rome and to cross the sea. For nine years you will rule, and in the tenth you will die." Gregory reports that "Not long after, [Totila] went to Rome, proceeded to Sicily, and died in the tenth year of his reign. He lost his kingdom and his life according to the judgment of almighty God." The figure of the kneeling Totila has been compared to that of Eustace in Dürer's famous engraving of c. 1501 depicting the conversion of the saint.²

Winkler considered this drawing and *The Self-Mortification of Saint Benedict* (cat. no. 15) to be copies after Dürer.

While the drawing in Darmstadt has some weaknesses that cast doubt upon Dürer's authorship, this sheet is certainly from Dürer's hand. Here, gray wash replaces the blue, green, and red watercolor used in the drawings from *The Life of Saint Benedict* that Dürer is thought to have executed first (cat. no. 11). Nevertheless, *King Totila Visits Saint Benedict* matches other drawings from Dürer's hand in the calligraphic beauty of the lines, the pronounced three-dimensionality of the figures, the weightiness of the cloth, and the powerful expressiveness of the faces and hands. Contours and hatching strokes are swiftly and surely executed. As is typical for Dürer, exact symmetry is avoided in the delineation of the features, and the upper contour of the lips is always suggested rather than drawn. The face of the elegant youth standing behind Totila (perhaps Riggo) is particularly characteristic of Dürer's draftsmanship. It is modeled with just a few contours and touches of wash, yet fully rounded. The young man's stance calls to mind that of the youth in *The Marriage-for-Money Fool*, one of Dürer's woodcut illustrations for Sebastian Brant's *Ship of Fools* (Basel, 1494).³ The young man also calls to mind an elegantly clad onlooker at the left of Dürer's woodcut *The Whore of Babylon* (fig. 13) from *The Apocalypse*, made in 1496–98 and published in 1498.⁴ The knit brow of the youth behind Totila gives him the look of concentration that Dürer often captured. The winding contours of the fur lining on Totila's jacket anchor the figure firmly in space. His pained expression is adeptly rendered. In depicting Benedict's hands, Dürer sacrificed anatomical correctness for the sake of expressiveness of silhouette and readability of gesture. In execution, *King Totila Visits Saint Benedict* is among the most masterful of Dürer's series on the life of the saint.

1. For the story of the self-mortification of Saint Benedict according to Gregory, see Uhlfelder 1967: 6–7.
2. In 1500, Dürer made a number of studies of the costumes of the women of Nuremberg (Strauss 1974, II: nos. 1500/2–1500/7).
3. Copy V (Ms. 55 in the Pierpont Morgan Library) may date from 1310–20 and may have originated in Sankt Florian. See Dubler 1957: 53–54, 109, and fig. 112.
4. Winkler 1936–39, I: no. 207.
5. New York 1995: 12.

1. Uhlfelder 1967: 22–24.
2. Bartsch 1803–21: no. 57.
3. Hütt 1971, II: 1369.
4. Bartsch 1803–21: no. 73.



17



Attributed to Albrecht Dürer

Saint Peter, Cartoon for the Window of the Bishops of Bamberg in Saint Sebald's Church in Nuremberg

c. 1501–2

Brush with black ink and gray wash, traces of black chalk, color notations in black chalk, on five sheets of cream laid paper attached horizontally with slight overlapping on the top join; the other joins and the lower left-hand corner have been made up

WATERMARK

High crown surmounted by a cross (in four pieces of paper) (very close to Briquet [1907] 1966: 4895; see also Meder 1932: pl. 4, no. 20, and Strauss 1974, vi: 3285–86)

Color notations in black chalk: *w[eiss]* (white, in key), *g* (green, in damask cloth behind Peter at left), *r[ot]* (red, three times, twice in cope, just above two small keys and at Peter's right thigh, and once in his shoe), *bl[au]* (blue, on cassock above morse); undeciphered mark, perhaps indicating the use of yellow stain (on morse).¹ Notation in red, at left, just above the symbol for green: undeciphered, perhaps indicating the pattern to be used on the cloth behind Peter.

100.2 × 38.8 cm

London, The British Museum

Inv. no. 1882-3-11-60

PROVENANCE

Acquired 1882 from Mr. A. Casabianca, Paris

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Schinnerer 1913: 322, fig. 7 on pl. 78; Weinberger 1921: note 77 on 250–51; Dodgson 1926: 35; Röttinger 1926: 86, pl. 34; Beets 1927–28: 19; Dodgson and Parker 1928: no. 308; Winkler 1929: 37, 43; Stadler 1936: 82, 123; Winkler 1936: 192; Winkler 1942: no. 63; Winkler 1959: 23–24, pl. 12; Frenzel 1960: 201, pl. 5 (detail); Knappe 1960: 186; Strieder 1960: 536–37; Frenzel 1961: 39–40; Knappe 1961a: 69–99, figs. 60–61, 67; Knappe 1961c: 253; Nuremberg 1961: 112–13; Schwemmer 1961: 115–16; unsigned review of *Meister um Albrecht Dürer and Bamberger Fenster in Sele Arte* 1961–62: 57–67, especially 64–66; Schnellbögl 1962–63: 289; Oettinger and Knappe 1963: note 241 on 104, 318; Nuremberg 1971: 389; London 1971: 54, no. 338; Winzinger 1971: 68; Knappe 1973: 68–69; Munich 1974: 79, under no. 66; Butts 1985: 6, 34–36, 161, 174–78, 182, 185–87, 281–94, 302–3, fig. 254; Butts 1986: note 13 on 525; Butts 1988: note 13 on 284; London 1988: no. 97; Butts 1990: 71, 73–75, fig. 6 on 71, notes 30–33 on 78; Scholz 1991: note 71 on 15, note 86 on 24, notes 150–51 on 51–53, fig. 76 on 64, 66–67, fig. 79 on 68, note 259 on 122–23, 124, 130, 237, 291, 309, note 729 on 326, note 753 on 337; Rowlands 1993: no. 405; Strieder 1993a: 734–35.

Saint Peter is the only surviving cartoon for the monumental window in the eastern choir of the church of Saint Sebald in Nuremberg that is called the Bamberg Window because it was given by Veit Truchsess von Pommersfelden (d. September 7, 1503), the bishop of Bamberg (fig. 13, p. 28). The cartoon can be dated c. 1501–2 based on a record of payment by the bishop to the glass painter, Veit Hirsvogel, for the completed window in the year 1502–3. The cartoon must have been executed soon after Veit Truchsess of Pommersfelden was consecrated on July 16, 1501, perhaps in the months following his visit to Nuremberg on August 15.² Nuremberg was in the diocese of the bishop of Bamberg. And while the city did not pay taxes to him, his window in Saint Sebald, just to the left of the Emperor's Window (cat. no. 49), was a testament to his importance there. The window may have “belonged” to the bishops of Bamberg since the first glazing of the choir in the late fourteenth century. Today the window has the added importance of being the first largely intact monumental composition from the Hirsvogel workshop.³

The patron and glass painter apparently turned to Albrecht Dürer to design the so-called Bamberg Window. The thirty-year-old Dürer, already hailed as the Apelles of Germany,⁴ was a logical choice for the prestigious commission. But he was not credited with the window until 1961, when Karl Aldolf Knappe identified *Saint Peter* as the work of his hand.⁵ Knappe recognized the mind and hand of Dürer in the pulsing, rhythmic movement and precision of the brushwork, as well as in the adept translation

of light and shade into complex and rigorously controlled systems of hatching and cross-hatching. Knappe also recognized Dürer's extraordinary innovation and skill in the inner life and powerful psychic expression of Saint Peter and in the stability and plastic strength of the figure. Knappe aptly compared the head of the Saint Peter with that of the emperor (fig. 15) in *Four Avenging Angels* from Dürer's famous series of woodcuts, *The Apocalypse*, published in 1498,⁶ and with the head of the drummer from a panel of the so-called Jabach Altarpiece of about 1504 (Cologne, Wallraf-Richartz-Museum).⁷ Furthermore, Knappe noted that the handling of the brush and wash in *Saint Peter* is similar to that in Dürer's *Nuremberg Lady Dressed for the Dance* (Vienna, Graphische Sammlung Albertina, dated 1500).⁸ The use of brush and wash to shape the main contours of the lips, nose, eyes, and brow also recalls Dürer's earlier cartoon, *Saint Augustine Dispensing the Rule of His Order*, c. 1496–98 (cat. no. 10). In *Saint Peter*, the greater contrast of two shades of wash lends even more three-dimensionality to the features.

The glass painter in the Hirsvogel workshop was careful to follow the color notations on Dürer's cartoon, translating it into a stained-glass panel (one of sixteen that make up the window) in a palette of red, blue, green, and yellow (fig. 16). The glass painter successfully approximated Dürer's drawing in the costume of Saint Peter. But he failed to capture either the intense expression that Dürer brought to the saint's face or the fullness of the nose, lips, eyeballs, and beard in Dürer's cartoon. This is because the glass painter replaced Dürer's swelling and tapering contours with hard contours and shorter, straighter hatching strokes.⁹ It was almost two decades later, around 1518, before a glass painter would return to Dürer's cartoon and successfully render Saint Peter's expression in vitreous paint on glass (Nuremberg, Church of Our Lady) by emulating Dürer's flexible line.¹⁰

Saint Peter has been attributed to Dürer's follower Hans von Kulmbach, first in 1928,¹¹ and most recently in 1993.¹² But Kulmbach's authorship of the cartoon is not feasible since his youthful drawings can be traced to no earlier than c. 1504.¹³ Even Kulmbach's mature works lack the weightiness of Dürer's figures and the clearly defined physiognomic expression of the older master. Hartmut Scholz argued that the cartoon was executed by an anonymous glass painter in the Hirsvogel workshop who also painted the head of the sainted Emperor Heinrich in the Window of the Bishops of Bamberg.¹⁴ The so-called



FIGURE 15. Albrecht Dürer. Detail of emperor's head from *The Four Avenging Angels*. Woodcut from *The Apocalypse*, published 1498, 39.4 × 28.3 cm (woodblock). The Saint Louis Art Museum, Gift of Miss Berenice C. Ballard in memory of her father and mother, Mr. and Mrs. James R. Ballard (inv. no. 840: 1940). Photo: The Saint Louis Art Museum.



FIGURE 16. After a design and cartoon by Albrecht Dürer; workshop of Veit Hirsvogel the Elder. *Saint Peter* from the Bamberg Window, 1502. Pot-metal, flashed, and clear glass, yellow stain and vitreous paint, 105.5 × 41.5 cm. Nuremberg, Saint Sebald. Photo: Corpus Vitrearum Deutschland, Arbeitsstelle der Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur Mainz, Freiburg i. Br.

1. There is one more possible color notation, in black chalk, on Peter's cassock, below the morse.
2. On the commission and the date of the window, see Knappe 1961a: 18–24.
3. Scholz 1991: 61, 63.
4. Konrad Celtis (1459–1508), Germany's poet laureate, compared Dürer to the famous painter from the time of Alexander the Great (356–323) in a parchment manuscript datable to 1500. See Hutchison 1990: 68.
5. Knappe 1961a.
6. Bartsch 1803–21: no. 69.
7. Anzelewsky 1991: no. 73.
8. Strauss 1974, II: no. 1500/6.
9. See Scholz (1991: 61, 63, 66) regarding the two styles that coexisted within Hirsvogel's workshop and within the Bamberg Window. The glass painter who executed the head of Saint Peter worked in a style that looked back to Peter Hemmel. He used hard contours and stippling to create tonal modeling in the black matt. The glass painter who executed the head of Heinrich used a more linear style of modeling with the point of a brush, which emulated the graphic language of Dürer.
10. Scholz 1991: fig. 342 on 238.
11. Dodgson and Parker 1928: no. 308.
12. Rowlands 1993: no. 405.
13. On Kulmbach's development as a draftsman, see Butts 1985: 90–130.
14. Scholz 1991: 66–67, 70, 349.
15. Knappe 1973: 68.
16. Scholz assigns four other cartoons to the Master of the Head of Heinrich. *The Fall of the Rebel Angels* (Boston, Museum of Fine Arts) is discussed below as the work of Dürer from c. 1508 (cat. no. 23). *Saint Leonard* (Erlangen, Graphische Sammlung der Universität Erlangen-Nürnberg; fig. 20) calls to mind Dürer's saints in the stained glass panels he designed for Sixtus Tucher around 1504–5. I earlier assigned this work to Dürer (1985: 175, 178, 181, 282, 287, 298–304) but find that weaknesses in the contours and modeling suggest that it is probably by a glass painter, after a design by Dürer, as Scholz argued (Scholz 1991: 50–51, 79, 124, 130, 309, note 729 on 326, figs. 60, 101). *Saint Veronica* (Dresden, Kupferstich-Kabinett; Scholz 1991: 109–10, 309, fig. 143 on 107), formerly attributed to Kulmbach, and *Saint Christopher* (Dresden, Kupferstich-Kabinett; Scholz 1991: 199, 233–34, note 678 on 306, 309, note 744 on 331–32, fig. 337) appear to be by a glass painter familiar with Dürer's graphic language. Franz Stadler (1936: 81–82) had already noted that the large, three-dimensional figures and graspable drapery of *Saint Peter*, *Saint Christopher* (and a version in the Staatliche Graphische Sammlung, Munich), and *Saint Veronica* did not fit comfortably in Kulmbach's oeuvre. Friedrich Winkler assigned *The Fall of the Rebel Angels* to Hans von Kulmbach. He also identified Kulmbach as the artist responsible for *Saint Leonhard*, *Saint Veronica*, and the version of *Saint Christopher* in Munich (see Winkler 1942: nos. 62, 64, and 67).
17. Knappe 1973: 69.

Master of the Head of Heinrich emulated Dürer's graphic language with great success in the window, using the brush to draw and model at the same time, as Ursula Knappe observed.¹⁵ Still, it is difficult to imagine that anyone other than the artist responsible for the woodcuts of *The Apocalypse* and the head of a drummer in the *Jabach Altarpiece*—namely Dürer—could have modeled the animated features and full hair and beard of the *Saint Peter* in London. The dynamic contours and modeling of *Saint Peter* are the work of one of the great draftsmen of the Renaissance, not those of a glass painter who was trained to skillfully transfer the figures and compositions of a painter from paper onto glass.¹⁶ As Ursula Knappe has noted, presumably cartoons like the London *Saint Peter* were made for all of the figural panels. In her opinion, Dürer would have been responsible for at least some of the heads in those cartoons.¹⁷



19

19

Albrecht Dürer

Design for a Stained-Glass Trefoil with Death on Horseback

1502

Pen and grayish black ink; border and inscription in pen and brown ink; corner details in grayish black ink, on cream laid paper, border cut out and reattached after inscription

WATERMARK

A cardinal's hat (Briquet [1907] 1966: no. 3404)

False Dürer monogram in pen and black ink below, left of center; inscribed in border in pen and brown ink: CAVE MISER·NE MEO TE CONFIXVM·TELO·IN HOC TETRICJO COLLOCEM FERETRI LECTO·ANNO·1502 (Take care, unfortunate one, that I do not lay you, pierced by my arrow, on this hard bed of the funeral bier: 1502)

38.7 × 31.2 cm

Hannover, Niedersächsisches Landesmuseum Hannover

Inv. no. Z. 5

PROVENANCE

Culemann collection, Hannover

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Térey 1894: no. 88; Térey 1894–96: pl. 99 and appendix to vol. 3: xcix, no. 47; Schmitz 1923: 8; Schilling 1925: unpaginated introduction; Lippmann and Winkler 1883–1929, vi: no. 704; Beenken 1928: 115; Buchner 1928a: 500; Nuremberg 1928: no. 192; Tietze and Tietze-Conrat 1928–38, 1: 374; Zimmerman 1928: 95; Flechsig 1928–31, 11: 435; Winkler 1936–39, 1: no. 213; Panofsky 1943: no. 880; Winkler in Thieme and Becker 1907–50, xxxvii: 40; Winkler 1957: 118, 120; Frenzel 1961: 38–39, fig. 2; Grote 1961: 74–75, fig. 37; Nuremberg 1961: 222; Oettinger and Knappe 1963: 80, note 357 on 111; Wille 1967: no. 5; Hütt 1971, 1: 227; London 1971: 12; Nuremberg 1971: no. 723; Knappe 1973: 77; Schilling and Schwarzweiler 1973: 26; Strauss 1974, vi: no. xw. 213; Anzelewsky 1980: no. 99; New York and Nuremberg 1986: no. 116; Stuttgart 1988: no. 57.1; Strieder 1993a: 735.



FIGURE 17. After a design by Albrecht Dürer; attributed to Veit Hirsvogel the Elder. *Death on Horseback Taking Aim at Provost Dr. Sixtus Tucher Standing at His Open Grave*, 1502. Pot-metal, flashed, and clear glass of a grayish green tone, yellow stain, and black vitreous paint, 39.5 × 35.5 cm, including lead border. Nuremberg, Germanisches Nationalmuseum (inv. no. MM 155).

Photo: Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg.

Albrecht Dürer

Design for a Stained-Glass Trefoil with Sixtus Tucher at His Open Grave

Pen and grayish black ink, parts of the figure redrawn in pen and brown ink, border in pen and brown ink, on cream laid paper; drawing is laid down on a second sheet of cream laid paper

WATERMARK

Cardinal's hat (almost identical with Briquet [1907] 1966: 3404); second sheet has arms of Nuremberg (Briquet [1907] 1966: 921; Meder 1932: pl. 30)

False Dürer monogram in black chalk, bottom center; inscribed "•1502" in border at left in pen and brown ink

29.5 × 28 cm; cut out in the form of a trefoil and laid down on a second sheet measuring 31.5 × 26 cm; window mounted on a thick sheet of cream laid paper

Frankfurt am Main, Graphische Sammlung im Städelschen Kunstinstitut

Inv. no. 15667

PROVENANCE

Acquired 1935 from the Johann Friedrich Lahmann collection, Dresden (Lugt 1956: 1656c)

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Schmitz 1923: 8; Schilling 1925: no. 7; Lippmann and Winkler 1883–1929, vi: no. 705; Buchner 1928a: 500; Nuremberg 1928: no. 193; Tietze and Tietze-Conrat 1928–38, i: 373–74; Zimmerman 1928: 95, ill. on 97; Holzinger 1929: 42; Flechsig 1928–31, ii: 435; Winkler 1936–39: no. 214; Panofsky 1943: no. 881; Winkler in Thieme and Becker 1907–50, xxxvii: 40; Musper 1953: 24, 345; Winkler 1957: 118, 120; Grote 1961: 74–75, fig. 38; Nuremberg 1961: 222; Oettinger and Knappe 1963: 80; Wille 1967: 14; Frankfurt 1971: no. 243; Hütt 1971, i: 245; London 1971: 12; Nuremberg 1971: 391; Knappe 1973: 77; Schilling and Schwarzweller 1973: 86, pl. 18; Strauss 1974, vi: no. xw 214; Anzelewsky 1980: 110; New York and Nuremberg 1986: 286–89, fig. 128.

The design for a stained-glass trefoil depicting *Death on Horseback* was first published by Gabriel Térey, who attributed it to the young Hans Baldung.¹ Ernst Buchner² and Hermann Beenken³ also assigned the drawing to Baldung, while Eduard Flechsig⁴ gave it to the master responsible for twelve designs for a stained-glass cycle on *The Life of Saint Benedict* (cat. nos. 11–17). (Flechsig identified the so-called Benedict Master as Hans Schäufler. The Benedict Master is now almost universally recognized



20

as Dürer.) Ernst Zimmerman⁵ and Erwin Panofsky⁶ also attributed *Death on Horseback* to the Benedict Master. It was Friedrich Winkler who argued most vehemently that Dürer made the drawing in Hannover and its pendant in Frankfurt, depicting the Nuremberg patrician *Sixtus Tucher at His Open Grave*, with the church of Saint Lawrence in the background.⁷ Winkler's opinion that these sheets are among Dürer's most grandiose drawings is now rarely doubted.⁸ As Winkler noted, Dürer provides a clear, transparent model for the glass painter, avoiding cross-hatching as much as possible without forgoing his characteristically lively, swelling and tapering pen strokes and calligraphic line work. Further, Winkler observed, lightness and suppleness of touch are balanced with power and grandeur in the drawings in Hannover and Frankfurt.

The designs, commissioned by Dr. Sixtus Tucher (1459–1507) around 1502 (the date in the inscription on both drawings), were made into two slightly larger trefoils (figs. 17–18) in the Hirsvogel workshop. Presumably the trefoils were set into *Butzenscheiben* (bull's-eye panes) in the scholar's study in his country house near what is today the Graser-gasse.⁹ A doctor of jurisprudence and canon law, Tucher studied in Heidel-

berg, Padua, and Pavia before finishing his studies in Bologna and Paris. He was professor of jurisprudence and rector of the university in Igolstadt before replacing his cousin Dr. Lorenz Tucher (1447–1503) as provost of the church of Saint Lawrence in Nuremberg in 1496. Sixtus Tucher served as provost until 1504, also undertaking diplomatic missions for the Emperor Maximilian I. He acted as spiritual advisor to Willibald Pirckheimer's sister Caritas, abbess of the convent of the Poor Clares in Nuremberg, and to his cousin, the prioress Apollonia Tucher, who lived in the same convent. Rainer Kahsnitz noted that Sixtus Tucher's forty letters to the two nuns "are impressive testimony to his deep piety, theological erudition, and spiritual outlook, shaped by Humanist thinking."¹⁰ From 1504 until his death on October 24, 1507, Tucher lived in his country home near the Carthusian monastery. There he devoted himself to scholarship. His hope of encouraging classical studies by founding a school of poets directed by the poet laureate of the Holy Roman Empire, Konrad Celtis (1459–1508), was unrealized when Tucher died at the age of forty-eight.

The trefoils after Dürer's designs, now in the Germanisches Nationalmuseum in Nuremberg, belong to a vast

number of late-medieval memento mori. But, as Rainer Kahsnitz observed, here Death is not simply threatening all of mankind or a representative of a station of society, as was typical of Dance of Death imagery. Instead, the words in the inscription around Dürer's figure of Death, like Death's arrow, are directed at an individual.¹¹ Death threatens: "Take care, unfortunate one, that I do not lay you, pierced by my arrow, on this hard bed of the funeral bier." Tucher, who probably penned the inscriptions himself, replies to Death in the words surrounding the trefoil on which he is portrayed: QVID • MI[N]ARIS QVJOD • HOC MONENTE • SEPVL CRO: ECIAM • SI • VELIS • CAVERE • NEQVO: (Why threaten me with this waiting grave, against which, even if you wished it, I cannot defend myself). Theodor Volbehr recognized mankind's awakening self-consciousness in Tucher's composed reaction, so different from the fear shown in medieval Dances of Death.¹²

The drawing in Frankfurt and the related trefoil in Nuremberg are the only known portraits of Sixtus Tucher made during his lifetime.¹³ Dürer's powers of observation are apparent in the head of Tucher, in which the artist redraws contours to render the features precisely, and in the fur almuce over Tucher's shoulders, which identifies him as a provost. Dürer's attention to detail is also seen in the townscape, the nails in the horse's hooves, the strength with which Death grips his weapon, the skin that covers Death's bones like a garment, and the hatching strokes in the horse's neck, which emphasize the downward thrust of the creature's head. The forms are oriented to the picture plane, as is appropriate in designs for stained glass. Nevertheless, there is a grasp of linear perspective in the depiction of objects like the stretcher and in the buildings behind Tucher.

The glass painter carefully transferred Dürer's detailed and subtle drawings to glass. Traces of red beneath the painted contours suggest that he may have made a preliminary drawing on the blank glass.¹⁴ Sanguine, applied to the verso of the panel depicting Tucher, was used for the houses, roofs, and shading of the darker parts of Tucher's clothing. Yellow stain was loosely brushed onto the verso of part of the blue glass (not badgered or blended with a soft brush called a badger blender) to create a shade of green. The composition is articulated on the recto using gray matt and black trace lines. Fine wire tools were employed to create tonal variations in the wash (on scratch-stippling, see Peter van Treeck's essay), and highlights in the form of light contours were scratched into the matt



FIGURE 18. After Albrecht Dürer; attributed to Veit Hirsvogel the Elder. *Sixtus Tucher Standing at His Open Grave*, 1502. Pot-metal, flashed, and clear glass of a grayish green tone, yellow stain, and black vitreous paint, 39.8 × 34.6 cm, including lead border. Nuremberg, Germanisches Nationalmuseum (inv. no. MM 156). Photo: Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg.

with a pointed object. While the glass painter failed to capture some of the idiosyncrasies of Tucher's features, his concerted effort to emulate the complexity of Dürer's design is evident from the detailed modeling of Tucher's hands and the complicated glass cuts, like those used to form the horse. Rainer Kahsnitz¹⁵ and Rüdiger Becksmann¹⁶ identified the glass painter responsible for the trefoils as Veit Hirsvogel the Elder, while Hartmut Scholz¹⁷ identified him with the master responsible for the head of Bishop Philip von Henneberg in the so-called Bamberg Window in Saint Sebald (fig. 13, p. 28). In the absence of signed works by Veit Hirsvogel the Elder, it is impossible to reach a conclusion. What can be said is that the trefoils are by the most talented glass painter in Nuremberg around 1502.¹⁸ Dürer's compositions were apparently much admired. Heinrich Kohlhaussen noted that around 1515 the figure of Death on horseback and wielding a bow and arrow was engraved on a small shield belonging to Emperor Maximilian.¹⁹

1. Térey 1894–96: pl. 99. Friedrich Winkler (1936–39, I: 148) noted that he lists the drawing under works attributed to Baldung but not by his hand in volume III (no. 47).
2. 1928a: 500.
3. 1928: 115.
4. 1928–31, II: 435.
5. 1928: 95.
6. 1943: no. 880.
7. Winkler 1936–39, I: nos. 213–14.
8. Walter Strauss (1974, VI: no. xw 213) and Rüdiger Becksmann (Stuttgart 1988: no. 57.1) assigned the sheet in Hannover and its pendant in Frankfurt to the workshop of Dürer. Rainer Schoch (New York and Nuremberg 1986: no. 116) gave the drawings to the "Circle of Albrecht Dürer (Benedict Master)."
9. Provenance: residence of Provost Dr. Sixtus Tucher, Grasersgasse (old numbering Lorenz 951), Nuremberg, sold by the Tucher family (1833), purchased at auction by A. Pickert, in Nuremberg, from whom they were acquired by the Germanisches Nationalmuseum by 1884.
10. New York and Nuremberg 1986: no. 117. The letters were published by Christoph Scheurl of Nuremberg in 1515 under the title *Vierzig Sendbriefe*. On Tucher, see also Hans Otto Keunecke's biography in Imhoff 1984: 69–70, which gives 1503 as the year he resigned as provost.
11. Rüdiger Becksmann (Stuttgart 1988: fig. 57.2) illustrated a panel for which Henry Williams, vicar of Stanford on Avon (d. 1501), made provisions in his will, dated April 5, 1500. The painted glass roundel depicts Death shooting an arrow at a kneeling male figure in academic dress. See also Marks 1974: 273.
12. Volbehr 1887–89: 106.
13. For a posthumous print depicting Tucher, see Nuremberg 1982: no. 127, fig. 28.
14. The authors would like to thank Peter van Treeck (condition report, 1998) for sharing this observation and other details about the technique used by the glass painter responsible for the trefoils.
15. New York and Nuremberg 1986: no. 117.
16. Stuttgart 1988: no. 57.
17. 1991: 192–93, 198.
18. Winkler (1936–39, I: 148) noted that the same person was responsible for the inscriptions on the drawings in Frankfurt and Hannover and on the drawing for a roundel with Saint Benedict in Washington, D.C. (see cat. no. 11, note 4). Perhaps the drawing in Washington, D.C., is by the talented glass painter who made the trefoils.
19. Kohlhaussen 1970: xxxvi, as cited in New York and Nuremberg 1986: 289. See Innsbruck 1969: no. 217, fig. 36.





21

After Albrecht Dürer, workshop
of Veit Hirsvogel the Elder

**The Annunciation; Trefoil
Heads and Tracery Lights
with Flower and Fruit
Ornament, Owls, and
Birdlike Animals; God
the Father**

c. 1504–5

Pot-metal, flashed, and clear glass, yellow stain,
and black vitreous paint

CONDITION

Several cracks, glued; some original leading in
tracery, otherwise modern; painting partially
reduced on recto, heavily washed off on verso

149.5 × 93.7 cm (overall measurement including
wooden frame); rectangular panels each 79.5 ×
33.5 cm without frame

Nuremberg, Museen der Stadt Nürnberg, Mu-
seum Tucherschloss

PROVENANCE

Residence of Provost Dr. Sixtus Tucher,
Grasersgasse (old numbering Lorenz 951),
Nuremberg, Garden Chapel; Baron Bibra,
1830s; Eugen Felix; Christoph Freiherr von
Tucher, Nuremberg

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Reindel and Lösch 1833: 73;
Gessert 1839: 124; Eye and Börner 1880: 150;
Nuremberg 1906: no. 168; Oidtmann 1907: 12;
Schinnerer 1909–10: 244, 246; Schmitz 1913, 1:
146–47, fig. 237 on 146; Winkler 1959: 80;
Knappe 1960: 186; Grote 1961: 76, pl. 54;
Stafski 1985: 79–80, fig. 8; Scholz 1991: 74–78,
285, figs. 93, 96, 280; Strieder 1993a: 735.

22

After Albrecht Dürer, workshop
of Veit Hirsvogel the Elder

**Saints Andrew and Pope
Sixtus II; Trefoil Heads
and Tracery Lights with
Flower and Vine
Ornament and Owls;
Head of Christ**

c. 1504–5

Pot-metal, flashed, and clear glass, yellow stain,
and black vitreous paint

CONDITION

Two losses in Saint Andrew, cusped arch above
Saint Sixtus severely damaged

117.6 × 78 cm (overall); Saint Andrew: 78 ×
36.5 cm; Saint Pope Sixtus: 79 × 36 cm

Glendale, California, Forest Lawn Memorial-
Park Association, on permanent display in the
Forest Lawn Museum

Inv. no. S.7.6

PROVENANCE

Residence of Provost Dr. Sixtus Tucher,
Grasersgasse (old numbering Lorenz 951),
Nuremberg, Garden Chapel; Baron Bibra,
1830s; Eugen Felix; Christoph Freiherr von
Tucher, Nuremberg; A. Seligmann, Rey & Co.,
New York, to 1 June 1929; William Randolph
Hearst, Los Angeles, to 1954

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Reindel and Lösch 1833: 73;
Gessert 1839: 124–125; Eye and Börner 1880:
150;¹ Nuremberg 1906: no. 167; Oidtmann
1907: note 20 on 12; Schinnerer 1909–10: ill.
on 240, 244, 246; Schmitz 1913, 1: 146–147;
Winkler 1959: 80; Knappe 1960: 186; Corpus
Vitrearum Checklist III 1989: 55–56; Butts
1990: note 28 on 77–78; Scholz 1991: 74–78,
238, 285, 308, fig. 94; Strieder 1993a: 735; Fitz
1995: note 62 on 54.

About two years after Provost Dr. Sixtus Tucher commissioned two trefoils after designs by Dürer for the study of his country residence in Nuremberg (cat. nos. 19–20), he apparently engaged the artist to make larger stained-glass windows, almost four feet in height, for the Garden Chapel of the same residence. The house to which Tucher retired in 1504 was probably destroyed shortly after 1834. But a written description of 1833 evokes the beauty of the setting and of the chapel: “In a remote part of the city, almost in cloistered solitude, the wanderer finds the house described above and in the house a small house chapel from around the end of the fifteenth century. The chapel is decorated with two large windows and, in the choir, with five smaller ones, all adorned by the most beautiful stained glass, so that the tiny, well-conceived chapel captivates the one who enters with its magical charm.”² The appearance of the chapel is preserved in a late-eighteenth-century watercolor (fig. 19). *The Annunciation* and *Saints Andrew and Pope Sixtus II* are the stained-glass windows at the center and far right of the five-sided choir. They flank a lost window with *Saint Jerome* at the left and coats of arms at the right.³ The window just to the left of *The Annunciation*, depicting *The Madonna of Sorrows* and perhaps *Saint Nicholas*, is preserved in Wilton Church, Great Britain.⁴ Like *The Annunciation* and *Saints Andrew and Pope Sixtus II*, these two windows appear to have been designed by Dürer. The leftmost window, depicting *The Madonna and Child* at the left and *Saint Sebastian* at the right, is preserved in Schloss Fürstlich Drehna. It apparently predates Dürer’s drawings.⁵

In *The Annunciation*, a majestic Archangel Gabriel approaches the demure Mary with the news that she will bear God’s special child. The dove of the Holy Spirit hovers above her, while God the Father looks down and blesses her. The lilies of the valley symbolize the promise of new life for mankind through Jesus. The open book symbolizes Mary as Sophia or Wisdom, as well as her foreknowledge of her son’s death on behalf of mankind. The symbolism is carried through in the ornament above. What is apparently an open pomegranate represents the Resurrection, when all tombs of the dead will be opened. Another plant is presumably a thistle, which symbolizes Christ’s sufferings. The owl seated on branches that birds hold in their beaks represents Christ sacrificed as a decoy to the devil in order to save humanity. In Dürer’s time, bird catchers used owls as decoys to catch small predatory birds. The owl decoy was placed before a straw blind. Branches smeared with a glut-



FIGURE 19. Interior Room of the Chapel of the Tucher House in the Grasergasse, late eighteenth century. Watercolor in *Tuchersche Monumenta*, Stadtarchiv Nürnberg (inv. no. E 29, 117). Photo: Stadtarchiv Nürnberg.

nous substance extended from the blind and caught the birds as they attacked the owl. The mood of *The Annunciation* is celebratory. The bright palette is dominated by gold, created by painting yellow stain on the verso of the glass. Damask (green, blue, and yellow),⁶ velvet, and jewels are abundant, and the garments of Mary and Gabriel are full and flowing.

In *Saints Andrew and Pope Sixtus II*, red and purple accent a palette dominated by blue, green, and yellow. The sweeping landscapes behind the saints are among the most beautiful in the medium of stained glass. Here, Dürer realizes an ambition to achieve spaciousness in the landscape settings of stained glass, an aspiration apparent already in his design for stained glass *Saint George Fighting the Dragon*, c. 1496 (cat. no. 9). The donor's name saint, Sixtus II, was pope and a Christian martyr (d. 258). He is recognizable by his papal tiara and sack of money. He is often depicted with Saint Lawrence, patron saint of Nuremberg. According to legend, before going to prison, Sixtus gave Saint Lawrence (d. c. 258) all the treasures of the church so that they would not come into the

hands of the Emperor Valerian (d. 260) but instead be distributed to other congregations and to the poor of Rome.⁷ Andrew, the first to follow Christ (John 1:40–41), is shown with his attribute, the cross on which he was crucified. In the arch above are the head of Christ, owls (one destroyed), and vines, symbolic of Christ as the “true vine” (John 15: 1, 5, 8) and of the Eucharist. The keen interest in plants and animals, studied from nature, is typical of Dürer's work in the first years of the sixteenth century, notably in the watercolors *The Madonna with a Multitude of Animals*, c. 1503 (Vienna, Graphische Sammlung Albertina)⁸ and the famous *Young Hare*, 1502 (Vienna, Graphische Sammlung Albertina).⁹

Dürer's drawings for *The Annunciation* and *Saints Andrew and Pope Sixtus II* have not survived. But his authorship is apparent in the fully modeled faces; the swelling and tapering contours defining the nose, lips, cheeks and chin; the strong, expressive hands; and the thick, rhythmically falling hair.¹⁰ The almost sculptural figures and abundant drapery are paralleled in Dürer's wood-

cuts from around 1505, for example, *Christ Taking Leave from His Mother* from *The Life of the Virgin*¹¹ and *Saints Stephen, Pope Sixtus II, and Lawrence*.¹² Dürer may even have executed cartoons for *The Annunciation* and *Saints Andrew and Pope Sixtus II*. These would have resembled the cartoon depicting *Saint Leonard* in Erlangen (fig. 20).¹³ Hartmut Scholz dated the *Annunciation* and *Saints Andrew and Pope Sixtus II* c. 1504–5, finding support for the date in the glass painter's technique.¹⁴ He noted that the head of Andrew recalls that of Emperor Heinrich in the Bamberg Window in Saint Sebald in Nuremberg, 1502 (fig. 13, p. 28), while the head of Sixtus recalled that of Bishop Philip von Henneberg in the same window (see cat. no. 18).

The Annunciation and *Saints Andrew and Pope Sixtus II* were clearly made by one of the finest glass painters in workshop of Veit Hirsvogel the Elder. They represent a tour de force of the glass painter's technique. The glowing palette was achieved by using several colors of glass—red, purple, bright and medium blue, bright green, and rose—in addition

to clear glass (as white). The glass cuts are complicated in places. The red coating of the flashed glass of Sixtus's cassock is laboriously ground away to expose the clear glass beneath and thus to create a damask pattern. Yellow stain is used to achieve a range of color from bright yellow to gold. Painted on the back of blue glass, yellow stain also creates a shade of green in the landscape. The recto of the windows is painted in gray matt and black trace lines, the former worked with sharp tools to create tonal effects. (On scratch stippling and scratch etching, see Peter van Treeck's essay.) A pointed object was employed to scratch out linear highlights, most notably in the hair of the figures.¹⁵ Both hatching and cross-

hatching are used, which, Hartmut Scholz noted, is more typical of smaller stained-glass panels. Virtually all the techniques at the glass painter's disposal were used in producing the windows of Sixtus Tucher's chapel, and they are among the masterpieces of German Renaissance glass painting.



1. As collection Minutoli, no. 535.
2. Author's translation from Reindel and Lösch 1833: 73.
3. Two stained-glass panels now in Nuremberg's Church of Our Lady are later versions of *Saint Jerome* and *Saint Andrew*, dating from 1518 and c. 1516, respectively. See Scholz 1991: 238–39, figs. 343–44.
4. Scholz 1991: 74–78, note 554 on 263, fig. 95 on 80, and 365 on 255.
5. The authors would like to thank Hartmut Scholz for bringing their attention to *The Madonna in Glory* and *Saint Sebastian* from c. 1490. See Flügge 1998: 116, 120, 122, ill. on 117. Marina Flügge, as Hartmut Scholz pointed out, dates the panels too late (1504–5). On p. 16, Flügge also mentions small fragments and panels with coats of arms of Nuremberg families, including several belonging to the Tucher and one belonging to the Imhoff. Hartmut Scholz kindly identified these with the panel in the Tucher chapel to the right of Saint Jerome.
6. The damask pattern is the same that that used in the Bamberg Window (fig. 13 in Hartmut Scholz's essay). See Scholz 1991: 284–85.
7. On a drawing by Hans von Kulmbach for a quatrefoil with Saint Sixtus and a quatrefoil after Kulmbach's design with Saint Lawrence, see Landolt 1962, especially 34, fig. 3 on 35, 36, 40, 42, and fig. 7 on 43.
8. Strauss 1974, II: no. 1503/22.
9. Strauss 1974, II: no. 1502/2. On Dürer's studies of plants and animals, see Vienna 1985.
10. Johannes Schinnerer (1909–10: 244, 246) assigned the windows to an unknown pupil close to Dürer. Friedrich Winkler (1959: 80, 103) attributed them to Hans von Kulmbach but assigned no date. Ludwig Grote (1961: 76) accepted the attribution to Kulmbach and dated the windows 1517 based on an incorrect reading of a document, as noted by Hartmut Scholz (1991: note 190 on 75 and 78), who credited Dürer with designing the panels.
11. Bartsch 1803–21: no. 92.
12. Bartsch 1803–21: no. 108. Eva Fitz (1995: note 62 on 54) also compared the panels of the Tucher chapel to *Saints Stephen, Pope Sixtus II, and Lawrence*.
13. Circa 1504–5, brush with gray and black ink and pink watercolor on three sheets of cream laid paper, two with watermarks (Scale with Star, Briquet [1907] 1966: nos. 2536, 2541), 78.8 × 33.5 cm, Erlangen, Graphische Sammlung der Universität, inv. no. B 151. In 1985, I attributed the cartoon to Dürer (Butts 1985: 175, 178, 181, 282, 287, 298–304, fig. 260). But Hartmut Scholz (1991: 50–51, 79, 124, 130, 309, note 729 on 326, figs. 60, 101) may be correct in assigning *Saint Leonard* to a glass painter. (He attributes it to the glass painter responsible for the head of the Emperor Heinrich in the Bamberg Window [see cat. no. 18].) The delicately modeled head and expressive hands are characteristic of Dürer. (Compare the hand and book to those in Dürer's painting *Christ Among the Doctors*, 1506 [Thyssen-Bornemisza Collection, Anzelewsky 1991: no. 98].) But the heaviness of the black contours and awkward passages, including the poorly foreshortened base, suggest a glass painter copying a drawing or cartoon by Dürer.
14. Scholz 1991: 74–78, 198.
15. The authors would like to thank Peter van Treeck for his detailed technical description of the window in the Museum Tucherschloss; at the time of writing, such a detailed description was not available for the window in the Forest Lawn Museum. Peter van Treeck noted that in *Saints Andrew and Pope Sixtus II*, thin brownish and grayish white glazes are painted on the verso to enhance the modeling of the forms on the recto. A somewhat thicker brownish film is painted on the verso of the rose-colored glass of the prie-dieu.

23

Attributed to Albrecht Dürer

The Fall of the Rebel Angels

c. 1508

Brush and black and gray wash on darkened cream laid paper, laid down on a second sheet

WATERMARK

Bull's head with caduceus (similar to Meder 1932: no. 84)¹

31.8 × 42 cm

Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, Harvey D. Parker Collection

Inv. no. 1897.623

PROVENANCE

Purchased 1897 as part of the Henry F. Sewall Collection (Lugt 1921: 1309), with funds provided by Harvey D. Parker

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Dodgson 1930: 42–43, pl. 23; Musper 1953: 185–86, note 94 on 335; Winkler 1957: 250; Winkler 1959: 23–24, pl. 13; Frenzel 1960: 206, fig. 10 on 207, note 16 on 210; Knappe 1960: 186; Frenzel 1961: 56; Knappe 1961a: 98; Knappe 1961c: 253; Nuremberg 1961: no. 210, pl. 38; Oettinger and Knappe 1963: 72, note 391 on 113; Swarzenski 1972: note 1 on 119; Knappe 1973: 77; Austin 1983: no. 35; Butts 1985: 175, 181–82, 289–94, fig. 255; Butts 1986: note 13 on 525; New York and Nuremberg 1986: no. 160; London 1988: 129; Butts 1990; Scholz 1991: note 71 on 15, 122–24, fig. 164 on 125, 130, 309; Strieder 1992: 88, fig. 11 on 90, note 13 on 102–3, 104; Rowlands 1993, I: 82, under no. 174, and 190, under no. 405; Strieder 1993a: 734–35.

This drawing is a cartoon for one of five lost stained-glass windows, originally in the chapel of the Twelve-Brothers House in Nuremberg. This charitable home was founded by Matthäus Landauer (d. 1515), the proprietor of a brass foundry in the city, in order to care for twelve aged and impoverished artisans. Its chapel (fig. 23)² was built between 1506 and 1507 under the direction of Hans Behaim the Elder (1455/60–1538). The decoration of the chapel was entrusted to Dürer and included the famous altarpiece he painted for the eastern choir, *The Adoration of the Trinity* (Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum).³ In 1508, Dürer made a drawing to show Landauer his plans for both the painting and its sculpted frame (Chantilly, Musée Condé; fig. 24).⁴ The wood frame, now in the Germanisches Nationalmuseum in Nuremberg, depicts *The Last Judgment* and bears an inscription reading: “Matthäus





FIGURE 21. After designs and cartoons by Albrecht Dürer; workshop of Veit Hirsvogel the Elder. *The Fall of the Rebel Angels* and *The Sacrifice of Isaac*, c. 1508. Pot-metal, flashed, and clear glass, yellow stain, and vitreous paint, each panel 90 × 43 cm. Formerly Berlin, Kunstgewerbemuseum; destroyed during World War II. Photo: Schmitz 1913, II: nos. 240 and 241, pl. 39.

Landauer has finally completed the house of worship of the twelve brethren together with the charitable foundation and this panel, after Christ's birth, the year 1511."⁵

The rectangular chapel, measuring 9.52 by 10.64 meters, is divided by two spirally grooved columns and covered by a ribbed vault.⁶ It was consecrated to the Holy Trinity and to the community of saints. This was reflected not only in the subject of Dürer's altarpiece but also in the three arched windows above it on the eastern wall, which told the story of redemption from left to right in a continuous frieze. The triple lancet at center depicted *The Holy Trinity* (fig. 22). The double lancet at left represented *The Fall of the Rebel Angels and the Sacrifice of Isaac* (fig. 21), the latter subject being a prefiguration of God's sacrifice of His own Son on the cross to redeem mankind from sin and death. The double lancet at right showed *The Landauer Family Presented by Angels and the Wise and Foolish Virgins before God the Father* (at the Last Judgment). The Latin inscription on *The Fall of the Rebel Angels and the Sacrifice of Isaac* warned the worshipers not to be prideful and counseled them to place their trust in God,⁷ that is, to avoid the mistake of the angels who rebelled against God and to follow the example of Abraham, who would have sacrificed



FIGURE 22. After designs and cartoons by Albrecht Dürer; workshop of Veit Hirsvogel the Elder. *The Holy Trinity*, c. 1508. Pot-metal, flashed and clear glass, yellow stain, and vitreous paint; central panel 90 × 46 cm; left and right panels 90 × 43 cm. Formerly Berlin, Kunstgewerbemuseum; destroyed during World War II. Photo: Schmitz 1913, II: nos. 235-237, pl. 37.

even his son when God commanded him to do so. The two stained-glass windows of the chapel's northern and southern walls depicted the evangelists, apostles, and Church Fathers in attendance. The narrative scenes were framed by plant and animal motifs that recalled *The Annunciation* and *Saints Andrew and Pope Sixtus II* (cat. nos. 21–22), which Dürer had designed for Sixtus Tucher c. 1504–5. Each of the three panels of *The Holy Trinity* was dated 1508, and the remaining windows of the chapel were presumably also completed in 1508 or shortly thereafter.⁸ Removed between 1800 and 1820 and purchased by the Duke of Sagan, the windows had by 1891 made their way into the collection of the Kunstgewerbemuseum in Berlin, where they remained until they were destroyed during World War II.⁹

The lost windows of the chapel of the Twelve-Brothers House were highly prized by the patron. While Landauer did not mention Dürer's altarpiece in the rules he established for the charitable home, he did require the brothers to care for the windows in the chapel and those he had commissioned for the church of Saint Aegidius in Nuremberg.¹⁰ Four hundred years later, in 1913, Hermann Schmitz called the cycle of windows the principal work of glass painting of the late Gothic and Renaissance periods in Nuremberg.¹¹ He asserted that the designs and, "in the most accomplished parts," the lost cartoons for these windows must have been done by Dürer himself. Schmitz was so impressed with the windows that he thought Dürer might even have participated in painting them.¹² Schmitz also praised the color of the windows, which, he noted, must have echoed the fiery tonality of the altarpiece below: "In *The Fall of the Rebel Angels*, a white host of archangels hovers above the devils, whose bodies are held in clouded green and pale red glass. The leader of the dragons is in pale red flashed glass. The vague luster of his body owes to certain parts being more thinly covered or left white."¹³

The fragment of a cartoon in Boston for the central portion of the left half of the window *The Fall of the Rebel Angels and the Sacrifice of Isaac*, was first published by Campbell Dodgson.¹⁴ Dodgson apparently assumed that Dürer made an overall design for the window resembling his drawing of *The Fall of the Rebel Angels* in London (cat. no. 24).¹⁵ But he considered the faces of the angels in the cartoon "tame and conventional" and ascribed it to Dürer's workshop or the glass painter. Friedrich Winkler attributed the drawing to Dürer's follower Hans von Kulmbach,¹⁶ a view that was generally accepted until 1985, when I first

assigned the drawing to Dürer.¹⁷ Peter Strieder found my arguments against ascribing the sheet to Kulmbach more convincing than my proposal of Dürer's authorship.¹⁸ Hartmut Scholz ascribed the cartoon to a glass painter in the workshop of Veit Hirsvogel the Elder.¹⁹ He assigned several more cartoons to the same artist, including *Saint Peter* (cat. no. 18) for the Bamberg Window, 1502, in the church of Saint Sebald in Nuremberg.²⁰

On the basis of the cartoon in Boston it can be argued that Hermann Schmitz was correct in asserting that Landauer paid Dürer not only to paint the altarpiece for the All Saint's Chapel, to design the frame of the altarpiece, and to design the stained-glass windows but also to execute at least some of the cartoons. The cartoon for *The Fall of the Rebel Angels*, like *Saint Peter*, seems to be by Dürer's hand. Like the drawing in London, the Boston cartoon is characterized by a precision and rhythmic movement of brushwork that are characteristic of Dürer. Contours swell and taper, lending plastic strength to the angels' features. Rhythmically repeated curves describe the various textures of clouds, draperies, angels' wings, hair, and even the scaly belly of the vanquished dragon. The careful integration of black and gray washes contributes to the illusion of depth. The compact, almost high-relief group of figures in Dürer's fragmentary cartoon recalls the painting of *Christ Among the Doctors* that he made in Italy in 1506 (Thyssen-Bornemisza Collection).²¹ The ideal youthful types of the angels in the Boston cartoon may be compared to the head of the twelve-year-old Christ in *Christ Among the Doctors* and reflect the impact of Dürer's second Italian trip. In both the cartoon and painting, the drama turns on the contrast between idealized beauty and caricatured ugliness, a lesson Dürer had only recently learned in Italy from the work of Leonardo da Vinci. With the Boston cartoon, Dürer incorporated the newest lessons of the Italian Renaissance into his work in the medium of stained glass.



FIGURE 23. Interior of the Chapel of the Twelve-Brothers House in Nuremberg, facing east, pre-World War II photograph showing copies of the original stained-glass panels. Photo: Art Resource, N.Y.

1. I would like to thank Elizabeth Lunning for making the beta radiograph of the watermark, which is illustrated in Butts 1990: fig. 9 on 75.
2. Fig. 23 shows a view of the eastern wall with copies of the original stained-glass windows. The chapel, badly damaged during World War II, has since been restored. But there is no trace of the copies of the stained-glass windows.
3. Anzelewsky 1991: no. 118. On the chapel and its decoration, see Strieder 1992. On Matthäus Landauer, see also Joachim Ahlborn's biography of "Markus u. Matthäus Landauer" in Imhoff 1984: 36–37.
4. Strauss 1974, II: no. 1508/23.
5. The frame's sculptor has not been identified. Jörg Rasmussen (1974: 30–32, note 64 on 105) argued that Dürer certainly made very precise designs (now lost) that would have been similar to those of c. 1510 for tomb reliefs in the chapel of the Fugger family in Saint Anna in Augsburg (Strauss 1974, III: no. 1510/20–1510/22).
6. I should like to thank Matthias Mende for pointing out that Dürer discussed spirally grooved columns in his *Manual of Measurement*, published in Nuremberg in 1525, and could have played a role along with Behaim as architect of the chapel.
7. On the inscription, see Austin 1983: 131.
8. Peter Strieder (1992: 88) grappled with the fact that the portrait of Landauer in the window that was to the right on the eastern wall of the chapel seems to have been based on the drawing Dürer made of the patron, dated 1511, and used as a study for Landauer's portrait in the altarpiece (Strauss 1974, III: no. 1511/17). Strieder raised the question of whether the donor's head could have been set into the stained-glass window after 1508. See also Timothy Husband (New York and Nuremberg 1986: no. 160).
9. Schmitz 1913, I: 142–46, II: nos. 235–43.
10. Ahlborn 1969: 109; Kern 1984: 15. I would like to thank Karl Schütz for bringing this to my attention in a conversation after a public lecture I gave at the J. Paul Getty Museum on April 13, 1995.
11. Schmitz 1913, I: 142.
12. Hartmut Scholz (1991: note 690 on 309) debated whether Dürer might have occasionally painted heads to act as guidelines for the glass painters who carried out his designs.
13. Author's translation from Schmitz 1913, I: 145.
14. 1930: 42–43. Dodgson thanked Gustav Pauli for bringing the work to his attention.
15. Dodgson incorrectly calls the London drawing a *Last Judgment*.
16. Winkler 1959: 23–24.
17. Butts 1985: 289–94. See also Butts 1990.
18. Strieder 1992: 88.
19. 1991: 122–24.
20. See cat. no. 18, note 16.
21. Anzelewsky 1991: no. 98. In describing the stained-glass panel *The Fall of the Rebel Angels*, Hermann Schmitz (1913, I: 144) pointed out that "a certain weakness of the arms, which often are not organically joined to the bodies when thrusting and striking, is frequently observed from 1506 onward, when Dürer was striving for clear composition, scientific proportions, and beautiful line . . ." (author's translation).



24

24

Albrecht Dürer

The Fall of the Rebel Angels

1509

Pen and brown ink, with pink wash on the coat of arms, on cream laid paper

CONDITION

Very worn, particularly along horizontal and vertical crease marks

Monogrammed and dated in pen and brown ink bottom center: 1509 AD

COAT OF ARMS

The Schilling family of Weissenburg, Alsace (Wissembourg, Bas-Rhin, Alsace, France)

26.1 × 42.2 cm (cut in the shape of a tympanum)

London, The British Museum

Inv. no. 5218-190

PROVENANCE

Sloane bequest, 1753

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Waagen 1838, I: no. 190; Ephrussi 1882: 248–49; Thausing 1884, II: 35; Seidlitz 1907: 18; Lippmann and Winkler 1883–1929, III: no. 245; Liverpool 1910: no. 444; Bremen 1911: no. 480; Schmitz 1913, I: fig. 236 on 143, 144; Dodgson and Parker 1928: no. 223; Flechsig 1928–31, II: 325; Dodgson 1930: 43; Winkler 1936–39, II: no. 468; Tietze and Tietze-Conrat 1928–38, II, 2: no. A347; Panofsky 1943: no. 873; Musper 1953: note 94 on 335, 347; Winkler 1957: 250; Nuremberg 1961: 127; Hütt 1971, I: 532; London 1971: no. 133; Strauss 1974, II: 1509/5; Butts 1990: 69, fig. 5 on 70, 71, notes 27 on 77 and 46 on 79; Strieder 1992: 88, fig. 12 on 92, note 14 on 103; Rowlands 1993: no. 174.

The early Church taught that the creation of man followed the fall of Satan, citing Isaiah 14: 12: "How you have fallen from heaven, bright morning star (Lucifer). . . ." As was traditional in medieval and early Renaissance representations of *The Fall of the Rebel Angels*, Dürer depicted God the Father enthroned and angels with lances driving their evil counterparts from heaven. The rebel angels acquire demonic features as they descend to hell. Dürer's composition is in the shape of a tympanum. The donor is depicted kneeling at the far right with his coat of arms below him. Charles Ephrussi identified the patron of *The Fall of the Rebel Angels* as Jost Schilling, based on the coat of arms, which belonged to the Schilling family of Weissenburg, Alsace (today Wissembourg, Bas-Rhin, Alsace, France).¹ Ephrussi connected Dürer's drawing with a chapel and altar dedicated to Saint Stanislaw in Saint John's Church in Weissenburg, northeast of Strasbourg, which Schilling is recorded as having endowed in 1507.² Ephrussi noted that a *Last Judgment* was once painted on the wall of the chapel.³ The painting had disappeared by 1882.⁴

Aside from the drawing in London and what were once traces of a wall painting in Saint John's in Weissenburg, there is no evidence that Dürer executed a mural painting of *The Fall of the Rebel Angels* or any other painting for Schilling or that another painter did so based on Dürer's design. Among Dürer's surviving works, the drawing in London most closely resembles two of the stained-glass windows he designed for the chapel of the Twelve-Brothers House in Nuremberg: *The Fall of the Rebel Angels and the Sacrifice of Isaac* (fig. 21) and *The Holy Trinity* (fig. 22), the latter dated 1508. (On the chapel, see cat. no. 23.) In fact, this type of compositional drawing must have preceded the windows that Dürer designed for the chapel of the charitable home endowed by Matthäus Landauer. One cannot rule out the possibility that the drawing in London is a design for a similar stained-glass window for Jost Schilling, either lost or never executed. The shallow composition would have translated well into the medium of stained glass.⁵ Around 1509–13, Dürer made compositional drawings for the Schmidtmayer Window in Saint Lawrence in Nuremberg in a similar sketchy manner (see figs. 3–4, p. 5).

The drawing in London was once folded both horizontally and vertically, and its overall appearance has suffered as a result. Nevertheless, the sheet retains its expressive power, owing to the rich and diverse hatching systems, the array of fantastic demons, and the variety of



FIGURE 24. Albrecht Dürer. *The Adoration of the Trinity*, 1508. Pen and brown ink and blue, green, and red washes, 39.1 × 26.8 cm. Chantilly, Musée Condé.
Photo: Photographie Giraudon, Paris.

emotions conveyed by the angels who fan the cope of God the Father and vanquish Satan and his companions. Particularly fine are the dragonlike demon at the lower right, recalling the dragon in Dürer's *Saint George Fighting the Dragon* (cat. no. 9), and the animated expression of the angel at the lower right, with one eye wide open. The angel pierces the beak of a demon, evoking a visceral response from the viewer.⁷

1. Ephrussi 1882: 248–49. Ephrussi cites "Siebmacher's *Armorial*" as the source of his identification of the coat of arms: "trèfle jaune sur champ rose" (yellow clover on a rose-colored field). He noted that some members of the Schilling family had settled in Poland and others in Alsace.
2. Ephrussi cites B. Herzog, *Elsaesser Chronik*, Strasbourg, 1593, p. 210.
3. Ephrussi cites Kraus, *Kunst und Alterthum in Unter-Elsass*, p. 622.
4. Ephrussi cites a letter he received from the pastor of Saint John, M. Bastien, two years previously. The pastor confirmed that, twenty years before, a restoration was done on the wall that separated the nave from the choir. At that time there were traces of a painting, which he described as a *Last Judgment*. At the time, Bastien wrote, several competent people considered the painting to be a work of the late fifteenth or early sixteenth century. The work was, however, judged impossible to restore and was white-washed.
5. Perhaps one should consider as well whether Dürer's drawing was a design for a relief sculpture. The composition is more complicated for sure than the one he drew 1508 for the wooden frame of *The Adoration of the Trinity* (fig. 24) and would have been more difficult to carve.
6. See Strauss 1974, 11: nos. 1509/9 and 1509/10, and Scholz 1991: figs. 184–87.
7. The drawing has not been universally accepted as a work by Dürer's hand. Erwin Panofsky (1943: no. 873) relegated it to Dürer's workshop, while Woldemar von Seidlitz (1907: 18) and Tietze and Tietze-Conrat (1928–38, 11: no. A347) regarded it as reminiscent of Dürer's follower Hans Springinklee (c. 1495–after 1522).

Attributed to Albrecht Dürer

Design for a Quatrefoil with the Madonna and Child

c. 1510

Pen and brown ink, brush and brown and gray wash, and black chalk, on cream laid paper; quatrefoil silhouetted and laid down on a second sheet of paper

WATERMARK

Bull's head with caduceus (similar to Briquet [1907] 1966: no. 15390)

Color notations in black chalk: *b[laue]* (blue, in robe), indecipherable notation (in the background, lower left)

35.2 × 32.1 cm

Basel, Öffentliche Kunstsammlung Basel, Kupferstichkabinett

Inv. no. 1962.105

PROVENANCE

Jean François Gigoux (Lugt 1921: 1164); Alfred Beurdeley (Lugt 1921: 421; sale Paris, G. Petit, vol. 84, July 1920, as Burgkmair); gift of the CIBA-Aktiengesellschaft, 1962

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Winkler 1929: note 2 on 33, 44; Weinberger 1932: 40, fig. 12; Stadler 1936: no. 117, pl. 58; Winkler 1941: 247, fig. 11 on 249 (reversed); Winkler 1942: no. 99; Winkler 1959: 79, pl. 60; Schilling 1961: 91; Landolt 1962: 31, 36–40, 46–47, fig. 4; Landolt 1963; Basel 1972: no. 36; Basel 1984a: n.p., repr.; Butts 1985: 175, 178, 181, 295–97, fig. 257; Butts 1986: note 13 on 525; Butts 1990: note 28 on 77–78; Scholz 1991: color pl. before 268; Basel and Berlin 1997–98: 234.

The Madonna and Child was a popular subject for stained glass quatrefoils in the circle of Dürer. It was the subject of a quatrefoil in London (cat. no. 26) and a quatrefoil depicted in the background of a painting from 1514–15 by Hans von Kulmbach, *Saint Catherine Disputing with the Philosophers before Emperor Maxentius* (Krakow, Saint Mary's; fig. 25).¹ In this drawing, in Basel, the Madonna is crowned Queen of Heaven and seated on a pillow that identifies her as the Seat of Wisdom or Virgin of Wisdom. In the hands of the Christ Child, the apple is transformed from a symbol of Original Sin to a symbol of salvation, since Christ and Mary bore the burden of human sinfulness and restored humanity to God (Song of Solomon 2:3). The Christ Child also holds a rosary, an aide to prayer and in devotions to Mary. In the



25

border, the grapevines represent the saving blood of Christ and the iris the purity of the Virgin. Arcs drawn with a compass on the drawing in Basel suggest that at some point the designer or glass painter considered a circular format.

The drawing in Basel is among the finest by Dürer and his followers. In 1932, Martin Weinberger attributed it to Sebald Beham.² But it was Friedrich Winkler's attribution of the drawing to Hans von Kulmbach three years earlier that was accepted by subsequent authors.³ In 1985, I attributed *Design for a Quatrefoil with the Madonna and Child* to Dürer.⁴ Edmund Schilling had already proposed that Dürer's hand could be detected in the drawing in Basel.⁵ He assigned the sheet to Kulmbach but thought Dürer could have retouched it with wash. There are in fact many aspects of *Design for a Quatrefoil with the Madonna and Child* that speak for Dürer's authorship. The meditative visage of Mary—with heavy, lowered eyelids, a strong-bridged nose, bowed lips, and a round chin—recalls the powerfully characterized features of Saint Augustine and Saint Peter in earlier cartoons

by Dürer (cat. nos. 10, 18). The Madonna's powerful hands and neck; the chubby and energetic Christ Child; the thick hair that falls across the shoulders of the Virgin; the calligraphic flourishes that denote curls; and the heavy drapery, organized with geometric rigor, also speak for Dürer's authorship of the sheet in Basel. Among the works by Dürer that share these characteristics is the woodcut of 1515, *The Carthusian Madonna with Saints Bruno and John the Baptist* (fig. 26).⁶

Hanspeter Landolt considered the drawing in Basel to be one of Kulmbach's most masterful works.⁷ In characterizing the "magnificence and decorative brilliance" of the drawing, however, Landolt already touched upon aspects of the sheet that recall Dürer. Landolt likened the border of the quatrefoil to a precious goldsmith's work. (Dürer trained as a goldsmith.) Landolt described how the idealized Madonna, with her naturalistic fullness and tangibility, floats in an ideal space, likening the Madonna and Child to high relief metalwork. This effect of high relief is in fact the aspect of the drawing that speaks most strongly for Dürer's

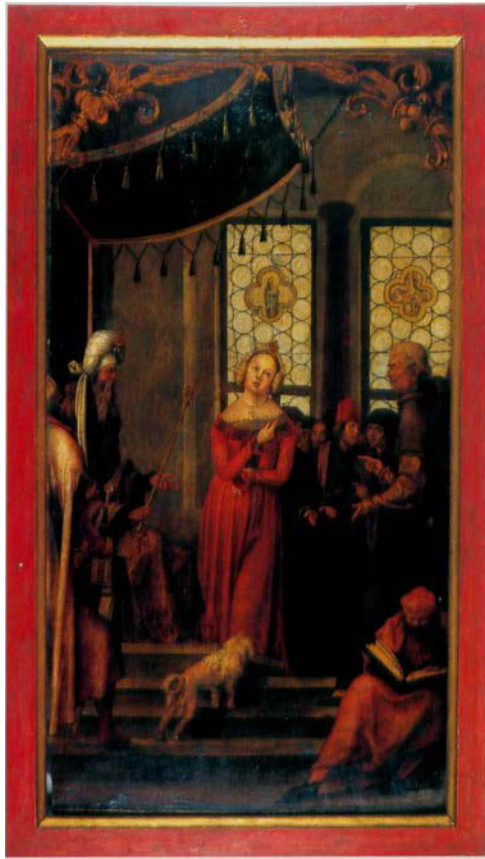


FIGURE 25. Hans von Kulmbach. *Saint Catherine Disputing with the Philosophers Before Emperor Maximilian*, 1514–15. Oil on wood, 117 × 61 cm. Krakow, St. Mary.
Photo: Saint Mary's Parish in Krakow.



FIGURE 26. Attributed to Albrecht Dürer. *The Carthusian Madonna with Saints Bruno and John the Baptist*, 1515. Woodcut, 25.4 × 18.4 cm. London, The British Museum (inv. no. 1895-1-22-776).
Photo: © The British Museum.

authorship and against Kulmbach's. A comparison of the drawing in Basel and Kulmbach's *Design for a Quatrefoil with Saint Augustine* (cat. no. 30) highlights the difference between Dürer and his follower. Kulmbach's drawings are more painterly and less plastic in conception than Dürer's. In the drawing in Erlangen, Kulmbach's more tentative contours and hatching strokes map the play of light across flesh and cloth. But he is either not concerned with or not capable of evoking the underlying bone structure of the saint's head. Kulmbach's drapery, which falls softly over and around the figure of Augustine, has no strong geometric pattern imposed upon it.

Landolt noted that the border of the Basel drawing was used by the glass painter who made the *Quatrefoil with Saint Augustine* (cat. no. 31) after Kulmbach's design. For Landolt, this confirmed that the artist who designed *Quatrefoil with Saint Augustine* also made the drawing in Basel and, furthermore, that the drawings were for the same commission. But it is possible that at some point Dürer and Kulmbach contributed designs for quatrefoils to a

single decorative program. This is particularly true for the period around 1510, when Kulmbach was presumably a journeyman in Dürer's workshop. Even after Kulmbach became a citizen and established his own workshop in 1511, patrons were clearly willing to accept their collaboration. In 1511, Dürer made a project drawing for the large *Memorial Picture for Provost Lorenz Tucher* in Saint Sebald in Nuremberg; Kulmbach painted the picture, finishing in 1513.⁸

1. The painting is a wing of Kulmbach's now-dismantled *Saint Catherine Altarpiece* in Saint Mary's. See Stadler 1936: no. 109b, and Strieder 1993b: no. 133.
2. Weinberger 1932: 40.
3. Winkler 1929: note 2 on 33, 44.
4. Butts 1985: 295–97. See also Butts 1990: note 28 on 77–78.
5. Schilling 1961: 91.
6. Kurth 1927: no. 301, with a discussion of the attribution.
7. Landolt 1962: esp. 36–40; see also 1963.
8. On Dürer's drawing from c. 1511, see Strauss 1974, 111: no. 1511/2; on Kulmbach's painting, see Stadler 1936: no. 78; Nuremberg 1961: no. 162, color pl. on 105, and Strieder 1993b: no. 131.



After an artist in the circle of
Albrecht Dürer, possibly Hans
Baldung

Quatrefoil with the Madonna and Child

c. 1505

Pot-metal, flashed, and clear glass, yellow stain,
and black vitreous paint

DIAMETER
33 cm

London, Victoria and Albert Museum

Inv. no. C.353-1937

PROVENANCE

F. E. Sidney Sale, Christie's, December 9, 1937,
part of lot 54

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Rackham 1929: 16, 18, color
pl. opposite 18; Frenzel 1961: 43; Nuremberg
1961: 113; Scholz 1991: 199–201, fig. 290 on
203; Fitz 1995: note 38 on 48.

The quatrefoil was a popular form of stained-glass decoration in Nuremberg. Around 1480–90, quatrefoils were apparently made there after designs by the Master of the Housebook (cat. nos. 2–3). A fragment of a design for a quatrefoil by Dürer from c. 1492–93 (cat. no. 7) shows that he took an interest in this format for stained glass as early as his years as a journeyman. *Design for a Quatrefoil with the Madonna and Child* from c. 1510 is arguably by his hand (cat. no. 25). Dürer's followers—Hans Baldung, Hans Schäufelein, and Hans von Kulmbach—all designed quatrefoils, Kulmbach as late as c. 1518 (cat. no. 30–31, 55–58, 71–76, and 110). *Quatrefoil with the Madonna and Child* in the Victoria and Albert Museum is a further example of the quatrefoil's popularity in Nuremberg. It shows the Madonna crowned and nimbed, seated on a crescent moon, and holding the child to the left. Lee Hendrix recognized that this work might have been executed after a lost design made by Hans Baldung during his stay in Nuremberg from c. 1503–7/8.¹ Indeed, the facial type of the Madonna, with its broad, high forehead; smoothly arching eyebrows; circular eye sockets; small, straight nose; bowed upper lip; full lower lip; and knob-like chin evokes an ideal type of youthful female beauty favored by Baldung. This type can be seen in the stained-glass panels he de-



FIGURE 27. Nuremberg. *The Virgin and Child Enthroned*, c. 1505. Point of the brush and black ink with gray wash, 29.8 × 21.5 cm. Erlangen, Graphische Sammlung der Universität (inv. no. B 740). Photo: Graphische Sammlung der Universität Erlangen-Nürnberg.

signed for the Carmelite monastery in Nuremberg around 1505 (fig. 30). Compare also the Madonna and Child from Baldung's painting of *Saint John on Patmos*, 1511 (New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art).²

A glass painter's drawing of *The Madonna and Child* in Erlangen (Graphische Sammlung der Universität; fig. 27) was apparently executed after the quatrefoil in London (or the lost design for it).³ It follows the composition, including the pose of the Virgin and Child and arrangement of the drapery, but lacks much of the subtle modeling of the stained-glass panel.⁴ The glass painter included the rose in Jesus' hand. (A rose without thorns was a symbol of Mary as the second Eve, bringing salvation into the world in place of sin.) But he omitted the crescent moon, a symbol of Mary's virginity and chastity. Unfortunately, the drawing in Erlangen departs too much from the stained-glass panel in London to provide any clues about whether Baldung or someone else in Dürer's circle made the original design for the quatrefoil. But regardless of who designed it, *Quatrefoil with Madonna and Child* is among the

best examples of small-scale stained glass in Nuremberg in the early years of the sixteenth century. The finely drawn and subtly modeled features of Mary and the Christ Child convey their gentle emotional interaction. The wide-eyed child looks eagerly into the heavy-lidded eyes of his mother, who returns his gaze. The contours and hatching of Mary's robe are strongly articulated, lending solidity and legibility to the composition. The bright palette relies on the primary colors—red, blue, and yellow.

1. Conversation, August 1998.
2. New York and Nuremberg 1986: no. 179b, color pl. on 378.
3. Winkler 1942: no. A5; Scholz 1991: fig. 289 on 203.
4. The anonymous drawing of a *Madonna and Child* in Dessau (Anhaltin Landesstiftung; Winkler 1942: no. 140 [as a work by Kulmbach]) is only generically similar to the quatrefoil in London.



27

Albrecht Dürer

**The Madonna and Child,
Fragment of a Cartoon
for the Pfinzing Window
in Saint Sebald's Church
in Nuremberg**

c. 1515

Charcoal on two pieces of cream laid paper, attached horizontally

WATERMARK

City gate (similar to Briquet [1907] 1966: no. 15918 and Meder 1932: no. 260)¹

Color notation in red chalk in habit of Madonna above Christ's left foot: *r[ot]* (red); inscribed in pen and ink by a later hand, lower right: 6451

42.5 × 24.2 cm

St. Petersburg, The State Hermitage Museum

Inv. no. 15378

PROVENANCE

Ivan I. Batzky (Lugt 1921: 2878a); Empress Catherine II; Academy of Fine Arts, St. Petersburg; transferred to the Hermitage in 1924

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Dobroklonsky and Sidorov 1927: 223–25; Lippmann and Winkler 1883–1929, VII: no. 813; Flechsig 1928–31, II: 463; Tietze and Tietze-Conrat 1928–38, II, I: no. 652; Winkler 1936–39, III: no. 551; Panofsky 1943: no. 675; Winkler 1957: 246, 250, 287, no. 731; Frenzel 1961: 50, fig. 13 on 52; Dresden 1963: no. 97; Oettinger and Knappe 1963: note 357 on 111; Kuznetsov 1964: no. 80; Leningrad 1968: no. 19; Budapest 1970: no. 36; Hütt 1971, I: 619; Nuremberg 1971: no. 731; Dresden 1971–72: no. 160; Vienna and Graz 1972: no. 22; Knappe 1973: 79; Strauss 1974, III: no. 1515/76; Kuznetsov et al. 1981: no. 192; Florence 1982: no. 43, fig. 45; Bogotá 1986: repr. (unnumbered); Buenos Aires 1986: no. 93; Montevideo 1986: no. 93; Belgrade, Ljubljana, and Zagreb 1987–88: no. 118; Scholz 1991: note 71 on 15, 165–66, fig. 223 on 166, 175, 223, 328; Strieder 1993a: 736; Scholz 1995: 36–39, notes 53–58 on 42–43, fig. 16; New York 1998–99: no. 73.

This serene yet imposing depiction of the Madonna and Child, almost fifteen inches in height, is a fragment of a cartoon for the monumental window in Saint Sebald commissioned by Emperor Maximilian I's adviser and private secretary, Melchior Pfinzing (1481–1535), in memory of his father, architect and Senator Siegfried (Seitz) Pfinzing von Henfenfeld (d. 1514).² Dated 1515, the Pfinzing Window (fig. 16, p. 32) replaced one from the end of the fourteenth century, commissioned by the Vorchtel, a patrician family of Nuremberg. Melchior Pfinzing, who was provost of Saint Sebald from 1512 to 1521, also commissioned a number of smaller stained-glass panels for the parish house of the church between 1513 and 1517 (cat. nos. 51–54). He left Nuremberg in 1521 in response to the city's growing support for Luther and settled in Mainz, where he had been provost of Sankt Alban from 1517.

The Pfinzing Window is considered to be the absolute high point of the monumental Renaissance window in Nuremberg.³ It is the first stained-glass window in Nuremberg organized according to a unified central perspective, and Dürer's role in its overall conception and design has never been doubted. Hartmut Scholz compared the Renaissance column at the upper left of the Pfinzing Window, with its strongly receding entablature, to an architectural sketch that Dürer made around 1516 (Chatsworth, Duke of Devonshire).⁴ The Renaissance decorative motifs of the window—including putti, satyrs, and cranes—recall Dürer's huge monument to Maximilian in woodcut, *The Triumphal Arch of Maximilian I*, dated the same year, 1515.⁵ The kinship of the two works is not surprising. As one of Maximilian's literary advisers, Pfinzing was the principal editor of the heroic epic *Theuerdank* (published 1517), that Maximilian commissioned to celebrate his exploits. As Scholz observed,⁶ Pfinzing probably had close ties not only with Dürer but also with Johannes Stabius (fl. 1498; d. 1522), Maximilian's court historian and astronomer, who created the learned program of Dürer's *Triumphal Arch*. Both Stabius and Pfinzing studied at Ingolstadt and were admirers of the empire's poet laureate, Konrad Celtis.

The dignified and statuesque Madonna in the Pfinzing window (fig. 28) recalls Dürer's woodcut of 1515, *The Carthusian Madonna with Saints Bruno and John the Baptist* (fig. 26).⁷ Dürer executed the cartoon for the Madonna and Child in charcoal. He gave *The Madonna and Child* weight and breadth surpassing that of figures in his earlier cartoons, executed in brush and wash (cat. nos. 10, 18, and 23). Dürer made no attempt to

hide the strong geometric underpinnings of *The Madonna and Child*, as is apparent from the arcs of charcoal that define the basic shape of Mary's face. He sought the main contours with swift, sure charcoal lines and replaced the linear modeling of his earlier cartoons with tonal shading like that used in his charcoal portraits from 1515.⁸ A glass painter in the workshop of Veit Hirsvogel the Elder adeptly translated Dürer's grand figures of the Madonna and Child into the medium of stained glass. Sadly, the window was marred by a poor restoration, and one can only guess at its former luminosity and readability from a distance.



FIGURE 28. After a design and cartoon by Albrecht Dürer; workshop of Veit Hirsvogel the Elder. *The Madonna and Child* from the Pfinzing Window, 1515. Pot-metal, flashed, and clear glass. Nuremberg, Saint Sebald. Photo: Corpus Vitrearum Deutschland, Arbeitsstelle der Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur Mainz, Freiburg i. Br.

1. Alexei Larionov (New York 1998–99: 154) noted: "Joseph Meder [Meder 1932] mentions an impression of the title page of the early edition of Dürer's *Apocalypse* (before 1511) on paper bearing this watermark. Indeed, such rough, thick paper was rarely used for drawing and prints, although it was well suited for cartoons."
2. On Melchior Pfinzing, see Alfred Eckert's biography in Imhoff 1984: 96–97 and New York and Nuremberg 1986: no. 215. On his father, see Frenzel 1960: note 9 on 210. See also Schulz 1908–33: 34. Seitz Pfinzing is referred to as Siegfried in the inscription on the Pfinzing window in Saint Sebald.
3. See the essay by Hartmut Scholz in this volume.
4. On the drawing in Chatsworth, see Scholz 1991: 167, fig. 231 and Strauss 1974, III: no. 1516/3.
5. Bartsch 1803–21: no. 138.
6. Scholz 1991: 165.
7. See cat. no. 25, note 6.
8. Compare two portraits of young females with braided hair, both dated 1515 (Strauss 1974, III: nos. 1515/52–53).

HANS BALDUNG GRIEN

Probably Gmünd, Swabia 1484/85–Strasbourg 1545

Painter, draftsman, and designer of woodcuts and stained glass, Hans Baldung was the most talented and original of Dürer's followers. Unusual for artists of his day, he came to his profession not from an artisanal background but from a learned family of doctors and lawyers. During the 1490s, his family settled in Strasbourg, which remained his home throughout most of his career. He probably received early training in Strasbourg, still strongly under the influence of Martin Schongauer. He also appears to have trained in Swabia, as evidenced by his self-portrait drawing of c. 1502 (Basel, Öffentliche Kunstsammlung), which shows the coloristic tendency of Swabian artists such as Bernhard Strigel, as well as the inventiveness and self-consciousness that characterized Baldung's art throughout his career. By 1503, he had entered Dürer's atelier in Nuremberg, where he acquired the nickname "Grien" (green), which possibly referred to his preference for flashy green clothing and distinguished him from Dürer's other assistants named Hans, including Hans von Kulmbach and Hans Schäufelein. From the beginning of his time in Nuremberg and probably through Dürer's influence, he designed stained glass, notably the magnificent series of panels illustrating the life of the Virgin and Christ for Nuremberg's Carmelite cloister (cat. no. 29, fig. 30; p. 7, fig. 7) and one of the greatest cycles of monumental church windows of Renaissance Nuremberg, the Löffelholz Window, in situ in the church of Saint Lawrence. His early activity as a woodcut designer includes the illustrations, in collaboration with Schäufelein,

for Ulrich Pinder's *Speculum passionis domini nostri Ihesu christi* (Mirror of the Passion of Our Lord Jesus Christ), published in Nuremberg in 1507. During his second trip to Venice in 1505–7, Dürer probably placed Baldung in charge of his studio. In 1507, Baldung began work on two important altarpieces for the city of Halle: *The Adoration of the Magi* (Berlin, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin-Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Gemäldegalerie) and *The Saint Sebastian Altarpiece* (Nuremberg, Germanisches Nationalmuseum).

Baldung returned to Strasbourg in 1509, when he became a citizen, married in 1509–10, and established his own workshop. In 1510, he created his renowned chiaroscuro woodcut *Witches' Sabbath*, his first treatment of a subject that fascinated him for the rest of his career. Many drawings attest to his activity as a designer of glass paintings, mostly small-scale heraldic panels, which have apparently perished. His playful, calligraphic manner of drawing was perfectly suited to this ornate medium, in which he was highly influential in south Germany and Switzerland.

From 1512 to 1517, Baldung lived in Freiburg im Breisgau, where he painted his masterpiece, the high altarpiece of the minster, which is still in situ, and the central panel of which shows the Coronation of the Virgin. In its brilliant and expressive color and emotive figures, Baldung's style reached a new authority. In Freiburg, aided by assistants who probably included Hans Leu the Younger, Baldung took on a variety of smaller commissions. The monumentality and mature expressiveness of his style as evidenced in the minster altarpiece ex-

tended to his Freiburg glass commissions. These tended to be large-scale windows executed by Freiburg's leading glass painter Hans von Ropstein and his atelier, such as the Saint Anne Window of 1515 (which began the reglazing campaign of the choir of Freiburg minster; cf. Hartmut Scholz's essay in this volume, pp. 23–25) and the vertical panels of holy personages for the city's Carthusian cloister (cat. nos. 113–14). This productive period also included the imperial commission in 1515 shared with Dürer, Breu, Burgkmair, Altdorfer, and others to make marginal drawings for *The Prayer Book of Maximilian I* (Besançon, Bibliothèque Municipale).

Baldung returned to Strasbourg in 1517, where he stayed for the remainder of his life. The extreme sophistication of both Baldung and his clientele is apparent in the mannerism of his later style, which encompasses a certain hardening of forms and a preference for classical and allegorical themes. This turn to secular subjects probably reflects in part the influx of the Reformation to Strasbourg, beginning in 1529. Baldung's stance toward the Reformation is unknown, and he continued to work for Catholic and Protestant patrons. Late paintings include *The Ages of Woman and Death* (c. 1541–44; Madrid, Prado). He continued to design heraldic stained-glass panels for Strasbourg nobility until the end of his career.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Christiane Andersson, *DOA* 1996, III: 102–4 (for further literature); Matthias Mende in *AKL* 1992, VI: 437–41 (for further literature).



28

28

Hans Baldung Grien

Saint Vincent Ferrer Preaching the Sermon of the Last Judgment

c. 1505

Pen and brown ink, over underdrawing in black chalk, on cream laid paper

WATERMARK

Bull's head with flower and triangle (Strauss 1974, VI: 3278; Briquet [1907] 1966: no. 14873)

30.8 × 22.3 cm

Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum

Inv. no. 83.GA.194

PROVENANCE

B. S. collection (Lugt 1956: 414b); Gustav Schwarting, Delmenhorst; art market, London.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Hausmann 1861: 94; Winkler 1936–39, I: 143 under no. 202, and 144 under no. 207; Karlsruhe 1959, no. 108; Knappe 1961b: 60, 76; Winkler 1961: 155–56; Oettinger and Knappe 1963: 13–14, 46, 64, 96, nos. 65–68, 101, nos. 190–91; 111–12, nos. 358–86; Strauss 1974, VI: 2946 under no. xw.198, 2952 under no. xw. 202, and 3278; Goldner 1988: no. 126 (for further literature); Scholz 1991: 85, note 213, 88, 94, fig. 115.

In 1503, when Baldung probably entered Dürer's atelier, the latter was highly active in the design of stained glass, having completed numerous commissions, including the cycle of *The Life of Saint Benedict* (cat. nos. 11–17) and the monumental window for the Bishop of Bamberg (cat. no. 18) in Saint Sebald's Church in Nuremberg. Baldung soon began to design stained glass himself, as seen in the present example, his only surviving complete design for a stained-glass panel dating to his Nuremberg period.¹ The strong influence of Dürer is evident from a comparison of it to Dürer's *Saint Benedict Teaching* (cat. no. 12).² Karl A. Knappe identified its subject as the Dominican monk Saint Vincent Ferrer, preaching on one of his favorite topics, the Last Judgment, signified by his attribute of Christ in Judgment.³ Knappe also proposed that the drawing might have been preparatory to one in a cycle of windows for a Dominican cloister, although neither of Nuremberg's Dominican cloisters is documented as possessing such a cycle.⁴ The subject of Saint Vincent Ferrer is also treated in a vertical panel of similar dimensions formerly in the Kunstgewerbemuseum in Berlin.⁵ Knappe saw in the Getty drawing critical evidence of Baldung's early working methods: the artist made this overall compositional drawing establishing the proportions of the figures, their spatial relationships, and even the frame surrounding the scene. This drawing would have served as the basis for full-scale cartoons.⁶

The sheet ties in closely stylistically with other drawings by Baldung of around 1504–5, such as *The Beheading of Saint Barbara* (fig. 29). Saint Barbara's rhythmically hatched, crinkly drapery parallels that of the seated woman in the Getty drawing. The way in which the hatching—in the faces of Saint Vincent Ferrer, the bearded listener in profile, and Saint Catherine in the Basel drawing—sits on the surfaces of the forms is characteristic of Baldung and part of his overall tendency to call attention to the beauty of his line work for its own sake. A comparison of the Getty drawing to *Saint Benedict Teaching* (cat. no. 12) shows Baldung's grasp of Dürer's method of using an architectural setting to accentuate the motion of light through the



FIGURE 29. Hans Baldung Grien. *The Beheading of Saint Barbara*, 1505. Pen and grayish black ink, 29.5 × 20.8 cm. Staatliche Museen zu Berlin-Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Kupferstichkabinett (inv. no. kdz 11716).

Photo: Jörg P. Anders.

glass panel, both by penetrating the architecture with a window in the background and by strong spatial recession. This spatial dynamism is particularly evident in the Getty drawing, with its deep orthogonal formed by the pulpit and the arched, segmented passage extending into the background. An interplay between actual and figurative illumination occurs in the juxtaposition of the window to the subject of the sermon—Christ as

judge surrounded by his radiant mandorla; while the former casts light upon the faces of the listeners, the latter ignites their minds and souls as reflected in their rapturous expressions. This typically Baldungesque emotionality is further enhanced by the tightly organized composition, in which the expansive ground shadows bind the listeners to the preacher in his pulpit, and the lateral compression and verticality bolster the diagonal formed by the preacher and the listeners below who receive his message. The knotty branches arching above the lateral columns foreshadow the calligraphic, exuberant frames that form such a distinctive and influential component of Baldung's later designs for stained glass.

1. Possibly also by Baldung is the drawing for a roundel of *Saint Martin and the Beggar* of c. 1503–5 in the National Gallery of Scotland, Edinburgh, inv. no. D4902. Cf. London 1988: no. 88. For other early drawings by Baldung that may be connected to stained glass, see Knappe in Oettinger and Knappe 1963: 68.
2. The Getty drawing was introduced into the literature by Hausmann (1861: 94). It was first published as by Baldung in 1959 (Karlsruhe 1959: no. 108, 66).
3. Knappe 1961b: 60, note 2; see, for example, Schedel 1979: 237.
4. These are the Saint Catherine cloister (Dominican convent founded by Konrad von Neumarkt [d. 1296]) and the Dominikanerkloster (Predigerkloster, Dominican monastery founded in 1270). Knappe in Oettinger and Knappe 1963: 68, 112, note 359. Cf. Austin 1983: 8, 12.
5. Schmitz 1913, II: pl. 47, no. 273, which Schmitz assigns to the Hirsvogel workshop and dates to around 1520.
6. Knappe in Oettinger and Knappe 1963: 68.

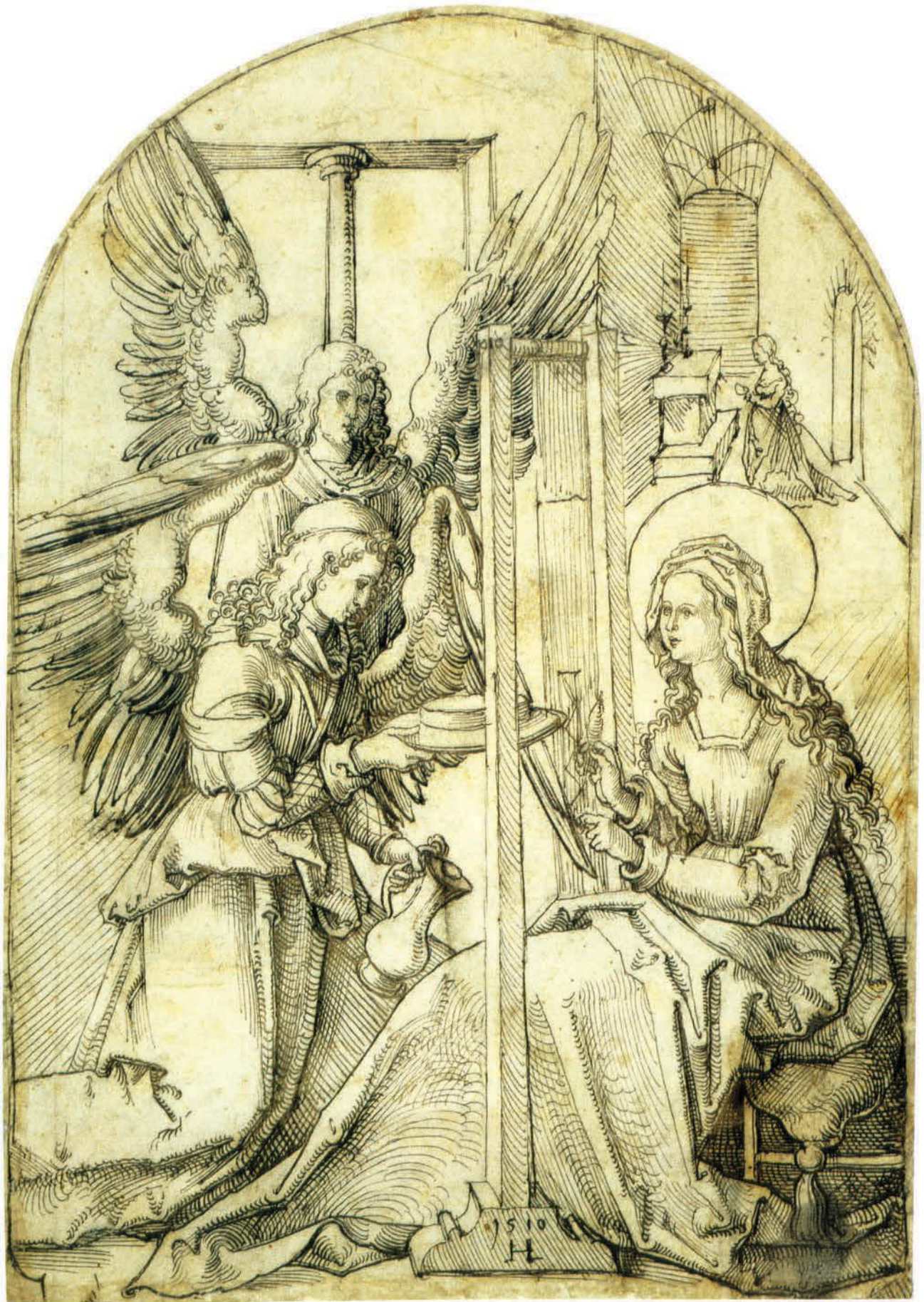
HANS LEU THE YOUNGER

Zurich c. 1490–Battle of Gubel

(near Zurich) 1531

Painter, draftsman, occasional woodcut designer, and designer of stained glass, Leu was the son and probably pupil of the painter Hans the Elder. He is documented in Dürer's workshop in 1510 (see cat. no. 29) by his earliest dated work, a drawing copying a stained-glass design by Hans Baldung. From there he appears to have gone on to work with Baldung, probably in Strasbourg, and around 1512–13 in Freiburg im Breisgau, where he may have painted the landscape backgrounds of Baldung's Schnewlin Altar, in situ in the minster. By 1514, he was back in his native Zurich, as indicated principally by drawings, such as *Christ and Doubting Thomas* of 1514 (Copenhagen, Royal Museum, inv. no. T.U.97/2), which inaugurated a steady production of designs for stained glass throughout the remainder of his career. He tended to draw these in a broad manner, often with the brush. Leu had a strong feeling for nature and is most appreciated for his fluidly rendered landscape drawings, which have a strong affinity with the artists of the Danube School. Leu was also active as a painter of easel and wall paintings, including mural paintings from the chapel of the Klausen House in Lucerne of around 1520 (Zurich, Schweizerisches Landesmuseum), which have been convincingly attributed to him and whose format of holy personages under archways parallels his favorite format for stained-glass designs. Leu fought as a mercenary in military campaigns in 1515, 1519, and 1526. Many of his works were destroyed in the iconoclastic riots of 1523. A Catholic, Leu fell in the battle between the Catholics and Protestants at Gubel, outside Zurich, in 1531.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: E. Reinhart in *SKL* 1982, II: 248–49; Zurich 1981: 97–98; Anderes in Anderes and Hoegger 1988: 57–58 (for further literature); Janez Höfler in *DOA* 1996, XIX: 256–57.



The Virgin at the Loom Ministered to by Angels

1510

Pen and black ink on cream laid paper; made up in the lower right hand corner

WATERMARK

Scales(?) in a circle (not clearly legible)

Monogrammed and dated by the artist 1510 and HL (in ligature) in pen and black ink at the base of the loom

27.9 × 19.7 cm

London, The British Museum

Inv. no. 1909-19-16

PROVENANCE

Giuseppe, Duca di Cassano Serra, Naples; Obach and Co.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Dodgson 1909–10: 27, repr.; Hugelshofer 1923–24, pt. 1: 165, repr.; Röttinger 1926, p. 93, note 1; Dodgson and Parker 1928: 37, no. 322; Koch 1941: 189 under no. A4; Karlsruhe 1959: 125; Knappe 1961b: 62, note 15; Nuremberg 1961: 139 under no. 235; Oettinger and Knappe 1963: 61, 109, note 309; London 1971: no. 344; London 1988: no. 91(b); Stuttgart 1988: 174 under no. 56, and fig. 56.1; Scholz 1991: 84–85, 89, fig. 111; Rowlands 1993, 1: no. 421, 11: pl. 269.

In 1504, the administrator of the church of Saint Lawrence, the humanist Sebald Schreyer, advised the newly appointed prior of Nuremberg's Carmelite monastery, Erhard Schürstab, to have its cloister decorated "with the matter or legend of Saint Anne, the Blessed Virgin, and the suffering of Christ."¹ Eventually numbering thirty-four panels, donated by Nuremberg merchants and patricians, representatives of the Franconian nobility, and members of the monastery itself, this constituted one of the largest and most important cycles of Nuremberg stained glass of the Dürer period (see Hartmut Scholz's essay in this volume, p. 29).² After Nuremberg's embrace of the Reformation, the Carmelite monastery was dissolved in 1525 and in 1557 was sold to a private owner, who demolished it to make way for burgher houses.³ The surviving panels, which were reinstalled in other churches in Nuremberg and its environs, include twelve in the church of Saint Lawrence in Grossgründlach; eleven others and a fragment in the church of Saint Bartholomew in Whörd;

and seven in the church at Henfenfeld, near Nuremberg.⁴ The cycle was made over a number of years, as evidenced by the two dated surviving panels: *The Presentation in the Temple* of 1505 in Grossgründlach and *Christ Washing the Feet of the Disciples* of 1511 in Whörd.

Dürer was in Italy from late summer 1505 through January 1507, and it appears that Baldung, who is believed to have been in charge of the workshop in his absence, at least initially provided the designs for the cycle of panels for the Carmelite cloister, whose execution was carried out by the Hirsvogel workshop. The earliest panels in the group are of the highest quality and most closely reflect Baldung's manner: *The Presentation in the Temple* of 1505 in Grossgründlach and the stylistically closely related *The Virgin Weaving in the Temple* (fig. 30) and *The Betrothal of the Virgin* in Grossgründlach, *The Nativity* and *The Adoration of the Magi* in Whörd, and *The Last Supper* in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London.⁵ Later windows in the series were designed and produced through 1511, under the influence of Baldung, Hans von Kulmbach, and Dürer (see Hartmut Scholz's essay in this volume, pp. 29–30; fig. 14, p. 30).

The most beautiful panel from the Carmelite cloister series is that depicting the apocryphal story of the Archangel Gabriel bringing food and drink to the young Mary as she weaves in the Temple (fig. 30).⁶ It bears the coat of arms of the Petz family and to its left the smaller marriage shield of the wife with the housemark *hl*.⁷ The Petz shield appears again in the series, in alliance with the Schürstab coat of arms in *The Betrothal of the Virgin*, which, of all the panels for the Carmelite cloister, is the closest stylistically to *The Virgin Weaving in the Temple*. Anton Schurstab, who was married to a daughter of the historian Georg Petz, died in 1505. This supports the likelihood that these panels were made at the same time as *The Presentation in the Temple* dated 1505.⁸ The panel is exceptionally close both compositionally and in dramatic effect to the contemporary drawing of *Saint Vincent Ferrer Preaching the Sermon of the Last Judgment* (cat. no. 28). Both are highly architectural and are structured around a deep perspective vista that is anchored in the foreground by radiantly expressive figures pressed close to the picture plane, with this plane reinforced by the pulpit in the drawing and the loom in the glass panel. The Virgin and the seated female listener in the drawing are similarly posed, anchoring the corner of the picture plane with their drapery spilling forward, and both wear comparable open,

luminous expressions that form the dramatic focal point of the image. The elegantly refined Virgin at the loom and her counterpart in *The Betrothal* represent an ideal of female beauty that endured throughout Baldung's career.⁹

As noted by Knappe and Scholz, the earliest panels from the Carmelite cloister at Grossgründlach—*The Virgin Weaving in the Temple*, *The Betrothal of the Virgin*, and *The Presentation in the Temple*—are distinguished by exceptionally fine line work: expansive webs of hatched, cross-hatched, and hooked lines—particularly evident in the faces of the Virgin at the loom, in the Betrothal, and in the draperies of Gabriel and the Virgin—resemble those encountered in Baldung's drawings and engravings.¹⁰ So closely do the form and vitality of this line work follow Baldung's graphic style that it is possible that he may himself have drawn either full-scale cartoons or cartoons of the heads, which the glass painter would have followed in executing the panels.¹¹ On the other hand, it is possible that Baldung himself did not make the cartoons, but rather produced a compositional drawing such as *Saint Vincent Ferrer Preaching the Sermon of the Last Judgment* (cat. no. 28), upon which the glass painter would have based his cartoons. At the least, the graphic and so distinctively Baldungesque line work demonstrates the talent and grasp of Baldung's style possessed by the glass painter responsible for the Carmelite cloister panels of around 1505.¹²

Although all of Baldung's designs for the Carmelite series have perished, one of his overall preparatory designs is reflected in a sheet by the Zurich-born artist Hans Leu the Younger, who was active in Dürer's atelier around 1509–10. It is Leu's earliest dated drawing and is now generally regarded as a copy of Baldung's lost compositional drawing for the glass panel *The Virgin Weaving in the Temple* at Grossgründlach.¹³ The approximate size of *Saint Vincent Ferrer Preaching the Sermon of the Last Judgment*, it was probably copied after such a compositional drawing for a glass panel, which in turn would have been enlarged into cartoons. Leu's drawing presumably reflects the original extent of Baldung's design, which has been altered in the panel due to its having been cut down (as were all of the Grossgründlach panels, by an average of about 13 cm in height and about 8 cm in width). Leu's arched sheet echoes the space of the vaulted interior, whose verticality is reinforced by the upward thrust of the loom, the attendant angel's left wing, and the porch behind the angel. This verticality has been diminished in the panel not only by its having



FIGURE 30. After Hans Baldung Grien; workshop of Veit Hirsvogel the Elder. *The Virgin at the Loom*, c. 1505. Pot-metal, flashed, and clear glass, yellow stain, and vitreous paint, 71 × 59.5 cm. Nuremberg-Grossgründlach, Church of Saint Lawrence. Photo: Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg.

been cut down but also by changes from the composition of the drawing, most notably the Virgin's halo, which crops the lower portion of her praying figure in the background.

There are aspects of the drawing's style that evidence the young Leu's absorption of the art of Dürer. These include the detailed renderings of the angels' wings, which recall Dürer's wing studies such as *Study for Nemesis* in the British Museum (Department of Prints and Drawings, inv. no. Sloane 5218-114), as well as the attempt to master rational perspectival diminution in the hall with the praying Mary. Commingled with such sophisticated elements gleaned from Dürer is a charming naiveté of style, particularly facial expression, which would form a consistent part of Leu's manner.

1. A. Gümbel, *Schreyerstiftungen*, p. 24f; cf. Knappe in Oettinger and Knappe 1963: 57, 107, note 278.
2. Stuttgart 1988: 56, 174.
3. Cf. Knappe in Oettinger and Knappe 1963: 56–68; Scholz 1991: 83, note 207.
4. Cf. Scholz 1991: 83, no. 207.
5. Cf. Knappe 1961b: 62; Knappe in Oettinger and Knappe 1963: 57–62; Scholz 1991: 83–86; *The Last Supper* in London, although stylistically close to the above panels, may not have been part of the Carmelite cloister series but rather may have been commissioned by Sebald Schreyer in 1505 for the Augustinereremitenkirche Saint Veit in Nuremberg; cf. Knappe in Oettinger and Knappe 1963: 57–58.
6. The story appears in the eighth-century apocryphal text *The Gospel of the Pseudo-Matthew*, which recounts: "And this was the order that she had set for herself: From morning to the third hour she remained in prayer; from the third to the ninth she was occupied with her weaving; and from the ninth she again applied herself to prayer. She did not retire from praying until there appeared to her the angel of the Lord, from whose hand she received food." Cf. Walter 1870; Gibson 1990: 2; Knappe in Oettinger and Knappe 1963: 109, note 308; Stuttgart 1988: 174.
7. The wife perhaps belonged to the family of Hans Leitgeb; cf. Knappe in Oettinger and Knappe 1963: 109, note 308.
8. Cf. Scholz 1991: 84, note 210.
9. Knappe in Oettinger and Knappe 1963: 62, where he compares her among others to *Ideal Female Head* in the Musée Municipal, Saint Germain en Laye, Koch 1941: no. 27, of 1510–12.
10. Knappe in Oettinger and Knappe 1963: 60–63; Scholz 1991: 86.
11. Knappe in Oettinger and Knappe 1963: 61ff.; Rainer Kahsnitz in New York and Nuremberg 1986: no. 174.
12. Scholz 1991: 86, and, for further literature, note 214.
13. See, in particular, Knappe 1961b: 63, note 15; Scholz 1991: 84–85, notes 211–12. For a dissenting view cf. Rowlands (1993, 1: no. 421, 199), who regards the drawing as Leu's original design for the glass panel.

HANS SÜSS VON KULMBACH, CALLED HANS VON KULMBACH

?Kulmbach, Upper Franconia, c. 1485–Nuremberg 1522

The surname Süss appears in an inscription on the predella of Hans von Kulmbach's *Saint John Altarpiece*, 1516, in Krakow (predella in Saint Mary's; wings, formerly Saint Florian, lost during World War II).¹ Writing in 1547, the Nuremberg calligrapher Johann Neudörfer (1497–1563) called Hans von Kulmbach a *Lehrjung* (apprentice) of the Venetian printmaker and painter Jacopo de' Barbari (c. 1440/50–1516), who worked in Germany for several years beginning in 1500.² In the seventeenth century, Joachim von Sandrart described Hans Süss as a disciple of Albrecht Dürer.³ Kulmbach's earliest drawings are dependent on Dürer's work from c. 1504–5, suggesting that he probably arrived in Nuremberg c. 1505 and not c. 1500, as was previously assumed.⁴ The departure of Hans Schäufolein and Hans Baldung from Nuremberg after Dürer's return from Italy in 1507 cleared the way for Kulmbach to become the foremost interpreter of Dürer's art there. He probably worked as a journeyman in Dürer's shop until he became a citizen of Nuremberg on March 15, 1511, a prerequisite for establishing a workshop of his own. In the second decade of the six-

teenth century, Kulmbach succeeded Michael Wolgemut as the most important designer of elaborate altarpieces combining sculpted shrines and painted wings. In some cases he may have designed the sculpture himself.⁵ Kulmbach's altarpieces offer tender interpretations of traditional subjects executed in luminous colors and with a broad painterly touch. His masterpiece, the *Memorial Picture of Lorenz Tucher* in Saint Sebald's Church, Nuremberg, was completed in 1513 based on a design Dürer made two years earlier.⁶ Friedrich Winkler asserted that the picture was perhaps the most Italianate German painting of Dürer's time.⁷ Yet there is no evidence that Kulmbach ever traveled to Italy. Dürer is also thought to have influenced Kulmbach's bold spatial conception in the Emperor's Window in Saint Sebald in Nuremberg, dated 1514 (cat. no. 49). Between 1511 and 1516, Kulmbach worked extensively for patrons in Krakow. In 1511, he executed a Marian altarpiece that may have originally been in the Pauline monastery na Skalce (central panel dated 1511, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin-Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Gemäldegalerie).⁸ Kulmbach's *Saint Catherine Altarpiece* in Saint Mary's in Krakow bears the coat of arms of the Krakow merchant Jan Boner (d. 1523) and the dates 1514 and 1515 (fig. 25),⁹ while his *Saint John Altarpiece* for the same patron is dated 1516.¹⁰ Hans Süss also painted portraits, his best loved being the *Portrait of a Young Man*, c. 1513, in the Germanisches Nationalmuseum in Nuremberg.¹¹ A design for a monstrance (c. 1520, Schwerin, Staatliches Museum)¹² demonstrates his activity as a designer of metalwork. In the seventeenth century, Joachim von Sandrart stated that Kulmbach designed many woodcuts to illustrate books.¹³ But none can be assigned to him with certainty.¹⁴ Maximilian praised Kulmbach's design for the *Emperor's Wreath of Honor*, 1518 (Staatliche Museen zu Berlin-Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Kupferstichkabinett; fig. 43)¹⁵ for the huge *Triumphal Procession of Maximilian I* in woodcut,¹⁶ but the drawing was not used.

Kulmbach was the leading designer of stained glass in Nuremberg in the second decade of the sixteenth century. In 1514, he provided the designs for two windows in the eastern choir of Saint Sebald: the Emperor's Window (cat. no. 49) and the Margrave's Window (cat. no. 50). Along with the Pfinzing

Window, designed by Dürer (see cat. no. 27; fig. 16, on p. 32), these two windows mark the breakthrough to a Renaissance spatial conception in monumental stained glass in Nuremberg. Kulmbach also designed the monumental window in the Church of Our Lady in Nuremberg for the merchant Jacob Welser (1468–1541) and his wife, Ehrentraud Thumer (d. 1529), around 1522 (cat. no. 61). Kulmbach is sometimes credited with making cartoons for the stained-glass windows originally in the chapel of the Twelve-Brothers House in Nuremberg (cat. no. 23), a view which this author rejects. He apparently did work in this capacity in the case of the Schmidtmayer Window in Saint Lawrence, c. 1509–13, translating Dürer's sketches into cartoons (figs. 3–4, p. 5).¹⁷ Kulmbach also made numerous designs for small-scale panels, beginning around 1510, when he was presumably a journeyman in Dürer's workshop.

What little archival material on Hans Süss's life exists is summarized by Friedrich Winkler and Wilhelm Holl.¹⁸ There is no record of his marrying. He left small bequests to two women in Kulmbach.

1. The predella is signed (*Johanne*)S.SVES (*civis n*)URMBERGEN(*sis*) (Johannes Süss, citizen of Nuremberg). See Strieder 1993b: no. 134, fig. 544 on 262.

2. Neudörfer [1547] 1875: 134.

3. Sandrart [1675] 1925: 76.

4. This would indicate that Kulmbach was Jacopo de' Barbari's apprentice in Wittenberg, where the Italian master worked for Friedrich the Wise from 1503–5, rather than in Nuremberg, where on April 8, 1500, Jacopo de' Barbari was appointed for a year as a portraitist and miniature painter for Emperor Maximilian. On Kulmbach's development as a draftsman, see Butts 1985: 90–130.

5. See Jörg Rasmussen (1974: 45–51, notes 108–118 on 110–111) and Alfred Schädler (1976) on Kulmbach's possible role as a designer of sculpture including that of *The Adoration of the Magi Altarpiece* of 1510 in Wendelstein near Nuremberg (Saint Georg) and the *Saint Anne Altarpiece* of 1510 (Nuremberg, Saint Lawrence; two panels on loan from Munich, Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen).

6. On the painting, see Nuremberg 1961: no. 162, and Strieder 1993b: no. 131. On the drawing, see Strauss 1974, III: no. 1511/2.

7. Winkler 1959: 64.

8. Nuremberg 1961: no. 158; Strieder 1993b: no. 129.

9. Stadler 1936: no. 109; Strieder 1993b: 135, no. 133.

10. The altarpiece was dismantled during the nineteenth century; two panels were lost during World War II.

11. Stadler 1936: no. 110; Strieder 1993b: no. 134.

12. Nuremberg 1961: no. 176; Strieder 1993b: no. 136.

13. Winkler 1942: no. 86. See also Scholz 1991: 148–49, fig. 202 on 150.

14. Sandrart [1675] 1925: 76.

15. See Butts 1985: 131–44.

16. See Thausing 1884, II: 140. See also Winkler 1942: no. 92.

17. On *The Triumphal Procession of Maximilian I*, see Appelbaum 1964.

18. See Ursula Knappe (Knappe 1973: 77–78), who asserted that Hans Süss made the cartoons for the Schmidtmayer Window. See also Scholz 1991: 136, 138–39.

19. Winkler 1959: 98 and Holl 1972: 83–90.



30

Hans von Kulmbach

Design for a Quatrefoil with Saint Augustine

c. 1510

Pen and brown ink, brush and gray wash, over black chalk underdrawing, on cream laid paper

WATERMARK

A scale with a star (variant of Briquet [1907] 1966: 2584)

Color notations in black chalk: *b[laue]* (blue, in the pillow) and *p[urpur]* (purple, in the cope)

False Dürer monogram in pen and brown ink over red chalk, lower center; verso, in seventeenth-century hand(?), *Albrecht Dürer*

33.5 × 31.2 cm

Erlangen, Graphische Sammlung der Universität

Inv. no. B235

PROVENANCE

From the *Kunstammer* of the Margrave Johann Friedrich of Brandenburg-Ansbach (1654–1686); transferred from the Schlossbibliothek in Ansbach to the University of Erlangen in 1805 as a gift of Friedrich Wilhelm III of Prussia¹

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Hausmann 1861: 128; Weinberger 1921: 189, pl. 13; Bermann 1923: no. 44 on xxvii; Röttinger 1927: 14; Buchner in Thieme and Becker 1907–50, xx: 95; Nuremberg 1928: no. 269; Bock 1929: no. 235, pl. 97; Winkler 1929: 33, 42; Stadler 1936: no. 44, pl. 17; Winkler 1941: 247; Winkler 1942: no. 100; Winkler 1959: 79; Frenzel 1961: 42–43, fig. 4; Nuremberg 1961: 113 and no. 211; Landolt 1962: 36, 39–41, 44, fig. 5; Landolt 1963: fig. 16; Swarzenski 1972: 119; Cambridge 1978: 67; Butts 1985: 108; New York and Nuremberg 1986: no. 156; Scholz 1991: note 178 on 70, 199, fig. 284 on 200; Basel and Berlin 1997–98: 232, 234.



31

After Hans von Kulmbach,
workshop of Veit Hirsvogel the
Elder

Quatrefoil with Saint Augustine

c. 1510

Pot-metal, flashed, and clear glass, yellow stain,
sanguine, and black vitreous paint

CONDITION

Several cracks, glued; paint slightly washed off in
a few areas

Inscribed *S. Augustinus*

34.5 × 32.7 cm, including lead border

Nuremberg, Germanisches Nationalmuseum

Inv. no. MM 801

PROVENANCE

F. E. Sidney, London; Galerie Fischer, Lucerne,
1938; Swiss private collection

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Rackham 1929: 18, fig. 11;
Frenzel 1961: 42–44, fig. 5; Nuremberg 1961:
no. 181a; Landolt 1962: 39–45; Landolt 1963:
fig. 17; New York and Nuremberg 1986: no. 157;
Cambridge 1978: 67; Scholz 1991: 78, 199, fig.
285 on 201; Basel and Berlin 1997–98: 234.

The design for a quatrefoil depicting *Saint Augustine* was undoubtedly one of four depicting the Fathers of the Latin Church. The sheet was attributed to Dürer in the nineteenth century.² In 1929 Elfried Bock credited Friedrich Dörnhöffer with recognizing Kulmbach's hand.³ The drawing is one of Kulmbach's first extant designs for stained glass, probably made around 1510, when he was presumably a journeyman in Dürer's workshop. In fact, Kulmbach's design may have been the product of the same commission as Dürer's *Design for a Quatrefoil with the Madonna and Child* (cat. no. 25), since the decorative motifs in the border of Dürer's drawing in Basel were used by the glass painter for the border

of the *Quatrefoil with Saint Augustine*, executed after Kulmbach's drawing.

The long, threadlike pen strokes of the *Design for a Quatrefoil with Saint Augustine* are characteristic of Kulmbach's earliest drawings. The sheet must antedate Kulmbach's designs depicting abbots of the monastery of Saint Aegidius from c. 1511 (cat. nos. 32–35), which more closely approximate Dürer's transparent, organized hatching systems. The facial type in *Design for a Quatrefoil with Saint Augustine*, with the pouting mouth and flesh hanging from the cheeks and chin, is a hallmark of Kulmbach's style and closely approximates the face of Saint Nicholas from the *Saint Nicholas Altarpiece* of c. 1510 in Saint Lawrence in Nuremberg.⁴ The lively border of Kulmbach's design depicts two dragons with entwined tails, two birds (probably cranes), a nude holding the tail of a sow, and two monstrous creatures with animal's ears and human bodies. These two creatures are tied together at the



FIGURE 31. After Albrecht Dürer? *Quatrefoil with Saint Jerome*, c. 1510. Pot-metal, flashed, and clear glass, yellow stain, and vitreous paint, 45.7 × 40.6 cm. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, Francis Welch Fund (inv. no. 1972.985).

Photo: Courtesy, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

neck, and the genitals of one are exposed. Kulmbach may have wanted to suggest that vigilance, embodied by the saint in his study, as well as by the dragons and the cranes, counters lust, represented by the nude, sow, and monstrous figures. Kulmbach uses the conceit of depicting a window within a window to surround the upper half of Saint Augustine's figure with light that suggests divine inspiration.

The quatrefoil after Kulmbach's design was presumably made in the Hirsvogel workshop. As noted above, the glass painter replaced Kulmbach's imaginative border, using instead one with simpler motifs (putti, grapevines, and irises) from Dürer's *Design for a Quatrefoil with the Madonna and Child* in Basel. The brown circle drawn with a compass on Kulmbach's drawing suggests that he or the glass painter tried out a circular format. (Later, Kulmbach made designs for circular stained-glass panels with the Fathers of the Church [cat. nos. 36–42].)⁵ The glass painter responsible for translating Kulmbach's design into stained glass did so with great understanding of his style. While rounding Kulmbach's forms somewhat, he adhered to the main contours of Kulmbach's design and, like Kulmbach, emphasized the breadth of the figure in the picture plane more than its volume.⁶ Only two colors of glass, purple and blue, are used in the figural composition. (Both colors are indicated on Kulmbach's drawing by notations in black

chalk.) Color is achieved largely through the liberal application of yellow stain and sanguine to the verso of the clear glass.

Because the decorative border of the *Quatrefoil with Saint Augustine* is taken from Dürer's *Design for a Quatrefoil with the Madonna and Child*, Hanspeter Landolt proposed that the two works, which he attributed to Kulmbach, were for the same cycle of quatrefoils.⁷ The theory that both works belonged to a single cycle is an attractive one. The designs for both quatrefoils were made around 1510, when Kulmbach had not yet established his own workshop in Nuremberg and was presumably working in Dürer's shop. But the similar date of the two works and the reuse of a border are not enough to prove that the drawings were for the same stained-glass cycle. One of the border motifs from Dürer's *Design for a Quatrefoil with the Madonna and Child* (a nude female clinging to stylized foliage) was used in a quatrefoil in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, with another Father of the Church, *Saint Jerome* (fig. 31). Yet this work is not part of the same series as the *Quatrefoil with Saint Augustine* in Nuremberg.⁸ Whereas Saint Augustine is silhouetted against a window glazed with bull's-eye panes, Saint Jerome sits before a window with a blue damask pattern representing sky. Saint Augustine is identified by a banderole with his name, while Saint Jerome is recognizable only by his attributes, the lion and the cardinal's hat. The glass painter respon-

sible for the *Quatrefoil with Saint Jerome* apparently worked from a Dürer drawing, which emphasized the fullness of the figure and drapery. One must consider whether Dürer's drawing of *The Madonna and Child* and the lost drawing for *Quatrefoil with Saint Jerome* were for the same cycle, while the *Quatrefoil with Saint Augustine*, after Kulmbach's design, was for a different one.⁹

1. On the history of the collection belonging to the Universitätsbibliothek Erlangen-Nürnberg, see Rössler 1983: 5–9. The authors would like to thank Christina Hofmann-Randall for confirming the provenance of this drawing and that of cat. nos. 34 and 43.
2. Hausmann 1861: 128.
3. Bock 1929: no. 235.
4. Stadler 1936: nos. 11–12; Strieder 1993b: no. 123; see Butts 1985: 59 on the dating of the altarpiece.
5. A compass was also used to draw each lobe of the quatrefoil.
6. Because the glass painter did not use Kulmbach's motifs in the border, Gottfried Frenzel (1961: 43) asserted that the quatrefoil might be a second version of the design. But Hanspeter Landolt (1962: 46) correctly noted that the closeness of the panel to Kulmbach's drawing contradicts Frenzel's assertion. Hartmut Scholz (1991: note 386 on 201) rightly countered Frenzel's assertion that the glass painter was a second- or third-rate craftsman. Scholz (1991: 199–200) thought the glass painter might be the master responsible for the head of Bishop Philip von Henneberg in the so-called Bamberg Window in Saint Sebald (fig. 13, p. 28).
7. Landolt 1962: 39–45.
8. New York and Nuremberg 1986: no. 158.
9. Hanspeter Landolt argued convincingly that *Quatrefoil with Saint Lawrence* (Nuremberg, Germanisches Nationalmuseum; New York and Nuremberg 1986: no. 159) and *Design for a Quatrefoil with Saint Sixtus* (Basel, Kupferstichkabinett; Landolt 1962: 34–36, 39–45) belonged to yet another series of quatrefoils designed by Kulmbach around 1510.



32

After Hans von Kulmbach,
workshop of Veit Hirsvogel the
Elder

Abbot Moeringer of the Monastery of Saint Aegidius in Nuremberg

1511

Clear glass of a slightly grayish green tone,
yellow stain, sanguine, and brown and black
vitreous paint

CONDITION

The figural pane was cut below, probably when
the pane with the inscription and the frame, of
yellow glass, were added later (seventeenth
century?); one crack in figural pane; paint
partially washed off

Inscribed in black vitreous paint: *Mille q[ua]ter
centu[m] ter sex labentib[us] annis
Christus post natū surgit Georgi[us] abbas
Moeringer et residens anno lustrisq[ue] duob[us]
sponte sua cessit iuris moru[m]q[ue] magistro* (1418
disgraceful years after the birth of Christ, Abbot
Georg Moeringer rose up and resigned after a
term of eleven years according to his own wishes
for the benefit of a master of law and custom);¹
lower left in the banderole: 1511; incised with
the names of former owners: *Leonhardus
Grundherr 1688 and Andreas Georgius
Paumgartnerius 1688*

32

32.9 × 26.8 cm, including lead border; 26.5 ×
19.5 without later addition

Nuremberg, Germanisches Nationalmuseum

Inv. no. MM 259

PROVENANCE

Leonhardus Grundherr, Andreas Georgius
Paumgartner; collection of Freiherr Hans von
und zu Aufsess (1801–1872); acquired by the
Germanisches Nationalmuseum in the
nineteenth century

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Schmitz 1913, I: 157–58,
fig. 263 on 159; Weinberger 1921: 189; Ber-
mann 1923: no. 1 on xxxiii; Parker 1926: 29;
Röttinger 1927: 17–18; Bock 1929, I: 72; Wink-
ler 1929: 33; Stadler 1936: 29, pl. 20; Winkler
1942: 95; Winkler 1959: 76; Nuremberg 1961:
no. 184; Pilz 1972: 108; Scholz 1991: 133–34,
fig. 177 on 135, 279.



33

Hans von Kulmbach

Half-Length Portrait of Johannes Rotenecker, Abbot of the Monastery of Saint Aegidius in Nuremberg

1511

Pen and brown ink on cream laid paper

False Dürer monogram, lower right, in brown ink, largely erased

17.5 × 20.4 cm

Berlin, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin-Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Kupferstichkabinett

Inv. no. kdz 48

PROVENANCE

Triqueti (Lugt 1921: 1304); Rogers (Lugt 1921: 625); Alexander Emil Posonyi-A. Hulot (Lugt 1921: 2040-41); acquired 1877

33



34

Hans von Kulmbach

Half-Length Portrait of Johann Sessler, Abbot of the Monastery of Saint Aegidius in Nuremberg

1511

Pen and brown ink, framing lines in black chalk, on cream laid paper

False Dürer monogram in pen and brown ink, lower right

17.7 × 20.7 cm

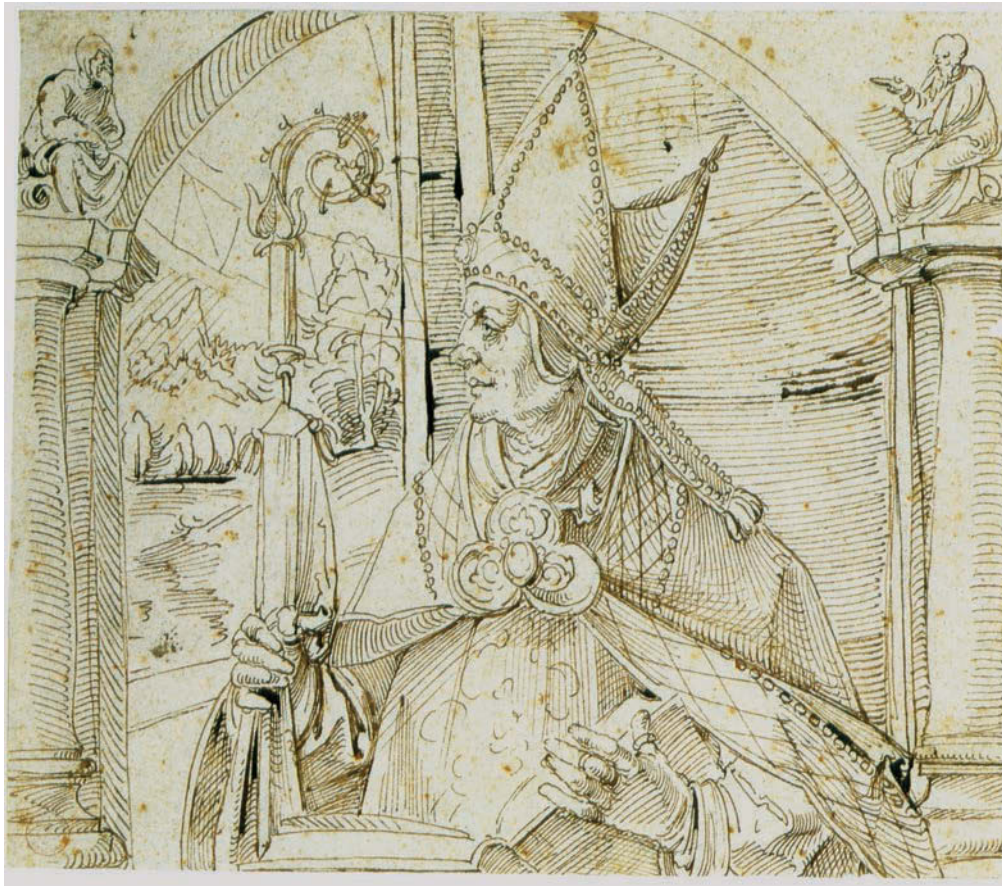
Erlangen, Graphische Sammlung der Universität

Inv. no. B234

PROVENANCE

From the *Kunstammer* of the Margrave Johann Friedrich of Brandenburg-Ansbach (1654-1686); transferred from the Schlossbibliothek in Ansbach to the University of Erlangen in 1805 as a gift of Friedrich Wilhelm III of Prussia

34



35

35

Hans von Kulmbach

Half-Length Portrait of an Abbot of the Monastery of Saint Aegidius in Nuremberg

1511

Pen and brown ink on cream laid paper

17.4 × 20.5 cm

Strasbourg, Cabinet des Estampes et des Dessins

Inv. no. 77-985-0-1285

PROVENANCE

J. A. G. Weigel, acquired for Strasbourg 1892 or 1893

BIBLIOGRAPHY (cat. nos. 33–35): Hausmann 1861: 128, no. 19; Koelitz 1891: 77–78; Térey 1894–96, I: no. 37, II: no. 87, III: no. 213; Schmitz 1913, I: 157–58, fig. 262; Bock 1921: no. 48, pl. 86; Weinberger 1921: 189; Bermann 1923: no. 4 on xvii–xviii, no. 40 on xxvii; Parker 1926: no. 23, pl. 23; Röttinger 1927: 17–18; Buchner in Thieme and Becker 1907–50, xx: 94–95; Nuremberg 1928: no. 268; Bock 1929: no. 234, pl. 96; Winkler 1929: 33, 40, 42, 44; Stadler 1936: no. 50a–c, pl. 20; Winkler 1942: nos. 131–33; Winkler 1959: 13, 76, pl. 57; Knappe 1961a: 78; Nuremberg 1961: no. 212, 115; Landolt 1962: 45; Paris 1964: no. 71; Holl 1972: 36; Washington, D.C., et al. 1965–66: no. 71; Pilz 1972: 107–9; Munich 1974: no. 67; Imhoff 1984: detail of cat. no. 33 ill. on 59; Butts 1985: 103, 115–16, 292, fig. 105.

The Scottish monastery of Saint Aegidius in Nuremberg was founded in the twelfth century by the Hohenstaufen Emperor Konrad III (r. 1138–52). With the backing of the City Council of Nuremberg, the Benedictines installed themselves in place of the Scottish monks in 1418. By then, the monastery was in debt and reputedly badly in need of reform. Georg Moeringer, the first Benedictine abbot, aimed to improve education and morals and to increase the number of monks. The words “1418 disgraceful years after the birth of Christ Abbot Georg Moeringer rose up” in the inscription on the stained-glass panel in Nuremberg refer to the deplorable state the monastery was allegedly in when Moeringer began his first term as abbot.¹ He eventually served three terms: 1418–29, 1435–58, and 1459–65. The inscription also reflects the fact that when Moeringer resigned voluntarily after his first term (lasting eleven years), a doctor of law named Heinrich von Gulpen (Guelpen) succeeded him.

This depiction of Georg Moeringer is the last surviving panel of what was once a cycle of six or seven idealized portraits made in memory of the Benedictine abbots of the monastery of Saint Aegidius. It is numbered “1” and dated 1511 on the pane of glass below the portrait. This pane and the yellow frame were ap-

parently later additions, perhaps dating from the seventeenth century.² Two other panels from the cycle, formerly in the Kunstgewerbemuseum in Berlin but destroyed in World War II, were numbered “5” and “6” on similar glass panes with inscriptions.³ The fifth and sixth panels depicted Johannes Sessler and Johannes Rotenecker (c. 1441–1504),⁴ the two immediate predecessors of the cycle’s patron, Wolfgang Summer, who was abbot of the monastery from 1504 to 1520. Thus, the cycle of stained-glass panels would have depicted six Benedictine abbots, or seven, if Summer included his own portrait.⁵

Georg Moeringer, abbot 1418–29, 1435–58, and 1459–65 (panel numbered 1)

Heinrich von Gulpen (Guelpen), abbot 1429–35

Leonhardus, abbot 1458–59

Sebald Helmonsperger (Melber), abbot 1465–73

Johann Sessler, abbot 1473–77 (lost panel numbered 5)

Johannes Rotenecker (Radenecker), abbot 1477–1504 (lost panel numbered 6)

Wolfgang Summer, abbot 1504–20

Hans von Kulmbach designed the painted-glass cycle. Three of his draw-

ings, depicting abbots Sessler and Rotenecker and an unidentified abbot, are extant. Like the cycle of grisaille panels with *The Life of Saint Benedict* after designs by Dürer (cat. nos. 11–17), this cycle might have been made for the glazing of the cloister of Saint Aegidius, replacing damaged glass from 1418–25. The panels had already been removed before the great fire that devastated the monastery in 1696.⁶

Kulmbach's design for the painted-glass portrait of Georg Moeringer is lost. But its appearance can be surmised from the three surviving drawings by Kulmbach for the cycle. A glass painter in the Hirsvogel workshop simplified the painterly effects of Kulmbach's broken contours and delicate hatching and cross-hatching strokes, achieving more sculptural forms by means of continuous, fluid contours and long, thick hatching lines. He replaced the lines that Kulmbach used to map the aging flesh of the abbot's face with broad gray wash, thus defining a face that is smoother and rounder than those in Kulmbach's designs. Something of the painterly effect of Kulmbach's broken contours and delicate hatching strokes is apparent in the airy landscape behind Moeringer. The yellow and brown palette of this panel is comparable to that used by Veit Hirsvogel the Younger six years later for small panels after Kulmbach's designs in the parish house of Saint Sebald in Nuremberg (cat. nos. 51–53). Sanguine was applied liberally to the verso of the glass in the areas of the architecture and the darkest parts of the drapery and badgered. The glass painter made extensive use of sharp tools to scratch highlights into the gray matt.

Kulmbach's figures resemble his ideal types for elderly male saints and are presumed to bear little likeness to his subjects, Sessler and Rotenecker. Sessler is credited with spiritual and disciplinary renewal during his brief time as abbot from 1473 to 1477. Rotenecker was abbot, from 1477 to 1504. As a young man, he studied at the university in Leipzig with a fellow citizen of Nuremberg, Hartmann Schedel, author of the famous *World Chronicle* (Nuremberg, Anton Koberger, 1493). The two men later became close friends. After receiving his bachelor's degree in 1459, Rotenecker took his vows under Abbot Georg Moeringer in 1464 and experienced the spiritual and disciplinary program of the monastery under the leadership of Abbots Sebald Helmannsberger (Helmonsperger, 1465–73) and Johann Sessler. During his time as abbot, Rotenecker built up the library, particularly its collection of Neoplatonic literature.

The columns on either side of Abbot Sessler support the tiny figures of Apollo and Marsyas engaged in the musical contest that in classical antiquity and the Renaissance was an allegory of the emotions in conflict with the intellect. The crude, sensual music made by the satyr on a wind instrument (here a bagpipe) was contrasted with the more spiritually uplifting music made by the god on a stringed instrument (here a viol). In a study of satyrs and satyr families in the art of northern Europe during the Renaissance, Lynn Frier Kaufmann observed that an appreciation of music and poetry was considered by the Latin poet Horace (65 B.C.–8 B.C.) to be the beginning of progress toward civilization.⁷ Kaufmann also noted that the satyr's physical form represented man's dual nature, his sinful flesh and his soul or capacity for good.⁸ In Kulmbach's drawings, the figures of Apollo and the satyr, Marsyas, are part of an iconographic program that also embraces the figures above the columns in the drawing in Strasbourg. These figures appear to represent Saint Anthony Abbot's legendary visit to Saint Paul Hermit in the wilderness.⁹ While traveling through the desert to find Saint Paul, Saint Anthony conversed with a satyr who showed himself capable of moral understanding by asking the saint to pray to God for his flock. The legend, Kaufmann noted, was meant to show the submission of a pagan god to the higher Christian deity.¹⁰ Above the column to the left of Abbott Rotenecker is a partially clothed woman with a child. Untouched by civilization, this nymph is cast in a positive light by her nurturing relationship to her child. Apollo and Marsyas, a nymph with her child, and Saints Paul Hermit and Anthony Abbot apparently reflect the humanistic concerns of the abbots of Saint Aegidius. Just as the pagan gods submit to the Christian God, classical learning served the advancement of Christian truth. Kulmbach, trained as an apprentice to Jacopo de' Barbari, was ideally suited to give visual form to the program, presumably that of Summer, in figures reminiscent of the Italian Renaissance master.

The drawing of Abbot Sessler was once attributed to Dürer.¹¹ Later Kulmbach's designs were assigned to Baldung.¹² In the twentieth century, Karl Koelitz's attribution of the drawings to Kulmbach gained universal acceptance.¹³ Compared with Kulmbach's *Design for a Quatrefoil with Saint Augustine*, c. 1510 (cat. no. 30), the drawings reflect a more profound understanding of Dürer's style. Dürer's influence is apparent in the impressive breadth and noble bearing of the figures and in the geometric organization

of the compositions, in part derived from the architectural frameworks. Also reminiscent of Dürer are transparent and disciplined hatching systems, which are laid down with a swiftness that is unprecedented in Kulmbach's drawings. Kulmbach's hatching lines vary greatly in direction, animating much of the picture surface. Other areas are left free of hatching, allowing the paper (and by extension the unarticulated glass) to read as highlight.

1. The authors would like to thank Daniel Hess for transcribing and translating the inscription as well as for placing the inscription within the context of Moeringer's life. On the history of the monastery, see Pilz 1972. On Moeringer, see Pilz 1972: 40–42, 47–48, 64, 81, 104, 108, and 201.
2. The authors are grateful to Peter van Treeck for this information.
3. See Schmitz 1913, II: nos. 271–72, pl. 43. The two panels were from the collection of Carl Ferdinand Nagler (Ansbach 1770–Berlin 1846). The present whereabouts of a fourth panel, formerly in a private collection in London, is not known (Scholz 1991: note 278 on 133–34; first mentioned by Parker 1926: 29). A manuscript (Hs. 1117) from the Merkel Library, on loan at the Germanisches Nationalmuseum, contains copies of four panels from the cycle, including this panel in Nuremberg and the two formerly in Berlin. The fourth copy corresponds to Kulmbach's drawing in Strasbourg of an unidentified abbot.
4. On Rotenecker, see Franz Machilek's biography in Imhoff 1984: 59–60.
5. See Pilz 1972: 104 on a record in the Stadtbibliothek in Nuremberg of seven portraits of Benedictine abbots (from Moeringer to Summer) painted in fresco in the cloister of Saint Aegidius.
6. See Pilz 1972: 104–9.
7. Kaufmann 1984: 47.
8. Kaufmann 1984: 159.
9. Compare Dürer's woodcut *The Hermits Saint Anthony and Saint Paul* (Bartsch 1803–21: no. 107).
10. Kaufmann 1984: 55–56.
11. Hausmann 1861: 128, no. 19.
12. Térey 1894–96, I: no. 37, II: no. 87, III: no. 213, as cited by Bock 1929: 72.
13. The drawings were first attributed to Kulmbach by Karl Koelitz (1891: 77–78).

36

After Hans von Kulmbach,
probably Veit Hirsvogel the
Younger

**Saint Gregory with the
Attribute of the Evangelist
Matthew, the Angel**

c. 1511

Pot-metal, flashed and clear glass, yellow stain,
sanguine, grayish brown and black vitreous paint

Inscribed in Gothic script: $\diamond S \diamond$ *Matheus*

DIAMETER

Including lead border: 28.3 cm

Cottbus, Stiftung Fürst Pückler-Museum

Inv. no. VII 1789k



36

37

After Hans von Kulmbach,
probably Veit Hirsvogel the
Younger

**Saint Jerome with the
Attribute of the Evangelist
Mark, the Lion**

c. 1511

Pot-metal, flashed, and clear glass, yellow stain,
sanguine, grayish brown and black vitreous paint

CONDITION

Two replacements from the late nineteenth
century, a small reddish piece in the border below
and a small blue piece at the right next to the
chest of Saint Jerome

Inscribed in Gothic script: $\diamond S \diamond$ *Marcu*

DIAMETER

Including lead border: 28.3 cm

Cottbus, Stiftung Fürst Pückler-Museum

Inv. no. VII 1788k



37



38

38

After Hans von Kulmbach,
probably Veit Hirsvogel the
Younger

Saint Ambrose with the Attribute of the Evangelist Luke, the Ox

c. 1511

Pot-metal, flashed and clear glass, yellow stain,
sanguine, and grayish brown and black vitreous
paint

Inscribed in Gothic script: *✠S✠Lucas✠*

DIAMETER

Including lead border: 28.3 cm

Cottbus, Stiftung Fürst Pückler-Museum

Inv. no. VII 1787k



39

39

After Hans von Kulmbach

Saint Augustine with the Attribute of the Evangelist John, the Eagle

c. 1511?

Pot-metal and clear glass, yellow stain, and
grayish brown and black vitreous paint

Inscribed in Gothic script: *✠S✠Johannest*

DIAMETER

Including lead border: 28.3 cm

Cottbus, Stiftung Fürst Pückler-Museum

Inv. no. VII 1790k

BIBLIOGRAPHY (cat. nos. 36–39): Fitz 1995.



This cycle of circular stained-glass panels depicting the four *Fathers of the Latin Church* were presumably executed in the Hirsvogel workshop after designs by Hans von Kulmbach from c. 1511 (see cat. nos. 40–42). The panels were first published by Eva Fitz, who proposed that they may have been acquired by Hermann Fürst von Pückler-Muskau (1785–1871) as part of the decoration of Schloss Branitz, with which he was most occupied from 1843 to 1860.¹ Fürst Pückler visited Nuremberg, Fürth, and Bamberg in 1848. His journals reveal his admiration for the windows that the Hirsvogel workshop produced for the church of Saint Sebald in Nuremberg.² He also visited the dealer in antiques,

Abraham Pickert, in Fürth.³ But it is uncertain whether the *Fathers of the Church* in Cottbus are identical with panels that were originally in the Haus “Zum Goldenen Schild” (House at the Golden Shield) in Nuremberg and that Pickert acquired on February 2, 1854, six years after the Fürst Pückler visited him.⁴ The stained-glass panels for the Haus “Zum Goldenen Schild” were presumably commissioned by Conrad IV Haller von Hallerstein, who owned the house from 1503 until his death in 1545. They are recorded in a watercolor from c. 1720–30 in the Haller family archive in Nuremberg-Grossgründlach (fig. 32) and in a watercolor of the house chapel from 1854 (fig. 33).⁵ Eva Fitz asserted that the panels in

FIGURE 32. From the *Codex “Monumenta Familiae Halleriana”*: fol. 109, *Saint Jerome*; fol. 110, *Saint Ambrose*; fol. 112, *Saint Augustine*; fol. 113, *Saint Gregory*, c. 1720–30. Watercolor-on-paper copies of stained-glass panels in the house “Zum Goldenen Schild,” each image 24 cm (diam.). Nuremberg-Grossgründlach, Frhr. v. Hallersche Familienstiftung, Schloss Grossgründlach (inv. no. GB430).

Cottbus and those recorded in the watercolor in the Haller family archive represent two cycles of *Church Fathers* after the same designs by Kulmbach. In particular, she noted that while the panels recorded in the watercolor in the Haller family archive are inscribed with the names of the Church Fathers, those in Cottbus bear the names of four evangelists, from whom the Church Fathers drew inspiration.⁶

The panels in Cottbus depict the four Western Fathers of the Church—Ambrose, Augustine, Gregory, and Jerome—paired with the symbols of the evangelists. The symbols are derived from the four beasts of the Apocalypse (Revelations 4:6–8). Augustine (354–430), bishop of Hippo in North Africa, was born at Tagaste in Numidia. He is shown with the eagle, which was a symbol of John because the eagle is the bird that flies closest to heaven and John’s vision was said to be closest to God. Ambrose (340?–397), bishop of Milan, was born at Trèves in Gaul. He is shown with the ox, symbol of Luke, whose Gospel begins with the account of the sacrifice of the priest Zacharias. As pope, Gregory the Great (540?–604) established the form of the Roman liturgy and its music (the Gregorian chant). He is shown with a winged creature like an angel. The angel (or man) was a symbol of Matthew because his gospel begins with the tree of the ancestors of Christ. Jerome (342–420) was born in Stridon in Dalmatia. His translation of the Old and New Testaments into Latin, known as the Vulgate, was declared the official Latin text by the Council of Trent (1545–63). According to fable, Jerome pulled a thorn from the paw of a lion, which thereafter was his devoted friend. Here the lion is not only an attribute of Jerome but also represents Mark, whose Gospel begins with a voice crying in the wilderness. As Eva Fitz noted, the pairing of the Fathers of the Church with the evangelists was used in Nuremberg at the end of the fifteenth century in the woodcuts of *The Chronicle of the World* of 1493, produced in the workshop of Michael Wolgemut, and in predellas of altarpieces made by artists in his circle.⁷ Further, Fitz noted that the individual Church Fathers are not always shown with the symbols of the same evangelist, indicating that the pairing denoted the general inspiration of the gospels rather than a relationship of specific gospels to specific Church Fathers.⁸

Kulmbach’s drawing for Saint Gregory is lost. The glass painter in the Hirsvogel workshop who was responsible for the panels in Cottbus closely followed Kulmbach’s drawings *Saint Jerome* and *Saint Ambrose*, both in Dresden (cat. nos. 40–41), even copying some of



FIGURE 33. Georg Christoph Wilder. *Inner Room of the Chapel in the House “Zum Goldenen Schild,”* 1854. Watercolor, 14.7 × 33.9 cm. Nuremberg, Museen der Stadt Nürnberg, Graphische Sammlung (inv. no. St.N.9655).

Photo: Museen der Stadt Nürnberg, Graphische Sammlung.

the folds in Jerome’s garments. Perhaps it was one of the younger glass painters in the workshop of Veit Hirsvogel the Elder who adopted Kulmbach’s style so readily. The glass painter could be Veit Hirsvogel the Younger. The fluid contours defining Saint Gregory’s features in the panel in Cottbus recall Veit Hirsvogel the Younger’s depiction of the same saint in a cartoon he made about two years later, based on a lost design by Kulmbach (cat. no. 48).⁹

The panel in Cottbus depicting Saint Augustine does not appear to be based on a design by Kulmbach in Dresden showing the same saint (cat. no. 42). In the drawing, Augustine sharpens his writing instrument, while in the panel he holds an open book. Also different are the settings of the two works and the arrangement of the saint’s cope. The panel in Cottbus is probably based on a lost design by Kulmbach for a circular stained-glass panel with Saint Augustine. It may even be part of a different cycle of Church Fathers than the other three panels in Cottbus depicting Gregory, Ambrose, and Jerome. Unlike these three colorful panels, it is executed in grisaille. It is also possible that the panel with Saint Augustine is a later work, made to replace a lost panel in the cycle now in Cottbus. As Peter van Treeck has noted, the panel depicting Saint Augustine is different from the other three in substantial points.¹⁰ The figural panel (inside the border) consists of only two divisions, in contrast to the division of the *Saint Gregory*, *Saint Ambrose*, and *Saint Jerome* into more glass cuts. The glass used for *Saint Augustine* is more even, almost without texture. And while the panels with Gregory, Ambrose, and Jerome have sanguine applied to the verso, the panel with Augustine has a color that is uncharacteristic in the early

sixteenth century, an evenly applied, dark gray-blue with a slightly reddish tint. On the other hand, Peter van Treeck noted that the painting technique, particularly the way the painted surface is built up on the recto, is exactly alike in all four panels. He pointed to three possibilities: the panel with Saint Augustine was made at a later date, it was made at the same time as the other three panels by another hand, or it was made at the same time as the other three panels in another workshop.

1. Fitz 1995, especially 40. I would like to take this opportunity to thank Eva Fitz for kindly sending me an offprint of her article and color slides of the stained-glass panels in Cottbus in 1995.

2. Fitz 1995: 40–41.

3. Fitz 1995: note 8 on 42.

4. Fitz 1995: 46. The house took its name from a gilded shield over the entrance held by two angels in relief sculpture. The decoration commemorated the fact that the Emperor Charles IV drafted the first twenty-three chapters of the Golden Bull there in 1356 (see Fitz 1995: 45, and Schulz 1905). Until 1806, the Golden Bull prescribed how the German kings were elected.

5. Fitz 1995: fig. 9 on 47, fig. 8 on 45.

6. Fitz 1995: 46, 48.

7. Fitz 1995: 42–43.

8. Renate Kroll (Basel and Berlin 1997–98: note 5 on 234) pointed out that Augustine is usually paired with Matthew (man), Gregory with Luke (ox), Jerome with Mark (lion), and Ambrosius with John (eagle).

9. Eva Fitz (1995: 44–45) proposed that the panels were executed by the so-called Henneberg Master (see cat. no. 18), an older artist to whom Hartmut Scholz (1991: 199–201) assigned most of the small-scale panels made between 1490 and 1508 in Nuremberg.

10. The authors would like to thank Peter van Treeck, who kindly studied the panels after questions regarding their dating were raised by Hartmut Scholz.

40

Hans von Kulmbach

Saint Ambrose with the Attribute of the Evangelist Luke, the Ox

c. 1511

Pen and brown ink, brush and gray wash, color notations in black and red chalk, lead came indicated in red chalk, on cream laid paper

WATERMARK

None visible (drawing laid down)

Color notations in black chalk: *b[laue]* (blue, to the left and twice to the right of the chair); *◆* (green, on the dalmatic, at the knee); *w[e]iss* (white, on the alb), undeciphered mark on the writing desk, which is yellow in the finished panel. Color notation in red chalk: undeciphered mark, probably *p[urpur]* (purple, on shoulder of the pluvial, which is purple in the finished panel)

DIAMETER

23.1 cm

Dresden, Kupferstich-Kabinett, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden

Inv. no. C 2190

PROVENANCE

old inventory of the collection (Lugt 1921: 1647)



40

41

Hans von Kulmbach

Saint Jerome with the Attribute of the Evangelist Mark, the Lion

c. 1511

Pen and brown and black ink, brush and gray wash, color notations in black chalk, on cream laid paper

WATERMARK

None visible (drawing laid down)

Color notations in black chalk: *b[laue]* (blue, three times in window); *r[ot]* (red, on caputium and cope); two undeciphered marks, at upper left on wall, which is brown in the finished panel, and on bench, which is yellow in the finished panel

DIAMETER

23.1 cm

Dresden, Kupferstich-Kabinett, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden

Inv. no. C 2189

PROVENANCE

Old inventory of the collection (Lugt 1921: 1647)



41



42

42

Hans von Kulmbach

**Saint Augustine with the
Attribute of the Evangelist
John, the Eagle**

c. 1511

Pen and brown ink, brush and gray wash, with arcs drawn in black chalk, on cream laid paper

CONDITION
Trimmed at right

WATERMARK
None visible (drawing laid down)

Inscribed in black chalk, *b[laue]* (blue, in window)

DIAMETER
27 cm

Dresden, Kupferstichkabinett-Kabinett,
Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden

Inv. no. C 2192

PROVENANCE
Old inventory of the collection (Lugt 1921: 1647)

BIBLIOGRAPHY (cat. nos. 40–42): Bermann 1923: nos. 18–20 on xxii; Winkler 1929: 41; Stadler 1936: no. 27a–c, pl. 10; Winkler 1942: nos. 103–5; Winkler 1959: 79; Frenzel 1961: 43; Landolt 1962: 40, 42–45, fig. 8; Holl 1972: 28–29, fig. 17; Butts 1985: 115; Scholz 1991: note 178 on 70; Fitz 1995: 42–54, figs. 5, 6, 12; Basel and Berlin 1997–98: 234.



43

43

After Hans von Kulmbach;
workshop of Veit Hirsvogel
the Elder

**Saint Ambrose with the
Attribute of the Evangelist
Luke, the Ox**

c. 1511

Pen and brown ink, brush and gray and brown wash, black chalk underdrawing, on cream laid paper

WATERMARK
Bull's head with flower and triangle (Briquet [1907] 1966: 14873)

Inscribed in pen and brown ink: *S LVCAS*

29.2 × 21.6 cm

Erlangen, Graphische Sammlung der Universität

Inv. no. B248

PROVENANCE
From the *Kunstammer* of the Margrave Johann Friedrich of Brandenburg-Ansbach (1654–1686); transferred from the Schlossbibliothek in Ansbach to the University of Erlangen in 1805 as a gift of Friedrich Wilhelm III of Prussia

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Bock 1929: no. 248; Winkler 1942: 90; Scholz 1991: fig. 417 on 315, note 744 on 331; Fitz 1995: 48, fig. 11 on 51.

The circular drawings in Dresden of *Saint Ambrose*, *Saint Jerome*, and *Saint Augustine* were most likely made by Hans von Kulmbach around 1511. The attenuated figures and the drapery that wraps around the bodies and limbs to anchor the figures in pictorial space are found in drawings and paintings that Kulmbach dated 1511, notably *The Martyrdom of Saint Stanislaw* (cat. no. 44). *Saint Jerome* and *Saint Ambrose* are clearly the designs for two round stained-glass panels in Cottbus from a group of four depicting the Western Fathers of the Church—Augustine, Ambrose, Gregory, and Jerome—with the symbols of the evangelists (cat. nos. 37–38). The glass painter, perhaps Veit Hirsvogel the Younger, closely followed Hans von Kulmbach's compositions. In the drawing of *Saint Jerome*, either Kulmbach or the glass painter corrected the perspective of the writing desk as indicated by the ruled line in black ink. The halo was also redrawn in dark brown ink.

Saint Jerome and *Saint Ambrose* also closely resemble two circular stained-glass panels from a cycle representing the Church Fathers presumably commissioned by Conrad IV Haller von Hallerstein for the Haus "Zum Goldenen Schild," which he owned from 1503 until his death in 1545 (cat. nos. 37–38). The panels are recorded in a watercolor from c. 1720–30 in the Haller family archive in Nuremberg-Grossgründlach (fig. 32) and in a watercolor of the house chapel from 1854 (fig. 33). It is not certain whether the cycle of Church Fathers from the Haus "Zum Goldenen Schild" and the cycle in Cottbus are identical. As previously noted (cat. nos. 36–39), the cycle in Cottbus bears the names of the evangelists, while the one in the Haus "Zum Goldenen Schild" was apparently inscribed with the names of the Church Fathers. It was not unusual in the late fifteenth or early sixteenth century for more than one cycle of panels to be made after an artist's designs, as was the case with drawings by the Master of the Housebook (see cat. nos. 2, 3, 7, and 8). Cycles depicting the Fathers of the Church were particularly popular and might have been hung in the patron's study, where the diligent work of the saints served as an inspiration. A copy in Erlangen of Kulmbach's *Saint Ambrose with the Attribute of the Evangelist Luke, the Ox* in rectangular format and inscribed *S LVCUS* supports the argument that his designs with the Fathers of the Church were used more than once. Hartmut Scholz and Eva Fitz tentatively assigned the drawing in Erlangen to Veit Hirsvogel the Younger.¹ The attribution is very plausible if one compares his *Saint Gregory* of 1513 (cat. no. 48), which was

presumably also after a drawing by Kulmbach. The sheet in Erlangen is well executed and displays an understanding of Kulmbach's balance of fine pen-and-ink strokes with brush and wash. And while the Erlangen drawing is more planar than Kulmbach's works, and the pen lines and washes somewhat less integrated than his, the copyist grasped Kulmbach's spatial sensibility in details like the curling banderole and the manner in which the drapery is wrapped around the saint's body.

The design for the panel in Cottbus representing *Saint Gregory* (cat. no. 36) is lost, and the relationship of the circular drawing in Dresden depicting *Saint Augustine* to the cycle of stained-glass panels with the *Fathers of the Church* in Cottbus is problematic. In fact, the panel in Cottbus depicting *Saint Augustine* (cat. no. 39) may not have been part of the same cycle as the other three panels in Cottbus (cat. nos. 36–38). Executed almost entirely in grisaille, the panel with *Saint Augustine* does not form a unified whole with the more colorful panels depicting Ambrose, Gregory, and Jerome. If the *Saint Augustine* replaced a lost panel, perhaps the appearance of that work can be surmised from the drawing of *Saint Augustine* in Dresden or, more likely, from the watercolor copy of a circular panel depicting *Saint Augustine* that was once in the Haus "Zum Goldenen Schild" (fig. 32). The drawing in Dresden of *Saint Augustine* is about four centimeters larger in diameter than the drawings of *Saint Ambrose* and *Saint Jerome*, even though it is trimmed at the right. Either Kulmbach or the glass painter experimented with a compass to see if this design could also be used for a stained-glass panel in the form of a quatrefoil.²

1. Scholz 1991: fig. 417 on 315, note 744 on 332; Fitz 1995: note 35 on 48.

2. Hanspeter Landolt (1962: 42, 44) noted that the black chalk underdrawing of Kulmbach's *Design for a Quatrefoil with Saint Pope Sixtus II* from c. 1510 in the Kupferstichkabinett in Basel shows that the artist may originally have planned to draw a *Saint Augustine with the Attribute of Saint John the Evangelist, the Eagle* that was similar in composition and scale to the drawing in Dresden.



44

44

Hans von Kulmbach

The Martyrdom of Saint Stanislaw

1511

Brush and gray ink, traces of black chalk, on beige laid paper; outer border in pen and gray ink; three circles drawn with a compass in pen and brown ink

Dated upper left in brush and gray ink: 1511

DIAMETER
27.5 cm

Bremen, Kunsthalle Bremen, Kupferstichkabinett

Inv. no. 37/613

PROVENANCE

Johann Friedrich Lahmann (Lugt 1921: 1656c); lost while in storage during World War II and returned to Bremen in 1962.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Schilling 1925: no. 16; Buchner in Thieme and Becker 1907–50, xx: 95 (as the *Death of Saint Thomas of Canterbury*); Nuremberg 1928: no. 266; Winkler 1929: 41; Stadler 1936: no. 35, pl. 16; Winkler 1942: 111; Winkler 1959: 76; Oettinger and Knappe 1963: note 351 on 111; Bremen 1964: no. 9, ill. on 10; Holl 1972: 39; Butts 1985: 114–15.

The drawing depicts *The Martyrdom of Saint Stanislaw*, who raises the host above the altar upon which stands a painted Crucifixion. Born to a Polish noble family, Stanislaw was named bishop of Krakow in 1072. When he excommunicated King Boleslaw II (the Bold, c. 1040–1081; reigned as king 1076–79) for unrelenting cruelty and immorality, Stanislaw was condemned as a traitor and murdered by Boleslaw while celebrating mass in 1079. After Stanislaw's murder, the king's enemies multiplied. He fled to Hungary and died soon after.

This design for a circular stained-glass panel may have been part of a series depicting Christian martyrdom. Two circular drawings for stained-glass depicting *The Martyrdom of Saint Erasmus* and *Saint Sebastian Shot by Arrows* were apparently made at the same time.¹ It is likely that Kulmbach's depiction of the martyrdom of bishop of Krakow was for a patron in that city. It is dated 1511, the year that Kulmbach painted *The Adoration of the Magi Altarpiece* (central panel, monogrammed and dated 1511; Staatliche Museen zu Berlin-Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Gemäldegalerie), presumably for a patron in Krakow.² It is worth

noting that three to four years later, Kulmbach depicted small stained-glass quatrefoils in the background of a painting he made for the family chapel of Jan Boner. Boner, whose family immigrated to Krakow from Landau in the Palatine, was a successful merchant and a financial advisor to King Sigismund I of Poland. Kulmbach's painting *The Disputation of Saint Catherine with the Philosophers Before Emperor Maxentius* (fig. 25), was the wing of a *Saint Catherine Altarpiece*, 1514–15, in Boner's family chapel in Saint Mary's in Krakow.³

As in his *Adoration of the Magi Altarpiece*, in *The Martyrdom of Saint Stanislaw* Kulmbach was interested in a narrative with lively movement and numerous figures. (There are thirteen in the drawing in Bremen.) He emphasized recession in planes parallel to the picture plane. (The saint and his murderer define one plane, the curtain and the wall of the church two more.) Kulmbach augmented this spatial recession by foreshortening figures and objects, including lances and candles, and by piercing the background wall with a large Gothic window. (The window within a window was a favorite device in designs for glass in the Renaissance period.) He emphasized the volume of figures by wrapping drapery around them. Saint Stanislaw's martyrdom is dramatized by means of the convergence of figures on the saint and by the three foreshortened heads of young men who watch from below as the sudden attack takes place. While the altar, column, curtain, and window lend stability to the composition, Kulmbach chose the postures of his figures to create circular movement within the round format of the design for stained glass. The circles drawn with a compass indicate that either Kulmbach or the glass painter was testing different ways in which the composition could be cropped.

1. Winkler 1942: nos. 112, 113. A third of the latter drawing was destroyed while it was in storage during World War II.
2. Stadler 1936: no. 33; Strieder 1993b: 132, fig. 155 on 133 (color), no. 129. The altarpiece is thought to have been made for the Pauline monastery na Skalec in Krakow.
3. Stadler 1936: no. 109; Winkler 1959: 65; Strieder 1993b: 135, no. 133. The altarpiece was broken up in the nineteenth century.



45

Hans von Kulmbach

The Judgment of Solomon

c. 1510–15

Pen and brown ink and gray wash, underdrawing in black chalk, on beige laid paper

Inscribed on verso in graphite: *Martin Schoen*

DIAMETER
27.6 cm

Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum

Inv. no. 89.GG.5

PROVENANCE
Johann Friedrich Lahmann, Dresden; Edmund Schilling, Frankfurt; private collection, Switzerland (sale Galerie Kornfeld, Bern, June 17, 1987, lot 139); art market, Boston

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Goldner and Hendrix 1992: no. 127.

When Solomon ascended the throne of Israel as a young man, God appeared to him in a dream and offered to grant him anything he asked. Instead of riches, long life, or the lives of his enemies, Solomon asked for an understanding heart to judge God's people and to discern

between good and evil (1 Kings 3:5–15). Soon afterward he was called upon to settle a dispute between two prostitutes over a male infant (1 Kings 3:16–28). The infant of one woman had died, and both women claimed the living child. Solomon ordered that the living child be cut in two and divided between the women, knowing that the true mother would reveal herself by renouncing her claim in order that the child's life might be spared. In Kulmbach's drawing, the true mother moves to stay the hand of the swordsman. A purse that hangs from the side of the second prostitute is perhaps a symbol of venality. The Judgment of Solomon was seen as an Old Testament prefiguration of the Last Judgment and as such widely depicted in Christian art. As a symbol of justice or of good government in a wider sense, it was a popular subject for the decoration of town halls. The subject was sometimes employed in praise of a political figure. For instance, in 1529, an Augsburg artist, perhaps Leonhard Beck, designed a circular stained-glass panel depicting *The Judgment of Solomon*, giving the Old Testament king the features of the late Holy Roman Emperor Maximilian I



FIGURE 34. Attributed to Leonhard Beck. *The Judgment of Solomon*, 1529. Pen and brown ink and brown wash, 28.6 (diam.). Paris, Musée du Louvre (inv. no. 18986). Photo: Musée du Louvre, Département des Arts Graphiques, Paris.

as a young man or the Holy Roman Emperor Charles V (fig. 40).¹

The supple figures and multifigured composition of *The Judgment of Solomon* recall works that Kulmbach dated 1511, notably *The Martyrdom of Stanislaw* (cat. no. 44) and the central panel of *The Adoration of the Magi Altarpiece*, presumably executed for a patron in Krakow (Staatliche Museen zu Berlin-Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Gemäldegalerie.)² In light of the subject matter, symbolic of justice and good government, it is likely that Kulmbach's design for a circular stained-glass panel was commissioned with an official building in Nuremberg or Krakow in mind. But there is no way to be certain even about which city the patron came from unless the late medieval architecture is identified with a specific location, the hats at the right are determined to be Polish, or the portrait of a patron from Nuremberg, Krakow, or elsewhere is recognized among the figures surrounding Solomon. (Kulmbach represented some of his figures as contemporary middle-class citizens, and several of the heads seem to record the features of individuals.) The turban of the bearded man on the left signals that the event depicted occurred in a distant time and place. Kulmbach varied the expressions of his protagonists and witnesses, their costumes and facial types, and the direction of their gazes, thus enlivening the narrative in a quiet manner, which was characteristic throughout his career.

1. Pen and brown ink and brown wash on beige laid paper, dated 1529 in brush and brown ink on the step of the throne (inscribed later in pen and dark brown ink below, *Albert durer/1520*, 28.4 cm [diameter], Paris, Louvre, inv. no. 18.986). On the drawing, see Démons 1937–38, 1: no. 50, pl. 13, who identifies the features as Maximilian's.
2. Stadler 1936: no. 33; Strieder 1993b: no. 129.



46

Hans von Kulmbach

Fool in a Women's Bathhouse

c. 1511

Pen and brown ink, brush and gray wash, underdrawing in black chalk, squared in black chalk, on cream laid paper

VERSO

In brush and brown wash, apparently by another hand, study of a woman's head in three-quarters profile, facing left

WATERMARK

High crown (similar to Briquet [1907] 1966: 4921)

DIAMETER

27.9 cm

Frankfurt am Main, Graphische Sammlung im Städelschen Kunstinstitut

Inv. no. 15684

PROVENANCE

Acquired 1935 from the collection of Johann Friedrich Lahmann (Lugt 1956: 1656c)

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Schilling 1925: no. 17; Ernst Buchner in Thieme and Becker 1907–50, XX: 95; Nuremberg 1928: no. 267; Winkler 1929: 41; Stadler 1936: no. 107, pl. 48; Winkler 1942: no. 119; Winkler 1959: 79, pl. 62; Oettinger and Knappe 1963: note 351 on 111; Holl 1972: 39, fig. 21 on 38; Schilling and Schwarzweller 1973: no. 130, pl. 31; Butts 1985: 95, 115.

This drawing for a round stained-glass panel was probably executed around 1511. It shares with Hans von Kulmbach's *Martyrdom of Saint Stanislaus* (cat. no. 44) an interest in animated figural movement and the play of light over softly curving forms. The drawing depicts a fool—recognizable by his cap with ass's ears—who has wandered into a women's bathhouse. One of the surprised bathers grabs him by the hem of his coat. The fool has holes in his trousers and shoes and drags a long club behind him. In his popular *Ship of Fools* of 1494 (Basel, Bergmann von Olpe), the humanist Sebastian Brant praised poor, wise men and condemned money-fools who valued riches more than souls (chap. 83, "Contempt of Poverty"). Kulmbach's protagonist seems to be both foolish and poor. The buffoon who becomes the victim of the angry or amorous attentions of bathing women was clearly a source of amusement in northern Europe in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. In contrast to the fool in Kulmbach's drawing, sometimes the buffoons end up with more than their knees exposed, as in engravings by the Master of the Banderoles from c. 1460–70 (fig. 35) and Sebald Beham from 1541 (fig. 36).¹

In the medieval and Renaissance periods, bathing in public and private bathhouses was considered not only a matter of hygiene and health but also a pleasant pastime associated with conversation, musicmaking, eating, and drinking. Bathhouses were often associated with prostitution and erotic behavior, which the municipal authorities tried to prohibit. The erotic side of bathing is emphasized in many medieval and Renaissance depictions. In the late Middle Ages, all the better urban houses had small rooms for bathing, and the well-to-do often had small bathhouses in gardens outside the city walls. Communal bathing was increasingly regulated or prohibited after syphilis spread through Europe in the sixteenth century.

The subject of the bathhouse was presumably as popular in cabinet panels as it was in prints. Two circular stained-glass panels depicting women's bathhouses were made after woodcuts by Sebald Beham (formerly Berlin, Kunstgewerbemuseum; destroyed during World War II).² Perhaps such panels were made to decorate bathhouses, set into bottle-glass windows like those shown by the Master of the Banderoles. A drawing in the famous *Medieval Housebook* (fig. 37) shows quatrefoils in the windows of a room where lovers bathe, suggesting how a stained-glass panel depicting the bath might have been displayed. A preliminary drawing from c. 1535 by Albrecht

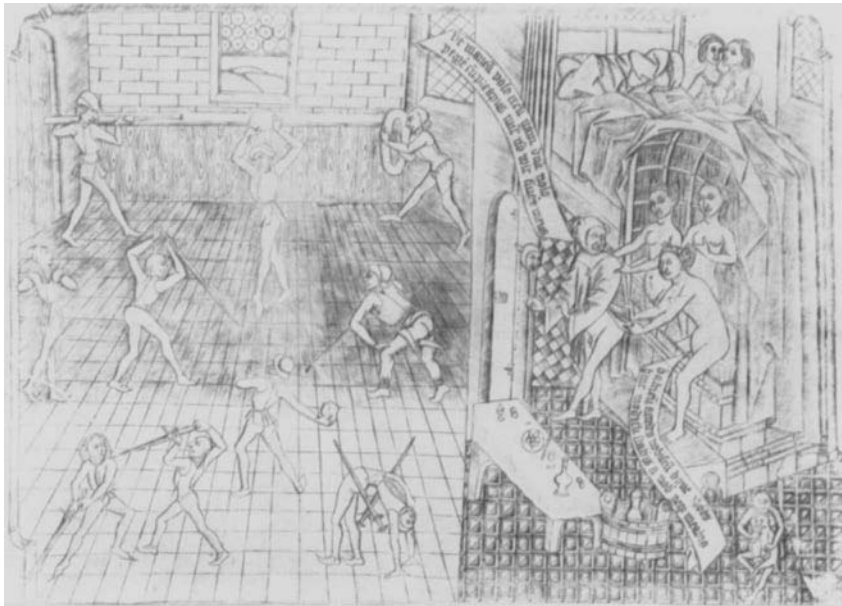


FIGURE 35. The Master of the Banderoles. *The Fencing Room*, c. 1460–70. Engraving, 22.7 × 31.9 cm. Vienna, Graphische Sammlung Albertina (inv. no. 1926/0935).
Photo: Graphische Sammlung Albertina, Vienna.



FIGURE 36. Sebald Beham. *Buffoon with Two Bathing Women*, 1541. Engraving, 4.6 × 7.1 cm. New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Felix M. Warburg and his family, 1941 (inv. no. 41.1.99).
Photo: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

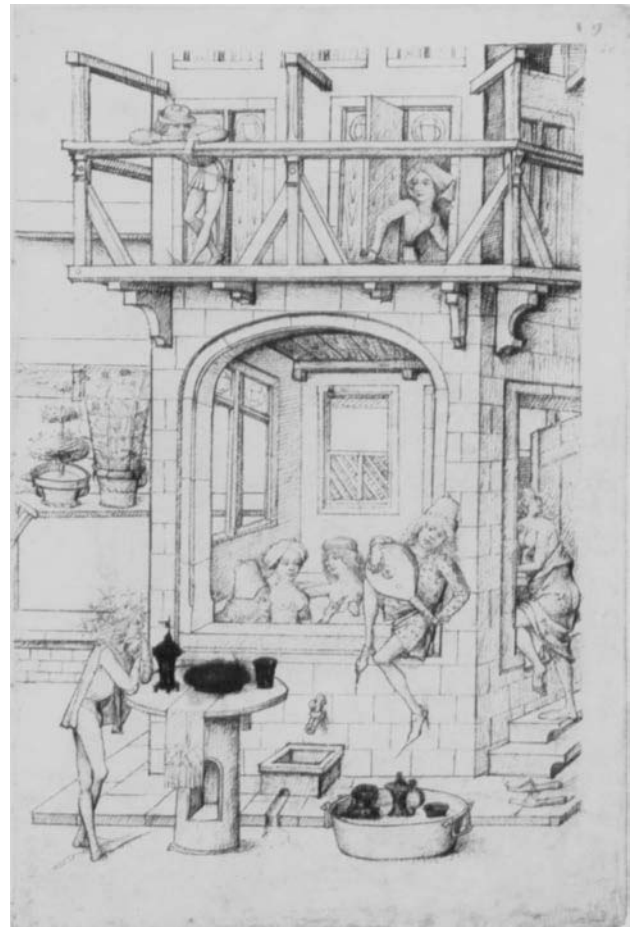


FIGURE 37. The Master of the Housebook. Detail with quatrifolds from *The Bathhouse*, fols. 18v–19r in the *Medieval Housebook*, c. 1475–81. Pen and brown ink, 29.2 × 38.8 cm (fols.). Wolfgang, Kunstsammlungen der Fürsten zu Waldburg-Wolfegg.
Photo: René Schrei, Ravensburg.

Aldorfer for a fresco covering the entrance wall of the bath at the episcopal court at Regensburg (Florence, Uffizi) and fragments of the wall painting indicate how elaborately bathhouses could be decorated with bathing scenes.³

In Kulmbach's *Fool in a Women's Bathhouse*, the contours drawn in pen do not follow the underdrawing in black chalk; for example, the fool's left foot is moved to the left. The squaring of the drawing perhaps suggests that Kulmbach or the glass painter intended to make a *Reinzeichnung* or cleaned-up copy of the design. The stained-glass panel after Kulmbach's drawing was either lost or never executed.

1. In the earlier print, the fool's genitals are exposed as he is pursued by an amorous female bather. Beham's fools suffers a similar fate, this time at the hands of two angry women. For the Master of the Banderoles' print, see Lehms 1908–34, IV: no. 99; for Beham's print, see Bartsch 1803–21: no. 214. On bathing and bathhouse imagery, see Alison Stewart, including an illustration of the print by the Master of the Banderoles (Stewart 1989: fig. 9 on 71) and further literature, particularly as it relates to Nuremberg. See also Zoepfl 1937. There is no apparent connection between Kulmbach's image and Erasmus of Rotterdam's (1466?–1536) *Praise of Folly*, first printed in Paris in 1511 (first authorized edition 1512).
2. Schmitz 1913, I: 165, fig. 279, II: nos. 294–95. Schmitz dated the panels c. 1530, but the woodcuts are variously dated, sometimes 1530–35 (Austin 1983: no. 81) and at other times c. 1543 (Stewart 1989: fig. 15 on 76).
3. For the drawing in the Uffizi, see Berlin and Regensburg 1988: no. 171. On the drawing and the fragments of the fresco (twenty-one in the Museum der Stadt Regensburg and one in the Szépművészeti Múzeum, Budapest), see Goldberg 1988: 56–59. See also Stewart 1989: fig. 11 on 72, 73, note 34 on 86.



47

47

Hans von Kulmbach

Saint Augustine with an Infant in an Architectural Framework on Which Are Adam and Eve, and God the Father, Christ Crucified, and the Dove of the Holy Spirit

1513

Pen and brown ink, brush and gray wash, on cream laid paper

False Dürer monogram, lower right, in brown ink

26 × 18.5 cm

Berlin, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin-Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Kupferstichkabinett

Inv. no. kdz 28678

PROVENANCE

[C. G. Bocrner, Leipzig, 1935]; the Trier collection, Frankfurt am Main; Edmund Schilling collection

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Schilling 1982: no. 8; London, Washington, D.C., and Nuremberg 1984: no. 11; Butts 1985: 120, fig. 108; Scholz 1988: 140–42, fig. 257; Butts 1990: fig. 3 on 68, 69, note 22 on 77; Scholz 1991: 134–36, fig. 182 on 138, 139, 261–63, 317.



FIGURE 38. After Hans von Kulmbach; Veit Hirsvogel the Younger. *Saint Augustine*, 1513. Pot-metal, flashed, and clear glass, yellow stain, and vitreous paint, 27 × 19.5 cm. Formerly Berlin, Kunstgewerbemuseum, destroyed during World War II.

Photo: Schmitz 1913, II: no. 205 on pl. 33.



FIGURE 39. After Hans von Kulmbach; Veit Hirsvogel the Younger. *Saint Gregory*, 1513. Pot-metal, flashed, and clear glass, yellow stain, and vitreous paint, 27 × 19.5 cm. Formerly Berlin, Kunstgewerbemuseum; destroyed during World War II.

Photo: Schmitz 1913, II: no. 206 on pl. 33.



Veit Hirsvogel the Younger, after
Hans von Kulmbach

Saint Gregory

1513

Pen and point of the brush in grayish black ink, brush and gray wash, contours redrawn in pen and ink, on beige laid paper

CONDITION

Upper right corner missing, black framing line added afterward to unify sheet

Monogrammed and dated in brush and gray ink, lower right: 1513 VH in ligature

27.7 × 19.9 cm

Schwerin, Staatliches Museum Schwerin,
Kupferstichkabinett

Inv. no. 1499 HZ

PROVENANCE
Aeter collection

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Schwerin 1980: 66, fig. 21; Scholz 1988: 141–42, fig. 259; Butts 1990: fig. 4 on 68, 69, note 21 on 77; Scholz 1991: fig. 13 on 17, 18, 135–36, note 366 on 188, 233, 261–63, 317, note 717a on 322, 323; Berlin 1992–93: 16, no. 4, ill. on 17.

In 1513, Hans von Kulmbach designed a series of small rectangular stained-glass panels depicting the four Western Fathers of the Church: Ambrose, Augustine, Gregory, and Jerome. Two of those panels, depicting Gregory and Augustine, were in the collection of the Kunstgewerbemuseum in Berlin until destroyed during World War II (figs. 38–39).¹ Kulmbach's drawing for the panel depicting Saint Augustine and Veit Hirsvogel the Younger's copy after Kulmbach's lost design for the panel depicting Saint Gregory are the only drawings for the series known to have survived. Kulmbach had designed small stained-glass panels depicting the Fathers of the Church before. A design for a quatrefoil with Saint Augustine (cat. no. 30) can be dated c. 1510. Kulmbach also designed a cycle (or perhaps two cycles) of circular stained-glass panels with the same subject around 1511 (cat. nos. 36–42). Here, in 1513, he depicted Saint Augustine with a book, bishop's miter, and crozier, standing before a landscape and framed by an arch supported on columns. Above the capitals of the columns are sculptures depicting the Temptation of Adam and Eve at the left and the Trinity (God the Father, Christ on the Cross, and the dove of the

Holy Spirit) at the right. At the feet of Saint Augustine is one of his attributes, a child with a spoon. According to legend, Saint Augustine was walking on the beach pondering the mystery of the Trinity when he encountered a child who was trying to scoop the sea into a small hole. When Augustine told the child that his efforts would be futile, the child replied that it was equally impossible to make the boundless mystery of the Trinity fit the capacity of the human mind.² In the sculpture above Saint Augustine and the child, the contrast of the original sin of Adam and Eve with mankind's redemption through Christ's death on the cross is emphasized by the gesture of God the Father, who points toward his crucified son. The juxtaposition of the saint and child with the sculptural elements is perhaps meant to suggest that the redemption of mankind through the death of God's son is a mystery as unfathomable as the Trinity.

Saint Augustine with an Infant in an Architectural Framework on Which Are Adam and Eve, and God the Father, Christ Crucified, and the Dove of the Holy Spirit is one of Kulmbach's finest drawings for stained glass. It is cleanly and surely drawn yet full of variation in the application of the wash and pen lines. The broad application of wash adeptly suggests the shadow that falls diagonally across Augustine's chest. The figure has a breadth and amplitude comparable to figures in Kulmbach's *Memorial Picture for Provost Lorenz Tucher* of 1513, in Saint Sebald in Nuremberg.³

Veit Hirsvogel the Younger faithfully transferred Kulmbach's composition to stained glass. His drawing of Saint Gregory is an important document indicating the kind of simplified copies Hirsvogel apparently made after designs by Kulmbach to aid him in the transfer.⁴ Hirsvogel forgoes the subtly varied shading that Kulmbach achieves through the use of wash, substituting broader, flatter washes. The glass painter's aim in making his copy seems to be to reduce Kulmbach's design to its major contours, washes, and hatching strokes. Hirsvogel's heaviest contours often correspond to the shaded areas of the composition, and bands of light are at times reserved between the outer contours and inner hatching of forms. When it came time to execute the panel, Hirsvogel executed many of the highlights and hatching strokes by scratching them into the matt, apparently freely inventing them without the benefit of guidelines in either Kulmbach's or his own drawing. One wonders whether the two tiny circles drawn in metalpoint at the lower left and right were drawn by Hirsvogel and whether they aided him in copying Kulmbach's

drawing or in transferring his own drawing to glass. Compared to the concerned expression conveyed by the eyes, brow, and mouth in Kulmbach's head of Saint Augustine, the expression in the eyes and mouth of Hirsvogel's Saint Augustine is focused yet serene. A similar change of expression occurred in the transfer of the head of Saint Gregory from drawing to finished stained-glass panel.⁵

1. Schmitz (1913, II: nos. 205–6 and 1130) described *Saint Augustine* and *Saint Gregory* as works in the manner of early Burgkmair, c. 1500.
2. Clarence H. Miller noted that Erasmus might have referred to this apocryphal story in *The Praise of Folly* when he stated, "Saint Augustine, a very great man and a bishop to boot, did not disdain to learn from a little boy only a year old." See Erasmus [1511] 1979: note 8 on 170.
3. On the painting, see the biography of Kulmbach, above. I first had an opportunity to study the drawing c. 1982–85 thanks to the kindness of John Rowlands, who also provided a copy of the catalogue entry on the drawing from the owner's private catalogue (Schilling 1982: no. 8).
4. The drawing was published in 1980 with an attribution to "Monogrammist HV (perhaps Heinrich Vogtherr the Elder or Younger)" (Schwerin 1980: 66). Hartmut Scholz was the first to identify *Saint Gregory* as a work by Veit Hirsvogel the Younger in his dissertation of 1988 (Scholz 1988: 141–42). I had not yet read Hartmut Scholz's dissertation when I reached the same conclusion, published in 1990 (Butts 1990: 69). In 1985, I dated *Saint Augustine* to c. 1513 without yet connecting it with the drawing in Schwerin (Butts 1985: 120). I derived the date from the breadth and amplitude of the Kulmbach's central figure.
5. Hartmut Scholz (1991: 18) argued that, while Hirsvogel closely followed Kulmbach's drawing of *Saint Augustine*, he did not have a similar design by Kulmbach to follow for *Saint Gregory*. Scholz thought Hirsvogel based *Saint Gregory* on a drawing attributed to Kulmbach and depicting *Saint Nicholas* (Bremen, Kunsthalle, Scholz 1991: 18, 134–36, 261–63, fig. 9 on 16). The arrangement of the drapery in *Saint Gregory* is almost a mirror image of the arrangement of the drapery in *Saint Nicholas*, as Scholz noted. But the drawing in Bremen is not by Kulmbach. It lacks the subtle variation of lighting that is characteristic of Kulmbach's drawings. At the same time, the swift, sure rendering of the blades of grass at the saint's feet strongly contrasts with Kulmbach's tentative, searching lines. Perhaps the anonymous, undated drawing in Bremen and Hirsvogel's *Saint Gregory* were based on the same lost Kulmbach drawing; or perhaps *Saint Nicholas* and the lost drawing of *Saint Gregory* by Kulmbach for the cycle of standing *Fathers of the Church* were based on the same work. Scholz noted that a similar drapery arrangement appears in a circular stained-glass panel with *Saint Augustine*, c. 1533 (formerly Berlin, Schlossmuseum; destroyed during World War II); Scholz 1991: fig. 12 on 16) and in a panel depicting *Saint Nicholas* in the Parish Church in Ingelfingen, before 1510 (Scholz 1991: fig. 364 on 255). The circular stained-glass panel, formerly in Berlin, Kunstgewerbemuseum (destroyed in World War II), is also related to a Dürer drawing for stained glass from c. 1503 (Strauss 1974, VI: no. xw. 221; Anzelewsky and Mielke 1984: no. 2).



Upper Left Quarter of a Design for the Window of Emperor Maximilian I in Saint Sebald in Nuremberg

1514

Pen and brown ink, brush and red, blue and gray watercolors, on cream laid paper

COAT OF ARMS

Brabant and Dalmatia

22.5 × 12.6 cm

Berlin, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin-Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Kupferstichkabinett

Inv. no. kdz 4280

PROVENANCE

Acquired 1904

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Bock 1909; Schmitz 1913, 1: 149; Bock 1921: 60, pl. 87; Bermann 1923: nos. 6–9 on xviii–xix, nos. 75–76 on xxxii; Röttinger 1927: 12; Buchner in Thieme and Becker 1907–50, xx: 94; Winkler 1929: 33, 40, 42; Stadler 1936: no. 98, pls. 42–43; Winkler 1942: nos. 77–80, esp. no. 77; Nuremberg 1959: 19; Winkler 1959: 75–76; Knappe 1960: 186; Frenzel 1961: 58; Knappe 1961c: 253; Nuremberg 1961: 117; Paris 1964: no. 77; Washington, D.C., et al. 1965–66: 77; Holl 1972: 44; Knappe 1973: 79; Butts 1985: 123–25; Scholz 1991: 78, 151, fig. 203 on 152, 184, note 552 on 263; Scholz 1995: 29–30, fig. 3, notes 11–12 on 40–41; Scholz 1998: 396–98, fig. 10, notes 49–53 on 415–16.

This drawing is the upper left quarter of a design by Hans von Kulmbach for the Emperor's Window in Saint Sebald in Nuremberg. The window (fig. 40) was commissioned by Maximilian I to replace a damaged window, given by King Wenceslas of Bohemia (1361–1419) in 1379. In Nuremberg it was a tradition for the Holy Roman Emperors to donate the middle windows in the choirs of the city's important churches. Wenceslas's father, Emperor Charles IV (r. 1355–78), donated the central window in the Church of Our Lady, and Maximilian's father, Emperor Frederick III (r. 1452–93), probably gave the window in the prime position in Saint Lawrence. Three letters from 1514 concerning Emperor Maximilian I's window indicate that Kulmbach's design must date from the middle of that year. In a letter of February 5, Maximilian asked the City Council of Nuremberg to appoint Melchior Pfinzing, his private secretary and the provost of Saint Sebald from 1512 to 1521, to see that the project was executed. In letters dated March 18 and 19, the City Council and Maximilian agreed upon a price of two hundred Rhenish guilders, which the city could deduct from taxes payable to the emperor. From this sum, the workshop of Veit Hirsvogel the Elder received 140 Rhenish guilders upon completion of the window (no later than January 8, 1515). The designer or designers presumably received sixty Rhenish guilders.¹ This was a substantial sum of money when one considers that Veit Hirsvogel the Elder bought a house for ninety-five Rhenish guilders in 1487 and a larger house for 380 guilders in 1492.²

Kulmbach's design for the window depicts sixteen figures, each standing beneath an arch formed by a leafy branch (fig. 41). (The design was divided in quarters and the upper right quarter divided again in quarters.) The ten figures in the two outer columns and in the lower row hold the arms of Habsburg dominions. The remaining six figures are Habsburg patron saints, some of whom Maximilian counted among his relations. The upper left quarter of Kulmbach's design, shown here, depicts at the upper left an angel with the arms of the duchy of Brabant. The figure at the upper right probably represents Charlemagne (742?–814) with the insignia of office: crown, sword,

FIGURE 40. After Hans von Kulmbach and, probably Albrecht Dürer; workshop of Veit Hirsvogel the Elder. Emperor's Window, 1514. Pot-metal, flashed, and clear glass, yellow stain, and vitreous paint. Nuremberg, Saint Sebald.

Photo: Corpus Vitrearum Deutschland, Arbeitsstelle der Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur Mainz, Freiburg i. Br.

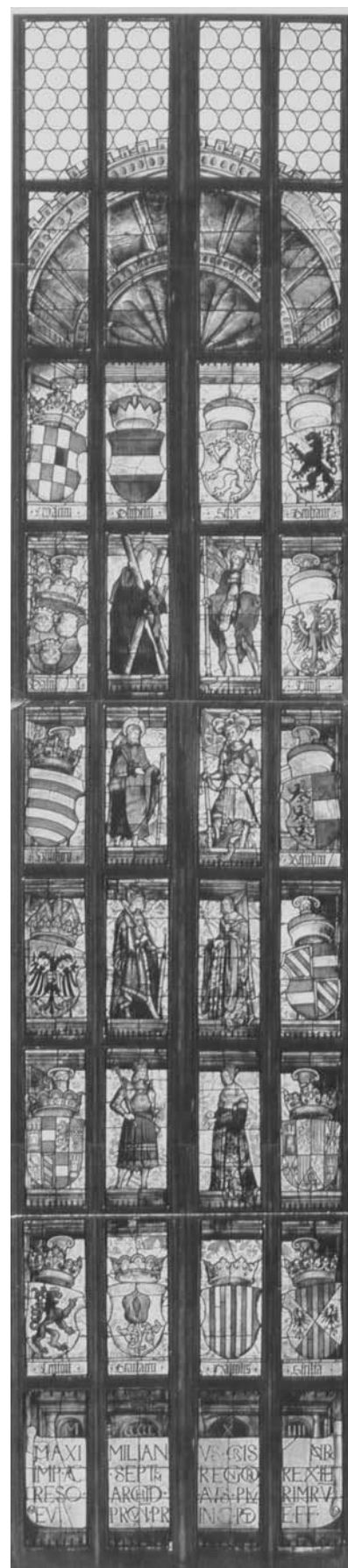




FIGURE 41. Composite illustration of Hans von Kulmbach, *Design for the Emperor's Window in Saint Sebald in Nuremberg*, 1514. Pen and brown ink and red, blue, and gray watercolor, 45 × 25.2 cm (overall measurements). Staatliche Museen zu Berlin-Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Kupferstichkabinett (upper left, lower left, and lower right quarters of the design, upper left and lower left quarters of the upper right quarter of the design) and Moscow, Pushkin Museum (the upper right and lower right quarters of the upper right quarter of the design). Photo: Scholz 1991: fig. 203.

and orb. A woman with the arms of Dalmatia stands at the lower left. At the lower right, Saint Ulrich (890–973), bishop of Augsburg, is identifiable by his attributes: a bishop's crosier and miter, a book, and a fish. According to legend, Saint Ulrich gave a piece of meat to a ducal messenger on a Friday, not thinking that it was a day of abstinence. The piece of meat immediately changed to a fish in the hand of the messenger. Both Charlemagne and Saint Ulrich appear in the stained-glass windows of 1512 that Maximilian donated to the minster in Freiburg,³ and Kulmbach's design reflects a similar interest in featuring the saints counted among the Habsburg relations. (These appeared as part of

Jakob Mennel's [d. 1525–26] manuscript "Fürsterliche Chronik, genant Kaiser Maximilians Geburtsspiegel" [Princely chronicle, called the mirror of Emperor Maximilian's birth], which he began in 1505 and gave to the emperor in 1518.)⁴

As noted above, the upper right quarter of Kulmbach's design for the Emperor's Window is also cut in four. It represents two unidentified bishops, perhaps Saint Hubert (d. 727) and Saint Gebhard (d. 995), an angel with the arms of Bohemia, and a noblewoman with the coat of arms of Styria.⁵ The lower left quarter of Kulmbach's drawing depicts a man in Near Eastern dress with the coat of arms of Granada, Saint Elizabeth of Hungary (1207–1231), a soldier with the arms of Bosnia, and a lansquenet with the arms of Alsace. The lower right quarter of Kulmbach's design for the Emperor's Window portrays Saint Walburga (710–779), a man in Near Eastern dress with the arms of Carinthia, a soldier with the arms of Burgundy, and a lansquenet with the arms of Carniola. Hartmut Scholz noted that because the four principal patron saints of the imperial family (George, Andrew, James the Greater, and Leopold) and six of the sixteen coats of arms of the Habsburg monarchy are missing in Kulmbach's drawing, it must have included three more rows with figures and an architectural border.⁶ These missing figures and arms are included in the finished window.

The program of the window departs significantly from Kulmbach's design. It depicts Saints Andrew; Leopold; James the Greater; and George; Emperor Maximilian I and his first wife, Mary, duchess of Burgundy; their son Philip (1478–1506) and his wife, Johanna (1479–1555), daughter of Ferdinand of Aragon and Isabella of Castile, surrounded by the arms of the Habsburg monarchy. The inscription below gives the date 1514 and celebrates Maximilian as Holy Roman Emperor, archduke of Austria, and sovereign of many lands. The shield bearers depicted by Kulmbach are eliminated. The sculptural figures stand within a spacious Renaissance architectural framework, replacing the mosaic-like character of Gothic windows with spaciousness and a viewpoint from below that are characteristic of the Renaissance. It is presumed that Dürer must have intervened either to provide a new design or to guide Kulmbach to a more modern concept for the window, a concept Kulmbach would later adopt in his pictorially unified design for the Margrave's Window in Saint Sebald (cat. no. 50). Neither the newer design for the Emperor's Window nor cartoons for it have survived. Hartmut Scholz

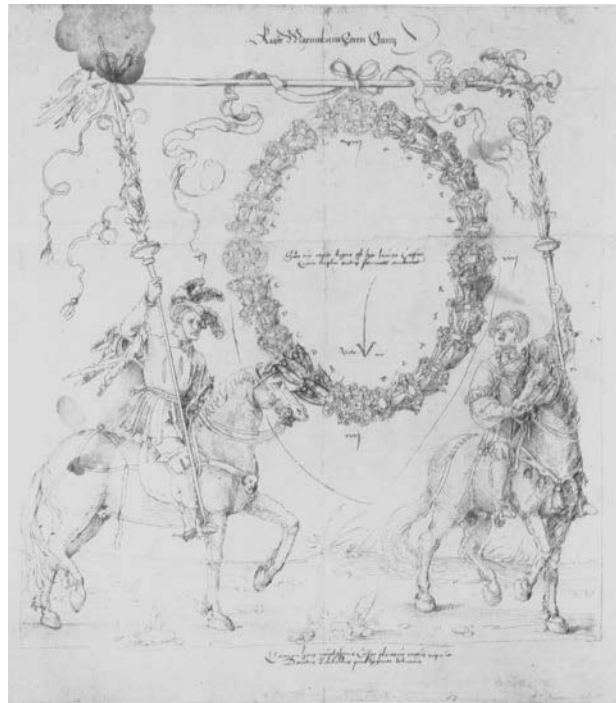


FIGURE 43. Hans von Kulmbach. *The Emperor's Wreath of Honor* ("Laurea"), 1518. Pen and brown ink and traces of black chalk on two sheets of paper, 47.6 × 50.6 cm. Staatliche Museen zu Berlin-Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Kupferstichkabinett (inv. no. kdz 375). Photo: Jörg P. Anders.

was not sure whether to credit Kulmbach or the glass painter with the cartoons for the window. But Scholz's comparison of the head of Saint George in the window (fig. 42) with the standard-bearers in Kulmbach's design for *The Emperor's Wreath of Honor* of 1518 (fig. 43) from the large woodcut *The Triumphal Procession of Maximilian I* is compelling evidence that Kulmbach made at least some of the cartoons.⁷ Gottfried Frenzel believed the window was executed by Hans Hirsvogel the Younger.⁸

1. On the documents related to the commission, see Rupprich 1956–69, 1: 248–49; Frenzel 1961: notes 6 on 34 and 30 on 58; Nuremberg 1961: no. 187; and Scholz 1991: note 308 on 151.
2. Knappe 1973: 66.
3. See Scholz 1998: 397, fig. 5 on 390, fig. 6 on 391.
4. Freiburg 1998: 388, note 14 on 412, no. 11.5 on 477. On Maximilian's enhancement of his own reputation by means of these special patron saints, see Hanna Dornik-Eger (Vienna 1971: no. 30). On the Freiburg Windows, see Hartmut Scholz's essay in this volume, pp. 22–23.
5. Hartmut Scholz (1998: 397) proposed that the bishops might represent Saint Hubert and Saint Gebhard, because both are included in the stained glass given by Maximilian in the minster in Freiburg. The sections of Kulmbach's drawing depicting the angel with the arms of Bohemia and the noblewoman with the arms of Styria were in the collection of Frans Koenigs (Lugt 1956: 1023a) and are today in the Pushkin Museum, Moscow. The remainder of Kulmbach's extant drawing, comprising fourteen figures, is in the Kupferstichkabinett in Berlin.
6. Scholz 1998: 397.
7. On the drawing, see the biography of Kulmbach, above. For Scholz's comparison, see Scholz 1991: 153, figs. 210–11 on 158–59.
8. Frenzel 1960: 204. On the window, see Hartmut Scholz (1998: 396–98, notes 49–53 on 415–16; 1991: 19, 21, note 80 on 22, note 84 on 23–24, note 198 on 79, note 290 on 139, 151–54, 163, 280, 290, 322–23, 337).



50

Hans von Kulmbach

Design for the Margrave Friedrich of Brandenburg's Window in Saint Sebald's Church in Nuremberg

1514

Pen and brown ink on two sheets of cream laid paper

CONDITION

The ink has eaten through the sheet at the lower right, suggesting that iron gall ink was used.

WATERMARK

None visible (drawing laid down)

Upper half inscribed in pen and brown ink from the upper left to the lower right: *brandenburg*, *F margraff*, and *Sophia geborne Kunigin v polen*; lower half inscribed in pen and brown ink from the upper left to the lower right: *Stettinn*, *C margraff*, *J margraff*, *purgsch*, *pumernn*, *A margraff*, *H margraff*, *Zollner Rude*, *Cassubenn*, *F margraff*, *JA margraff*, *zolernn* (in the shield) and *rudinn* (crossed out), *wendenn*, *W margraff*, *G margraff*, *blut schiltt*, and *MARGRAF • FIDERICK • ZV • PRANEVVR 1514*.

Two sheets measuring 39 × 17.7 cm and 38.8 × 18 cm

Dresden, Kupferstich-Kabinett, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden

Inv. no. C 2255 and C 2256 (upper and lower halves)

PROVENANCE

Old inventory of the collection (Lugt 1921: 1647)

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Koelitz 1891: 74–75; Woermann 1896, II: 7, nos. 45–46; Friedländer 1897: 73; Hofmann 1905: fig. after 68, 75–76; Oidtmann 1907: 42; Bock 1909: 403; Schinnerer 1909–10: 329–30; Bermann 1923: nos. 31–32 on xxv; Röttinger 1927: 12; Buchner in Thieme and Becker 1907–50, XX: 94; Winkler 1929: 33, 41; Stadler 1936: no. 103, pl. 46; Winkler 1936: 191; Winkler 1942: nos. 75–76; Sitzmann 1949: unpaginated; Winkler 1959: 75, pl. 53; Knappe 1960: 186; Frenzel 1961: 58; Knappe 1961c: 253; Nuremberg 1961: 117–18, no. 217; Landolt 1962: 45; Oettinger and Knappe 1963: note 432 on 116; Dresden 1963: no. 157, pl. 47 (upper half); Holl 1972: 39, 41, fig. 22 on 40; Knappe 1973: 79; Butts 1985: 103, 124–25; Scholz 1991: note 309 on 151, 153–54, fig. 206 on 156, 184, 207; Strieder 1993a: 736; Scholz 1995: 33–35, fig. 7, notes 25–47 on 42.

Dated 1514, this design for stained glass, in two parts, is for the window in the eastern choir of Saint Sebald in Nuremberg donated by Friedrich the Elder, margrave of Brandenburg-Ansbach (1460–1536, r. 1486–1515), and dated 1515 (fig. 15, p. 31). The window, just to the right of the Emperor's Window, replaced the one donated by the margrave's family, specifically by the burgrave of Nuremberg, at the time the choir was completed, c. 1379, and now damaged.¹ The Hirsvogel workshop had already begun work on the window on January 8, 1515.² Like the Emperor's Window, the Margrave's Window celebrates the ruler and his heirs. This is reflected in Kulmbach's design. The upper half depicts the Mater Dolorosa (cat. no. 114). The Virgin Mary with a sword piercing her breast is a literal rendering of the prophecy of Simeon (Luke 2:34–35): "This child is destined to be a sign which men reject, and you too shall be pierced to the heart." To the Virgin's right are saints Simon the Zealot and Jude with the instruments of their martyrdom, a saw and a club. (The Virgin in Glory and Saint John the Baptist replace these three figures in the window.) Below the figures of the Mater Dolorosa, Simon the Zealot, and Jude are the patrons, the Margrave Friedrich and his wife, Sophia (1464–1512), daughter of the Polish king, with the coats of arms of the margravate of Brandenburg and the kingdom of Poland. The lower part of the drawing in Dresden depicts the couple's eight sons, all as adults, although the youngest was not yet a teenager. From the top left to the bottom right they are: Casimir (1481–1527; margrave from 1515 to 1527), Johann (1493–1525), Albrecht (1490–1568), Georg (1483–1543; margrave from 1527 to 1543),³ Friedrich (1497–1536), Johann Albrecht (1499–1550), Wilhelm (1498–1563), and Gumbert (1503–1528). The accompanying coats of arms are of the dukedoms of Stettin, Pomerania, Casubia, and The Wends, the county of Zollern, the principality of Rügen, and the burgraviate of Nuremberg (*purgsch*). The remaining coat of arms is described as a *blut schiltt*.⁴ Kulmbach depicted a modern, Italian form of shield in the drawing in Dresden. In the window, it is replaced by the more traditional form.

Friedrich Hofmann's extensive analysis of the programs of the window and the design provides a reason for the presence of Jude, patron saint of lost causes, in Kulmbach's drawing: Friedrich had recovered from a grave illness in 1512.⁵ The illness claimed the lives of Sophia and Friedrich's mother. In the same year that the Margrave's Window was completed, on Ash Wednesday 1515,

Friedrich the Elder was imprisoned in the Plassenburg by his son Casimir, who declared him of unsound mind and unfit to rule. Casimir was aided by his brother Johann. In spite of continued pressure from his brothers Georg and Albrecht, Casimir kept his father prisoner for twelve years. Friedrich was freed in 1527, when Georg assumed power after the death of Casimir. (Johann had died in 1525.) Karl Sitzmann proposed that Casimir probably stipulated that, contrary to what his age demanded, Johann be given a place of prominence second only to Casimir in both Kulmbach's design and the finished window.⁶ This implies that the program of the window was determined at least in part by Casimir, whose portrait Kulmbach had painted in 1511.⁷

Kulmbach incorporated in his design for the Margrave's Window the lessons he presumably learned from Dürer while designing the Emperor's Window (cat. no. 49). As in the Emperor's Window, in Kulmbach's design for the Margrave's Window, the mosaic-like surface of earlier windows gives way to figures standing within a spacious Renaissance architectural framework. The figures, Ursula Knappe remarked, seem to float before the open sky.⁸ According to Werner Schade, the arch that Kulmbach began to draw above the figure of Wilhelm shows just how new this open composition was to him.⁹ In Kulmbach's design, huge columns support a barrel vault. (In the window, this is replaced by a pediment.) Above the barrel vault, trumpet-blowing putti flank an eternal flame, symbol of religious fervor within a Christian context and of life within a classical context. The subdued coloring of the window adds to the sense of spaciousness.

No cartoons for the Margrave's Window have survived, and the extent of Kulmbach's role in their preparation is not known. Gottfried Frenzel believed that Kulmbach made detailed cartoons for the window.¹⁰ This supposition is supported perhaps by the likeness achieved in the window in the figure of Casimir, whose portrait Kulmbach had painted four years earlier. Hartmut Scholz asserted that while donor portraits may have presupposed full-scale drawings by Kulmbach, particularly for the likenesses of the margrave and his sons, Georg and Albrecht, the summary treatment of forms suggests the possible use instead of smaller-scale, more summarily executed drawings by Kulmbach.¹¹ While Frenzel thought Veit Hirsvogel the Elder and Veit Hirsvogel the Younger should be credited with the Margrave's Window, Scholz favored Hans Hirsvogel. Scholz argued that the window called to mind the painterly execution of four small panels in the parish house of Saint Sebald depicting

angels with coats of arms and bearing the monogram of Hans Hirsvogel and the date 1514.¹²

1. The earlier window was presumably commissioned by Friedrich v, burgrave of Nuremberg (d. 1398). On the stained glass commissioned by Friedrich, his predecessors and successors, see the chapter "Die Glasgemälde des Hauses Hohenzollern" in Schmitz 1913, I: 233–53. The Hohenzollern burgraves of Nuremberg were invested with the margravate of Brandenburg in 1417 (see New York and Nuremberg 1986: 12–13).

2. This is apparent from a letter written that day by the City Council to Cosmos Vorchtel in Vienna. See Frenzel 1961: note 6 on 34, and Scholz 1991: note 314 on 153.

3. Friedrich Hofmann (1905: 76), who identified the figures, noted that the inscription *H margraff* must be a mistake.

4. The term has yet to be explained.

5. Hofmann 1905: esp. 68.

6. See Sitzmann 1949 on the fate of Friedrich from 1515.

7. Nuremberg 1961: no. 159, and Strieder 1993b: 134, fig. 156 (color), no. 130. Casimir's brother, Georg the Pious of Brandenburg-Ansbach, was depicted in a small painted-glass roundel made in Nuremberg in 1533. Hermann Schmitz (Schmitz 1913, II: no. 280; Schmitz 1923: fig. 32, formerly Berlin, Kunstgewerbemuseum; destroyed during World War II) tentatively assigned the roundel to Sebald Beham.

8. Knappe 1973: 79.

9. Dresden 1963: no. 157.

10. Nuremberg 1961: 118.

11. Scholz 1991: 155, 161–62, figs. 212–14 on 160, figs. 218–21 on 162–63. Particularly compelling is Scholz comparison of the head of Friedrich the Younger in the window with Kulmbach's drawing of a *Prince Elector*, c. 1513 (Erlangen, Graphische Sammlung der Universität; 28.2 × 17.5 cm).

12. See Frenzel in Nuremberg 1961: 118, and Scholz 1991: 323.

51

After Hans von Kulmbach, Veit
Hirsvogel the Younger

**Angel with the Marshaled
Coat of Arms of the Esler
Family of Nuremberg
and the Provostship of
Saint Sebald**

1517

Clear glass of a slightly greenish tone, yellow
stain, sanguine, and black and brown vitreous
paint

COAT OF ARMS

Marshaled coat of arms of the Esler family of
Nuremberg and the provostship of Saint Sebald

20.2 × 15.1 cm, with lead border

Nuremberg, Evangelisch-Lutherische
Kirchengemeinde Nürnberg—St. Sebald

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Oidtmann 1907: 46; Schmitz
1913, I: 159; Schulz 1908–33: 32, 34, fig. 42 on
50; Frenzel 1960: 196, 198–204, fig. 2 on 197,
notes 8–11 on 210; Knappe 1973: 76; Butts
1985: 127, fig. 116; Scholz 1991: 15, 176, fig.
242 on 177, 203, 241, 318; Paris 1991–92: 97.



51

52

After Hans von Kulmbach, Veit
Hirsvogel the Younger

**Two Angels Holding
Shields with the Imperial
Arms and the Arms of the
Archduchy of Austria and
County of Tyrol**

1517

Clear glass of a slightly greenish tone, yellow
stain, and black and brown vitreous paint

Monogrammed and dated: *VH 1517* in ligature
below, center

COAT OF ARMS

Double-headed imperial eagle, the coat of arms
of the archduchy of Austria and the coat of arms
of the county of Tyrol

20.2 × 15.3 cm, with lead border

Nuremberg, Evangelisch-Lutherische
Kirchengemeinde Nürnberg—St. Sebald

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Oidtmann 1907: 46; Schulz
1908–33: 32, 34, fig. 41 on 50; Frenzel 1960:
196, 198–204, notes 8–11 on 210; Knappe
1973: 76; Scholz 1991: 15, 176, 203, 241, 318,
fig. 418b on 318 (detail); Paris 1991–92: 97.



52



53

After Hans von Kulmbach, Veit Hirsvogel the Younger

Angel with the Marshaled Coat of Arms of the Pfinzing and Grundherr Families

1517

Clear glass of a slightly greenish tone, yellow stain, sanguine, and black and brown vitreous paint

Marshaled coat of arms of the Pfinzing and Grundherr families

20 × 15.2 cm, with lead border

Nuremberg, Evangelisch-Lutherische Kirchengemeinde Nürnberg—St. Sebald

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Oidtmann 1907: 46; Schmitz 1913, 1: 159, fig. 266; Schulz 1908–33: 32, 34, fig. 45 on 51; Frenzel 1960: 196, 198–204, notes 8–11 on 210; Knappe 1973: 76; Scholz 1991: 15, 176, 203, 241, 318; Paris 1991–92: 97.

53



54

Hans von Kulmbach

Angel Holding the Marshaled Coat of Arms of the Esler Family of Nuremberg and the Provostship of Saint Sebald's Church in Nuremberg

1517

Pen and brown ink, underdrawing and borders in black chalk, on cream laid paper

WATERMARK

Bull's head (Briquet [1907] 1966: 15182)

Marshaled coat of arms of the Esler family of Nuremberg and the provostship of Saint Sebald

18.7 × 13.6 cm

Paris, École nationale supérieure des Beaux-Arts

Inv. no. M 2160

PROVENANCE

Nicholas Lanier (Lugt 1921: 2886); Jean Masson (Lugt 1956: 1494a); given 1925

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Winzinger 1970: 64, fig. 8 on 65; Butts 1985: 127, fig. 115; Paris and Hamburg 1985–86: no. 9; Paris 1991–92: no. 93; Scholz 1991: note 72 on 15, note 342 on 176, fig. 241 on 177, 318.

54

These three panels, one of which is dated 1517, are among several that Kulmbach designed between 1513 and 1517 for the parish house of Saint Sebald in Nuremberg. Today all of the panels are in the eastern choir of the parish house, its main decoration, which was presumably built at the same time as the eastern choir of Saint Sebald's Church between 1361 and 1379 (fig. 44). The *Chörlein* (a large bay window or oriel) opened onto a private chapel.¹ Today its main interior decoration consists of three stained-glass panels, each 76 by 27 cm, depicting *Saint Luke Painting the Virgin in Glory and the Kneeling Donor*, *Melchior Pfinzing* (fig. 45).² Dated 1513, these panels were made for the *Chörlein* in connection with improvements to the parish house undertaken by Pfinzing (1481–1535), provost of Saint Sebald from 1512 to 1521 and secretary to Maximilian (cat. no. 27). Pfinzing personally raised 1,100 guilders for the expansion and renovation of the parish house. The return of the money was one of his conditions met by the City Council of Nuremberg when he resigned as provost in 1521.³ A group of four grisaille panels with angels holding the arms of Pfinzing, the empire, the Bishop of Bamberg, Georg III Schenk zu Limpurg (1505–1522), and the city of Nuremberg bear the monogram of Hans Hirsvogel. Dated 1514, this group of panels was presumably made for the so-called *Pfinzingchörlein* (little Pfinzing choir), which was built on the north side of the parish house in that year.⁴ The original location of the three panels made after Kulmbach's designs in 1517 is not known. When Fritz Traugott Schulz published them, the panels were in a wooden *Chörlein* on the third floor (*zweiter Stock*).⁵ The original location of a panel depicting *Saint Augustine in Conversation with Saint Monica*, dated 1519 (cat. nos. 59–60), is also unknown.

Of the three panels made by Veit Hirsvogel the Younger after Kulmbach's drawings in 1517, one depicts an angel holding a shield with the coat of arms of the Esler family (Esler is German for donkey) and the provostship of Saint Sebald. Along with Melchior Pfinzing, the Esler family of Nuremberg apparently played a role in the restoration and expansion of the parish house. According to Moritz Maximilian Mayer, writing in 1831, the coats of arms of the Pfinzing and Esler families appeared with an inscription then visible above a room on the third floor and regarding repairs undertaken in 1515.⁶ Another panel represents an angel holding a shield with the marshaled arms of the Pfinzing and Grundherr families, referring to Melchior Pfinzing's parents. The master builder Seitz Pfinzing von Henfenfeld married



FIGURE 44. Exterior view of the *Ostchörlein* of the parish house of Saint Sebald in Nuremberg.
Photo: Foto Marburg/Art Resource.

Barbara Grundherr in 1477. Melchior Pfinzing's father died in 1514, his mother died in 1517.⁷ These two panels flank a third with two little angels standing before a tent and holding three shields with the imperial arms and the arms of the archduchy of Austria and the county of Tyrol.

Kulmbach's to-scale design for *Angel Holding the Marshaled Coat of Arms of the Esler Family of Nuremberg and the Provostship of Saint Sebald's Church in Nuremberg* is in the *École nationale supérieure des Beaux-Arts* in Paris. Kulmbach's hand is apparent in the slightly shaky contours and hatching strokes, the lightness with which the pen is drawn across the paper, the somewhat amorphous architectural elements, and the round-faced, curly-haired angel. The columns, placed at a forty-five-degree angle to the picture plane and the wavy hatching lines on the back walls, fail to lend structural stability to the composition. Yet the drawing derives a great deal of charm from details like the donkeys on the shield and the delicately articulated feathers of the angel's wings and surrounding the angel's collar. In his earliest designs for painted glass, Kulmbach showed his interest in lively decorative elements in the borders and on the archi-

tectural elements (cat. no. 30). Here the bases of the columns to either side of the angel are decorated with strange plant-animal hybrids, perhaps evocative of dolphins, symbols of the Resurrection and also of mental agility. Based on Kulmbach's lost drawing, *Two Angels Holding Shields with the Imperial Arms and the Arms of the Archduchy of Austria and County of Tyrol* included above the arch two eagles that act as a pictorial counterpoint to the double-headed eagle in the imperial coat of arms. The panel depicts two satyrs supporting the columns to either side of the angels. The satyr on the right is particularly close to one seated atop a column in Dürer's marginal drawings from c. 1515 for *The Prayer Book of Maximilian I*.⁸ Kulmbach must have closely followed Dürer's drawings for projects for the emperor. In 1518, Kulmbach contributed a drawing for the *Emperor's Wreath of Honor* (fig. 43) for the huge *Triumphal Procession of Maximilian I* in woodcut.⁹

The three panels are thought to be by Veit Hirsvogel the Younger rather than his father, because a younger artist would have adapted most readily to the style of a contemporary. The group is among just four known works that are possibly monogrammed by Veit Hirsvogel the



FIGURE 45. After a design by Hans von Kulmbach; workshop of Veit Hirsvogel the Elder. *The Virgin in Glory, Painted by Saint Luke and Adored by the Kneeling Donor, Melchior Pfinzing*, 1513. Pot-metal, flashed, and clear glass, yellow stain, and brown vitreous paint, each of three panels 76 × 27 cm. Nuremberg, Saint Sebald, parish house (Ostchörlein 1, 2a-c); Evangelisch-Lutherische Kirchengemeinde Nürnberg—St. Sebald.

Photo: Corpus Vitrearum Deutschland, Arbeitsstelle der Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur Mainz, Freiburg i. Br.

Younger and thus provides important evidence about his style.¹⁰ A comparison of the drawing and panel with *Angel Holding the Marshaled Coat of Arms of the Esler Family of Nuremberg and the Provostship of Saint Sebald's Church in Nuremberg* is telling. Hirsvogel closely followed the contours and hatching and cross-hatching lines laid down by Kulmbach. He emulated Kulmbach's softly falling drapery and chubby figure and grasped how Kulmbach used winding contours to anchor forms in space. This is particularly apparent in details like the ribbon wound around the vegetation in the architectural framework. Minor adjustments, like those made to the columns, lend weight and structure to the composition.

Hirsvogel also skillfully translated Kulmbach's linear design into the language peculiar to painted glass. The panels are executed in gray-brown matt and black trace lines applied to the recto and yellow stain and sanguine applied to the verso. The yellow stain, applied with a brush, is more intense at the right, reflecting the fact that the light falls from the left of the composition, resulting in darker shading of forms at the right

of the panel. The sanguine is also carefully varied, exceptionally thin and delicate in churches held by the figures of Saint Sebald in the shield.¹¹ In addition to building up forms in an additive manner reminiscent of Kulmbach's design, Hirsvogel worked in a subtractive manner, finding equivalents for effects created by Kulmbach in techniques specific to painting on glass. He masterfully created sheen on the columns, for instance, by scratching into the matt to reveal the glass beneath. While some of the contours that Kulmbach drew in pen and ink are translated as black trace lines, others are scratched into the gray-brown matt. This is particularly successful in *Angel with the Marshaled Coat of Arms of the Esler Family of Nuremberg and the Provostship of Saint Sebald* in the shield and feathers and in the trees and grass seen through the window. A large expanse of glass was left completely empty to represent sky. Made with close inspection in mind, Hirsvogel's little panels are an outstanding example of the glass painter's art in Renaissance Nuremberg.

1. On the *Chörlein*, see New York and Nuremberg 1986: 31. The original *Chörlein*, pictured in fig. 44, is today in the Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg. Kulmbach's stained-glass panels are installed in the copy.
2. Nuremberg 1961: no. 185.
3. See Alfred Eckert's biography of Pfinzing in Imhoff 1984: 96–97.
4. See Schulz 1908–33: 30, 32, figs. 37–40 on 48–49, and Scholz 1991: fig. 194 on 145.
5. See Schulz 1908–33: 32.
6. Mayer 1831, as cited by Schulz 1908–33: 34.
7. On Pfinzing's parents, see Schulz 1908–33: 34. Seitz Pfinzing is referred to as Siegfried in the inscription on the Pfinzing Window in Saint Sebald (fig. 16, p. 32). It is probably not coincidental that Pfinzing donated stained-glass panels with his parents' coat of arms to the Parish House of Saint Sebald in the years his parents died.
8. Strauss 1974, III: no. 1515/14. The proportions of the little angels reflect the proportions of Dürer's angels in the same drawing.
9. See the biography of Kulmbach, above.
10. Veit Hirsvogel the Younger also monogrammed a drawing of *Saint Gregory* after Kulmbach (cat. no. 48), and arguably the stained-glass windows of Saint Roch in Nuremberg, and a drawing depicting the *Head of a Young Woman (Mary)* in Erlangen, *Graphische Sammlung der Universität*, the last attributed by Hartmut Scholz. See Scholz 1991: 317–20, figs. 418a and 420 on 318–19.
11. The authors would like to thank Peter van Treeck for his precise description of the painting technique. He notes that the darkest areas of brown probably reflect a brown layer added later, perhaps in the nineteenth century.

55

Hans von Kulmbach

Design for a Quatrefoil with Five Hunting and Fishing Scenes

c. 1518

Pen and brown ink, red chalk, black chalk, outline of quatrefoil in pen and brown ink, on cream laid paper, mounted on a second sheet

CONDITION

Substantial loss at upper right

WATERMARK

None visible (drawing laid down)

Inscribed in brown ink in a sixteenth-century hand at upper left: *ein hirschen geys* (a doe) and at center: *ein fogl h[ert]* (*Herde*, a flock of birds); upper left, in black and red chalk, a shield; lower left and right, outside the quatrefoil, in red chalk, the date 15... and two tiny circles in black chalk below;¹ lower left of sheet on which the drawing is laid down, in graphite: *Lucas Kranach*; lower center of sheet on which the drawing is laid down, in graphite: *L. Cranach*

DIAMETER

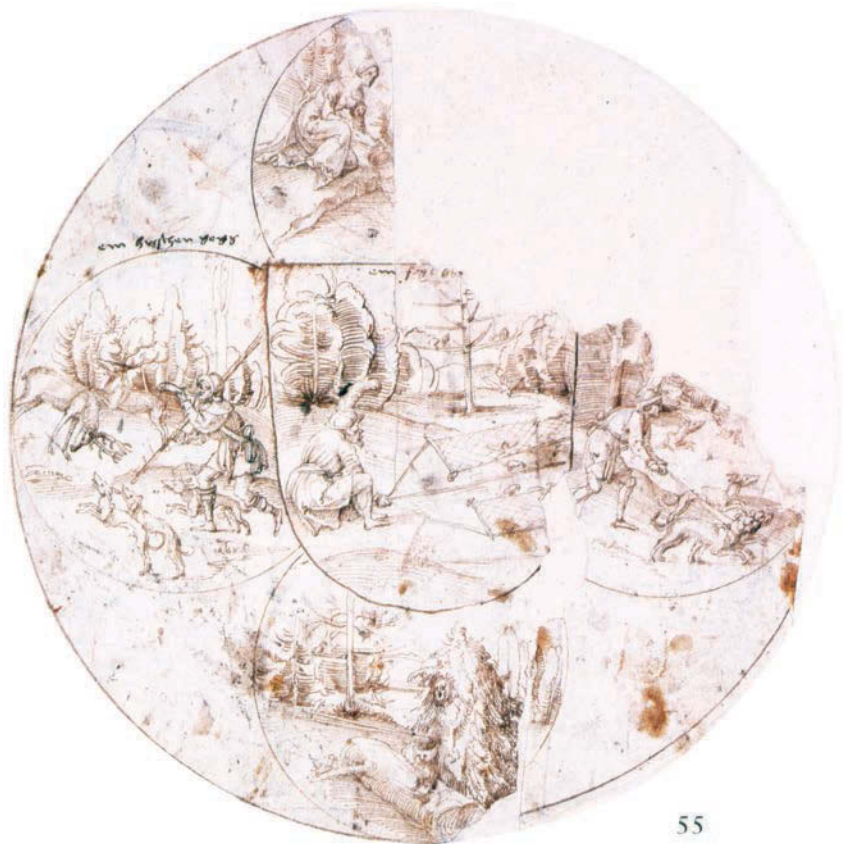
29.9 cm

Dresden, Kupferstich-Kabinett, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden

Inv. no. C 2168

PROVENANCE

Old inventory of the collection (Lugt 1921: 1647)



55

56

Hans von Kulmbach

Design for a Quatrefoil with a Bear Hunt and a Stag Hunt

c. 1518

Pen and brown ink, outline of a quatrefoil in black ink, on cream laid paper

WATERMARK

None visible (drawing laid down)

Inscribed in pen and brown ink in a sixteenth-century hand at center: *ein fogel hert* (a flock of birds); above: *fischen* (fishing); left: *stechn ein hirschen* (spearing a stag); right: *ein fogel paser*²

DIAMETER

30.5 cm

Dresden, Kupferstich-Kabinett, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden

Inv. no. C 2161

PROVENANCE

Old inventory of the collection (Lugt 1921: 1647)

BIBLIOGRAPHY: (cat. nos. 55–56): Schmitz 1913, I: 155, fig. 255a; Bermann 1923: nos. 14–15 on XXI–XXII; Röttinger 1927: 18; Buchner in Thieme and Becker 1907–50, XX: 94; Winkler 1929: 33, 38, 41; Stadler 1936: no. 6a–b; Winkler 1941: 243–44, fig. 7 on 247; Winkler 1942: nos. 97–98; Winkler 1959: 27, pl. 17b; Dresden 1963: no. 159; Oettinger and Knappe 1963: note 360 on 112; Holl 1972: 32, fig. 18 on 33; Dresden 1971–72: no. 431; Butts 1985: 128; Scholz 1991: note 237 on 108, note 388 on 202, 250.



56



57

57

After Hans von Kulmbach,
workshop of Veit Hirsvogel
the Elder

Quatrefoil with Hunting Scenes

c. 1518

Pot-metal, flashed, and clear glass, yellow stain,
and brown and black vitreous paint

CONDITION

The left lobe is an early replacement

DIAMETER

31.2 cm

Baltimore, The Walters Art Gallery, Museum
Purchase

Inv. no. WAG 46.75

PROVENANCE

H. G. Gutekunst, Stuttgart, 1877; Eugen Felix,
Leipzig, 1911; John Stillwell, New York;
purchased 1951 from A. S. Drey, Munich

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Eye and Börner 1880: 150,
no. 1657; Schmitz 1913, 1: 156, fig. 257b; Ber-
mann 1923: xxi; Röttinger 1927: 18; Winkler
1929: 38, 41; Stadler 1936: 104; Winkler 1941:
243, fig. 1; Winkler 1942: 88–89; Winkler 1959:
27; Verdier 1960: n.p.; Wentzel 1966: 360;
Becksmann 1968: note 35 on 359; Baltimore
1982: 9; Steinke 1985b: 1; Corpus Vitrearum
Checklist II 1987: 62.



58

58

After Hans von Kulmbach,
workshop of Veit Hirsvogel
the Elder

Quatrefoil with the Jungfrauenadler of Nuremberg and Four Hunting Scenes

c. 1518

Pot-metal, flashed, and clear glass of a slightly
warm tone, yellow stain, sanguine, and grayish
brown and black vitreous paint

CONDITION

The lower lobe repaired using a piece of
sixteenth-century glass; leading early twentieth
century; varnish applied to verso to thicken
abraded paint areas; the Roman numerals I to IV
(the latter written "IIII," and additional numbers)
are etched onto the verso of the lobes

COAT OF ARMS

Jungfrauenadler of Nuremberg

DIAMETER

With double lead border: 32.5 cm

Berlin, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin-Preussischer
Kulturbesitz, Kunstgewerbemuseum

Inv. no. 07,162

PROVENANCE

Acquired 1891

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Schmitz 1913, I: 154–56, II: no. 268; Bermann 1923: XXI; Schmitz 1923: 9, fig. 22; Röttinger 1927: 18; Winkler 1929: 38, 41; Stadler 1936: 104; Winkler 1941: 243; Winkler 1942: 88–89; Winkler 1959: 27; Wentzel 1966: 360; Becksmann 1968: note 35 on 359; Steinke 1985b: 1; Scholz 1991: note 121 on 34, 202.

The two drawings by Hans von Kulmbach in Dresden and the quatrefoils executed after them, in Berlin and Baltimore, depict hunting and fishing. The Nuremberg device of the *Jungfrauenadler* (Jungfrau is German for virgin; Adler is German for eagle) connects the quatrefoils with that city, but nothing more is known about who commissioned them and for what building. Hunting was a popular pastime of the Holy Roman Emperor Maximilian I and of the German nobility. Maximilian's love of the sport was commemorated in cabinet panels (cat. nos. 87–90). More modest in their attire than Maximilian and his companions, the hunters and fishermen in Kulmbach's designs are apparently common folk who hunt as a way of life rather than for sport and on foot rather than on horseback. In *Design for a Quatrefoil with a Bear Hunt and a Stag Hunt* and the related quatrefoil in Berlin, the upper lobe depicts a hunter spearing a bear. In the remaining three lobes, another hunter—with a horn, a spear, and a pack of hounds—pursues a stag. In *Design for a Quatrefoil with Five Hunting and Fishing Scenes* and the related panel in Baltimore, separate scenes are rendered in each lobe and at the center.

In the middle, a man catches birds in a net. Above, a woman and a man use nets to catch fish. To the left, a hunter and his pack of hounds pursue two stags. (In the quatrefoil, this lobe is a later replacement.) To the right, a hunter and hounds pursue unseen game. Below, an owl decoy is used to snare smaller birds. Bird catchers capitalized on the hostility of small predatory birds toward the larger predator, the owl. An owl decoy (or sometimes a live owl in a cage) was placed before a straw blind built on the ground or in trees. Branches smeared with a glutinous substance were extended from the straw blind to catch and hold the small birds as they displayed their aggression, at times attacking the owl.³

The inscriptions on Kulmbach's drawings, in a sixteenth-century hand, describe the subject matter and thus must have preceded the pictures. But it is not certain whether the handwriting is that of Kulmbach or the unidentified glass painter, presumably someone in the Hirsvogel workshop. Some of the inscriptions on *Design for a Quatrefoil with a Bear Hunt and a Stag Hunt* refer to subjects depicted on the pendant drawing. The unidentified glass painter faithfully translated Kulmbach's designs into the medium of stained glass. He followed Kulmbach's contours and hatching in rendering the hunters and animals, but he allowed himself greater freedom in the landscape backgrounds. The compositions are built up primarily by additive means, using grayish brown and black matts and black trace lines on the recto and yellow stain and sanguine on the verso.⁴ But subtractive means were also selectively employed. The glass painter used wood or a quill to scratch out details of the vegetation and occasionally a contour, as in the tree stump in the left lobe of the quatrefoil on Berlin. He also employed scratching extensively in the background of the coat of arms on the quatrefoil in Berlin. The most significant change made by the glass painter was the addition of framing devices to the lobes. He did so by isolating a rim of clear glass within painted contours in a manner reminiscent of the Master of the Housebook (cat. nos. 1–3). Kulmbach's figures, animals, and even the *Jungfrauenadler* overlap these frames, giving the illusion of entering the viewer's space. Thus the framing devices work effectively to throw Kulmbach's figures into relief.

These drawings and quatrefoils have long been incorrectly associated with a *Quatrefoil Roundel with Tournament Scenes* in Baltimore (The Walters Art Gallery), which is dated 1508 and loosely based on a design by the Master of the Housebook.⁵ As a result, Kulmbach's designs for quatrefoils with hunt-

ing and fishing scenes were dated c. 1508. They are in fact mature works by Kulmbach from c. 1518. The placement of figures in (or before) spacious landscapes filled with shimmering light calls to mind Kulmbach's late pen-and-ink drawings, including *Orpheus and Eurydice*, which is dated 1518 (Oxford, Ashmolean).⁶ The same use of hatching to create shimmering effects of light characterizes Kulmbach's design for *The Emperor's Wreath of Honor* of 1518, made for the huge *Triumphal Procession of Maximilian I* in woodcut (fig. 43; Berlin, Staatliche Museen-Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Kupferstichkabinett).⁷

59

Hans von Kulmbach

Saint Augustine in Conversation with Saint Monica

1519

Pen and brown ink, brush and brown and gray washes, underdrawing in leadpoint, on cream laid paper

WATERMARK
Triple mount with Gothic I

30.9 × 20 cm

Bremen, Kunsthalle Bremen, Kupferstichkabinett

Inv. no. 81/261

PROVENANCE
Collection BS (Lugt 414b); Gustav Schwarting, Delmenhorst, acquired 1981

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Hamburg, Stuttgart, and Bremen 1965–66: no. 61, fig. 31; Butts 1985: 129; Kreul and Röver-Kann 1998: 72–73.

1. Werner Schade read the date as 1515 (Dresden 1963: no. 159).
2. The word *paser* perhaps related to *Passiersieb*. Thus, the literal translation of the phrase could be bird (*Vogel*) strainer or sieve.
3. On the motif in the work of Augustin Hirsvogel, see Jane Peters (1976: 50).
4. The later addition of a dark varnish to the quatrefoils in Berlin exaggerates the dark backgrounds. See Schmitz 1913, I: 154.
5. On the quatrefoil in Baltimore, see New York and Nuremberg 1986: no. 264 and cat. no. 2, note 9. Friedrich Winkler (1942: cat. nos. 94–96) grouped Kulmbach's two designs for quatrefoils in Dresden not only with the *Quatrefoil Roundel with Tournament Scenes* in Baltimore but also with three other drawings. Only one of these, *Couple on Horseback, Turbaned and Bearded Man on Horseback, Piper and Drummer* (London, British Museum), is by Kulmbach and, in my opinion, dates from c. 1515. (See cat. no. 2, note 9. The work is dated c. 1508 in Butts 1985: 100–101, 103, 104–5.) *Seated Couple Playing Trictrac and Standing Woman Playing Checkers* (cat. no. 7) is by Dürer. *A Jousting Knight and a Horseman* (fig. 62; London, British Museum) is by an anonymous artist, possibly from Dürer's circle. (See cat. no. 2, note 8. In 1985 I still accepted this last work as being by Kulmbach [Butts 1985: 100–101, 103, 104–5].) Of the five drawings given to Kulmbach by Winkler, Franz Stadler (1936: 79–80, cat. nos. 6a–b and 7) rightly accepted only the two drawings with hunting and fishing scenes and *Couple on Horseback, Turbaned and Bearded Man on Horseback, Piper and Drummer* as works by Kulmbach's hand. But he did consider the quatrefoil with tournament scenes in Baltimore to be part of the same series, designed in Dürer's atelier, as Kulmbach's quatrefoils with hunting scenes, thus assuming a terminus ante quem of 1508 for Kulmbach's designs for quatrefoils in Dresden.
6. Winkler 1942: no. 41.
7. Winkler 1942: no. 92.





After Hans von Kulmbach,
workshop of Veit Hirsvogel the
Elder, probably Veit Hirsvogel
the Younger

Saint Augustine in Conversation with Saint Monica

1519

Pot-metal, flashed, and clear glass of a slightly grayish green tone, yellow stain, sanguine, and gray, grayish brown, and black vitreous paint

CONDITION

Two losses in the arch are mended with blue glass; extensive losses to the left side of the composition are replaced or mended: the upper part of column at left is a mend, and the figure of Saint Augustine is a nineteenth-century replacement subsequently mended with two pieces of sixteenth-century glass; the three fragments of floor at the lower border may be sixteenth-century replacements and are corroded in the crimson areas; modern leading; several leads as repairs and mends.

Dated 1519 above, center

34 × 23.5 cm with lead border

Nuremberg, Evangelisch-Lutherische
Kirchengemeinde Nürnberg—St. Sebald

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Schulz 1908–33: 29–30,
fig. 35 on 45; Butts 1985: 129; Kreul and Röver-
Kann 1998: 72–73.

In Kulmbach's drawing, Saint Augustine and Saint Monica are viewed through an arch supported on classical columns. The spandrels of the arch are decorated with satyrs blowing horns, undoubtedly a reference to the pagan, pre-Christian past. (The satyr at the right, although apparently a male, has full breasts.) Saint Augustine (354–430), one of the Western Fathers of the Church (cat. nos. 30–31 and 36–39), was the son of a pagan, Patricius, and a Christian, Monica (c. 330–387). Monica is dressed as a matron, wearing a wimple, and holds one of her attributes, a rosary. Her influence played a large part in her son's conversion to Christianity, and she witnessed his baptism in Milan in the year of her death, 387. Augustine is shown with a bishop's miter and crosier and with another one of his attributes, a child with a spoon. According to legend, Saint Augustine was walking on the beach pondering the mystery of the Trinity when he encountered a child who was trying to scoop the sea into a small hole. When Augustine told the child that his efforts would be futile, the child replied that it was equally impossible to fathom the mystery of the Trinity. Kulmbach also depicted Saint Augustine and the child in a design for stained glass from 1513 (cat. no. 47).

Kulmbach's drawing is a design for a stained-glass panel dated 1519 in the eastern choir of the parish house of Saint Sebald in Nuremberg. The drawing was presumably made in the same year. The tall figures of Saint Augustine and Saint Monica and the heavy drapery are reminiscent of wooden panels Kulmbach painted for two tabernacle altarpieces in 1519 and 1520. The first was for the Deichsler family and was formerly in Saint Sebald.¹ The second was for Steffan Gabler (d. 1541) and is in the Stadtpfarrkirche Saint Johannes and Saint Martinus in Schwabach, near Nuremberg.² The delicate combination of pen and ink with brush and wash is typical of Kulmbach's numerous designs for stained glass. Also typical of Kulmbach's drawings is the adept use of wash to suggest texture, as in the sheen of the column behind Monica. In general, Kulmbach is not entirely successful in rendering a stable architectural framework. But here he seems to deliberately depict the columns as not correctly centered on the bases. Perhaps this alludes to Christianity's imminent toppling of paganism, the latter, as noted above, represented by the trumpeting satyrs above the columns.

The panel executed after Kulmbach's design has survived but has suffered extensive damage in the left half of the composition. The upper half of the column at the left, the figure of Saint

Augustine, and probably the floor tiles are later replacements. (The upper part of the crosier is part of the original design.) The figure of Augustine, presumably painted on clear glass in a manner similar to the figure of Monica, was replaced in the nineteenth century. The nineteenth-century figure was subsequently mended with two pieces of sixteenth-century glass.³ When the repairs were made to *Saint Augustine in Conversation with Saint Monica* in the nineteenth century, no attempt was made to replace the lost figure of the child at Augustine's feet.

The parts of the stained-glass panel that are intact show how faithfully and skillfully the glass painter in the Hirsvogel workshop translated Kulmbach's design into the medium of stained glass. The palette is particularly striking. The figure of Monica—executed entirely in clear glass with yellow stain, gray matt, and black contour and hatching lines—is set against the brown, purple-red, and green of the architecture. The glass painter adeptly removed paint in the columns to create the effect of sheen. He scratched details and highlights into the matt using a stylus or other sharp tool.⁴ The figure of Monica is rendered with heavy contours and widely spaced hatching and cross-hatching strokes that follow the pattern established by Kulmbach. The simple, evenly spaced contours recalls the *Saint Gregory* (cat. no. 48), which Veit Hirsvogel the Younger drew six years earlier. This suggests that he may have been the glass painter responsible for this stained-glass panel in the parish house of Saint Sebald. The circumstances of the commission and the original location of the panel are not known.

1. On the tabernacle for the Deichsler family, see Butts 1984.
2. On the tabernacle in Schwabach, see Winkler 1959: 87, 91–92, pls. 66–67 and Stadler 1936: no. 142.
3. The repairs to the nineteenth century figure of Saint Augustine were not yet made when the panel was illustrated by Fritz Traugott Schulz (1908–33: fig. 35).
4. A brown wash is applied on the verso in the upper part of the architecture behind Monica.

61

Hans von Kulmbach

Design for the Stained-Glass Window for Jakob Welser and Ehrentraud Thumer in the Church of Our Lady in Nuremberg

c. 1522

Pen and brown ink, red chalk, on cream laid paper (a 1.5-cm strip of paper added below is part of the original)

WATERMARK

None visible (drawing laid down)

38.8 × 14.7 cm

Dresden, Kupferstich-Kabinett, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden

Inv. no. C 2254

PROVENANCE

Old inventory of the collection (Lugt 1921: 1647)

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Koelitz 1891: 74–75; Schinnerer 1909–10: fig. on 334, 335; Bermann 1923: no. 33 on xxv; Röttinger 1927: 12; Buchner in Thieme and Becker 1907–50, xx: 94; Winkler 1929: 33, 41; Stadler 1936: no. 122, pl. 59; Winkler 1937: ill. on 10; Winkler 1942: no. 81; Winkler 1959: 76, pl. 56b; Frenzel 1961: 58; Nuremberg 1961: 118, no. 218; Oettinger and Knappe 1963: note 396 on 113; Dresden 1971–72: no. 435; Holl 1972: fig. 25 on 46, 47; Knappe 1973: 80; Berlin 1983: no. B56; Butts 1985: 103, 128–29; New York and Nuremberg 1986: 92, fig. 103; Scholz 1991: note 309 on 151, fig. 208 on 156, note 345 on 176, 181, 184; Scholz 1995: 39–40, fig. 22, note 73 on 43.



61

The Welsers were one of the richest and most influential families in Augsburg. They owed their great wealth to trading privileges throughout the Holy Roman Empire and to their key role in the production of copper, silver, and tin in Europe. Jakob Welser (1468–1541) took over the Nuremberg branch of the family firm in 1493. Four decades later, in 1534, he was co-owner of one of fourteen ships in the fleet of the Spanish conquistador Pedro de Mendoza. Jakob's marriage to Ehrentraud Thumer von Thumberg (d. 1529) allied him with a very wealthy family in Nuremberg.¹

Around 1522, Jakob Welser and Ehrentraud Thumer commissioned a stained-glass window in the Church of Our Lady of Nuremberg to replace a damaged one that had been donated by the Thumer family around 1360. The newer window exists in fragmentary form in the Church of Our Lady.² According to Johannes Schinnerer, it was dated 1522 on the coat of arms of the Welser family.³ The window was designed by Hans von Kulmbach and executed in the Hirsvogel workshop, probably by Veit Hirsvogel the Younger. The head of a pope in one of the fragments (fig. 46) closely resembles the head of Saint Gregory in a drawing of 1513 by Veit Hirsvogel the Younger (cat. no. 48). Around 1522, Jakob Welser and Ehrentraud Thumer also donated a new altarpiece for the high altar of the Church of Our Lady.⁴

Design for the Stained-Glass Window for Jakob Welser and Ehrentraud Thumer in the Church of Our Lady in Nuremberg is a rare example of a design for a monumental stained-glass window in the form of a clean copy rather than a hasty first sketch. Apparently little was changed when the window was executed in the Hirsvogel workshop. It must have been one of the masterpieces of Renaissance stained glass in Nuremberg. Kulmbach's drawing represents the Virgin Mary sheltering tiny supplicants under her cloak, which is held by two angels. The male supplicants to the left include secular and religious leaders. The female supplicants, including one wearing a crown, are at the right of the drawing. Seen from below, Mary and those she protects beneath her cloak occupy a space that is constructed according to one-point perspective. The sight lines converge, more or less, around Mary's right knee. (Unlike Dürer, Kulmbach seems to have preferred to work without the use of a straightedge, resulting in less architectonic rigor in his architectural settings.) In a separate space below, Jakob Welser and Ehrentraud Thumer kneel to the left and right of a shield, which is left blank for the glass painter to insert a



FIGURE 46. After Hans von Kulmbach; workshop of Veit Hirsvogel the Elder. Detail of male figures, fragment of the Welser-Thumer Window, probably 1522. Pot-metal, flashed, and clear glass, yellow stain, and vitreous paint. Nuremberg, Church of Our Lady.

Photo: Corpus Vitrearum Deutschland, Arbeitsstelle der Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur Mainz, Freiburg i. Br.

coat of arms. Even smaller in scale than the supplicants in the space above, the couple is presented to the Virgin by their patron saints, the apostles James the Greater and James the Less. (In the window, the apostle Matthew replaces James the Less.) Previous authors rightly noted that Kulmbach created the impression of a shrine floating in space by skillfully closing the composition with a barrel vault surmounted by two trumpeting angels above and a magnificent console below. Kulmbach amplified the space by suggesting an opening to the sky in the barrel vault, by contrasting the larger space that the Virgin inhabits with the more confined space inhabited by the donors, and by leaving large surfaces unarticulated. The serene face of Mary calls to mind her counterpart from *The Annunciation* on the tabernacle in Schwabach that Kulmbach painted in 1520 for Steffan Gabler (d. 1541) (see cat. no. 60, note 2) and, like the painting, indicates Kulmbach's inner affinity with the art of the Italian Renaissance.

1. On the Welser family, particularly Jakob, see Hendrik Budde's biography in Imhoff 1984: 79–81.
2. On the window, see Scholz 1991: 21, 175–76, 181–86, and 280, esp. note 356 on 181 and figs. 258–59 and 262.
3. Schinnerer 1909–10: 335.
4. Strieder 1993b: 154–55, fig. 193–94. The painted wings have been attributed to Barthel Beham.

SEBALD BEHAM

1500 Nuremberg–Frankfurt 1550

Sebald Beham (Peham, until 1531)¹ worked as a painter, engraver, etcher, and designer of woodcuts. He also designed seals, medals, and stained glass. While there is no documentary proof that Beham trained in the workshop of Albrecht Dürer, Dürer's formative influence on Beham suggests that the younger artist trained with the master from around 1515.² Artists such as Raphael (1483–1520) and Marcantonio Raimondi (c. 1480–1534), whose work was readily available in engraved form, also influenced Beham. Beham's earliest dated works include the pen and ink *Study of Eight Heads* from 1518 in the Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum in Braunschweig.³ The City Council records of

Nuremberg list Beham as a *Malergeselle* (journeyman for painting) in 1521 and 1522 and as a *Maler* (painter) beginning in 1525.⁴ During these years, Beham was active in the design of stained glass in Nuremberg. In fact, he has been characterized as the artist most active as a designer of small-scale stained glass in Nuremberg after the death of Hans von Kulmbach in 1522.⁵ Among his earliest achievements in the medium are three small painted-glass panels after his designs in the parish house of Saint Sebald in Nuremberg (cat. no. 64), commissioned by Georg Pessler, who served as provost of Saint Sebald from 1521 to 1533. In 1521, Beham made designs for small stained-glass roundels depicting the two principal saints of Nuremberg, Sebald (cat. no. 62) and Lawrence. In addition, he designed a series of rectangular stained-glass panels with moralizing subjects, including one dated 1521 and depicting *Susanna at Her Bath*.⁶ These may have been commissioned in connection with the renovation of the Nuremberg City Hall in that year.⁷ More than twenty circular drawings for stained glass depicting the Life of the Virgin and the Life of Christ date from around 1522 (cat. nos. 65–66).⁸ Beham's renown as a designer of stained glass apparently spread beyond Nuremberg. He made two circular drawings for stained glass depicting *Friedrich Betz Adoring the Virgin*, one of which is inscribed in the border with Betz's death date, 1474.⁹ Betz was the commander of the Knights of the Order of Saint John of Jerusalem at Frankfurt am Main. A circular stained-glass panel depicting *Saint Peter and the Donor, Abbot Johannes Lang of Castl*, also dated 1524, is based on a rectangular design by Beham.¹⁰ Lang (1459–1524) was abbot of the Benedictine monastery at Castl bei Neumarkt (Bavaria).

A prolific printmaker, Beham made engravings and designed woodcuts treating a wide range of themes, including religious scenes, portraits, classical subjects, and peasant celebrations. In the 1520s, Beham was one of the leading designers of Reformation woodcuts, many with texts by the Nuremberg cobbler Hans Sachs (1494–1576). On January 26, 1525, together with his younger brother Barthel (1502–1540) and Georg Pencz, Beham was expelled from Nuremberg for his radical opinions on religion and the social order in the city, views the young painters shared with the reformers

Andreas Karlstadt (c. 1477–1541) and Thomas Müntzer (c. 1490–1525). The artists were allowed to return in November. Beham again ran afoul of the City Council of Nuremberg in 1528, when he was accused of plagiarizing Dürer's unpublished *Art of Measurement*. He fled to Ingolstadt but returned to Nuremberg by December 3. In 1530, Beham worked in Munich and in 1530–31 in Mainz or Aschaffenburg painting miniatures for Cardinal Albrecht of Brandenburg (1490–1545), archbishop of Mainz. Beham's only surviving panel painting, in the form of a tabletop, was also for Cardinal Albrecht (*The Story of David*, 1534; Paris, Louvre). From 1532 on, he was active mainly in Frankfurt, where he provided many woodcut illustrations for the printer and publisher Christian Egenolff (1502–1555), friend of the humanist and religious reformer Philipp Melancthon (1497–1560). Beham renounced his Nuremberg citizenship on July 24, 1535, and in 1540 became a citizen of Frankfurt. Following the death of his first wife, Anna, Beham married Elisabeth, daughter of a shoemaker from Bünden, Mathes Wolf. Beham died in Frankfurt on November 22, 1550. Kurt Löcher aptly summed up Sebald Beham's contribution to German Renaissance art in terms of his bringing together of versatility, social engagement, theoretical learning, and virtuoso artistic ability.¹¹

1. The artist is called Sebald Beham in most sixteenth-century sources. The forename Hans Sebald is often used in the literature on the artist based on the inclusion of the letter *H* in his monogram. The use of the letter *H* could be based on the letter *b* in the artist's surname. On the other hand, Beham is referred to as Joh. Sebolten Behamen in documents from 1549. Thus, the *H* might stand for Hans, a shorter form of Johannes. On Beham's name, see Alison Stewart in the *Dictionary of Art* (DOA 1996, III: 505–6), and Lawrence et al. 1988–89: 222–23.
2. Stewart 1994: 4. I am indebted to Alison Stewart, who allowed me to read the manuscript of her unpublished article entitled "Beyond Prints and Politics: The Drawings and Paintings by Sebald Beham." See also Stewart's biography of Beham in the *Dictionary of Art* (DOA 1996, III: 505–6). The extent of Beham's work in the medium of stained glass cannot be fully appreciated until a catalogue of his drawings is published. To date, the most complete survey of Beham's role as a designer of stained glass is that of Hermann Schmitz (Schmitz 1913, I: 159–67). Schmitz's survey includes drawings and panels not discussed here, including several drawings for roundels with heraldry, drawings and panels in the style of Beham, and panels made c. 1530–c. 1560 after his woodcuts. Many of the stained-glass panels that Schmitz discusses, formerly in the Kunstgewerbemuseum in Berlin, were destroyed during World War II. On Beham and stained glass, see also Munich 1967–68: no. 8, pl. 26. On Beham's prints, see Lawrence et al. 1988–89.
3. Weinberger 1932: fig. 1 on 33; Nuremberg 1961: no. 72.
4. Stewart 1994: 4.
5. Schmitz 1913, I: 159.
6. Schmitz 1913, I: 160, II: nos. 276–79; Schmitz 1923: 9, pls. 29–30. Four panels formerly in the Kunstgewerbemuseum in Berlin, including *Susanna at Her Bath*, were destroyed during World War II.
7. Schmitz 1913, I: note 3 on 160. Matthias Mende (Mende 1979: color pl. 4 on 156) illustrated a small stained glass panel of 1521 from the arched window of the eastern gable of the City Hall. The work, depicting a putto holding a shield with device of the *Jungfrauenadler* of Nuremberg, is possibly after a design by Beham. Mende considered it to be after Hans von Kulmbach.
8. Stewart 1994: 9, note 23 on 26–27.
9. See Herwarth Röttgen (Nuremberg 1961: no. 92) on the dated drawing (Berlin, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin-Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Kupferstichkabinett) and Schilling and Schwarzweller 1973: no. 42 on the second drawing (Frankfurt, Graphische Sammlung im Städtischen Kunstinstitut). See also Paris 1991–92: no. 105, where it is said that Betz died in 1474 fighting the Turks.
10. The stained-glass panel, formerly in the Kunstgewerbemuseum in Berlin, was destroyed in World War II (Schmitz 1913, I: 132, II: no. 207). The drawing is in the Graphische Sammlung im Städtischen Kunstinstitut in Frankfurt (Schilling and Schwarzweller 1973: no. 41). See also Scholz 1991: 329–30, figs. 428–30.
11. See Löcher's biography of Sebald and Barthel Beham in Imhoff 1984: 129–31, esp. 130.



62

62

Sebald Beham

**Design for Stained Glass
with Saint Sebald
Carrying the Model of
His Church in Nuremberg**
1521

Pen and brown ink with traces of red and black chalk on cream laid paper

VERSO

Sketch of shield in pen and brown and black ink over red chalk

COAT OF ARMS

Jungfrauenadler of Nuremberg (azure, a harpy displayed armed, crested and crowned, or)

DIAMETER

31.2 cm

Washington, D.C., The National Gallery of Art, Rosenwald Collection

Inv. no. 1959.16.5 (B-22, 131)

PROVENANCE

Weigel, Leipzig (Sammlung J. A. Weigel, *Gutekunst*, May 12, 1883, no. 260); Adalbert, Ritter von Lanna, Prague; Edmund Schilling; acquired from Schilling in 1956 by Lessing J. Rosenwald, Jenkintown, Pennsylvania

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Weigel 1854–58: pl. 19; London 1901: 17; Dodgson 1903, vi: 8, ill.; Schmitz 1913, I: 159–60; Dodgson and Parker 1928: 39; London 1971: 51–52; Washington, D.C. 1978: 25; Kaufmann 1985: 79; New York and Nuremberg 1986: no. 182; London 1988: 123–24; Rowlands 1993, I: 37, under no. 73.

This design for a small circular stained-glass panel depicts Sebald, the principal patron saint of Nuremberg, dressed as a pilgrim and holding a model of the church dedicated to him in the northern part of the city. A companion drawing in The British Museum, *Saint Lawrence* with the instrument of his martyrdom, the gridiron, is dated 1521 (fig. 47).¹ Saint Lawrence is the second patron saint of Nuremberg, and the church dedicated to him is in the southern part of the city. The two drawings are almost identical in size and have similar decorative surrounds, a branch with leaves or fruit. The device of the *Jungfrauenadler* of Nuremberg is depicted on a shield below Saint Sebald, and the split shield with the city arms (bendy, argent and gules, dimidiating the imperial eagle) is shown below Saint Lawrence. Together with the impe-

rial coat of arms, the *Jungfrauenadler* and the split shield form the so-called heraldic triad of Nuremberg.² Thus, one wonders whether Beham designed a third panel as well, with the imperial coat of arms. Campbell Dodgson was the first to attribute *Design for Stained Glass with Saint Sebald Carrying the Model of His Church in Nuremberg* to Beham and also the first to connect the drawings of Saint Sebald and Saint Lawrence.³ He thought they might have been designs for stained-glass panels for the City Hall of Nuremberg. In fact, Beham may have designed other stained-glass panels in connection with the renovation of Nuremberg's City Hall in 1521 as well (see the artist's biography, above).

No stained-glass panels after Beham's drawings in Washington and London are known to have survived. Presumably the panels would have been executed in the workshop of Veit Hirsvogel the Elder, who had a near-monopoly in the production of stained glass in Nuremberg for three decades, from 1495 until his death in 1525. Beham's *Saint Sebald* provided the glass painter with a detailed



FIGURE 47. Sebald Beham. *Saint Lawrence*, 1521. Pen and brown ink on cream laid paper, 31.3 cm (diam.). London, The British Museum (inv. no. 5218-55).
Photo: © The British Museum.

rendering not only of the figural composition in the central medallion but also of the decorative border. He was particularly concerned with suggesting the three-dimensionality of the border. He constructed its basic form by using a compass to draw six concentric circles, the innermost three forming a receding rim. The leaves, which appear to block the light falling from the left, and the coat of arms, which seems to cast a shadow, enhance the illusion of three-dimensionality. So too does the halo of Saint Sebald, which is drawn both above and below the border. The border itself is drawn in the same ink as corrections to the pinnacles of the church tower. The device of the *Jungfrauenadler*, which would have been familiar to the glass painter, is swiftly indicated by Beham. It is traced on the verso in red chalk and brown and black ink, possibly by the glass painter in order to simplify Beham's highly personal handwriting on the recto. The red chalk lines at the base of the church and tops of the church towers, on Sebald's sleeves and staff, and cutting

through the branches in the border were most likely added in the Hirsvogel workshop just prior to executing the design. The red chalk would have indicated the location of comes or lead lines. Perhaps surprisingly, there are no color notations on Beham's drawing.

Beham is thought to have trained in Dürer's workshop from around 1515 and is listed as a journeyman in City Council records of Nuremberg in 1521 and 1522.⁴ As the drawing of *Saint Sebald* shows, Beham was making highly accomplished designs for stained glass while still a journeyman. This one is remarkable for its breadth and energy. A comparison of the drawing in Washington with the *Design for a Stained-Glass Quatrefoil with the Madonna and Child* from a decade earlier and attributed here to Dürer (cat. no. 25) demonstrates how Beham emulated Dürer's bold, broadly spaced hatching and cross-hatching strokes to suggest the weight and three-dimensionality of figures. But while Dürer's emphasis was always on plastic form, for Beham hatching served as much a decorative function as a structural one.

1. Pen and brown ink on cream laid paper, 31.3 cm (diameter), inv. no. 5218-55; Rowlands 1993: no. 93. The sheet bears a false Dürer monogram in pencil at left.
2. New York and Nuremberg 1986: 19, fig. 18.
3. Dodgson 1903, vi: 8. Beham may have made designs for stained glass depicting the patron saints of Nuremberg's two principal churches on more than one occasion, as indicated by a design for a stained-glass quatrefoil with *Saint Lawrence* in the Staatliche Museen zu Berlin-Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. no. KdZ 53.
4. Stewart 1994: 4.

Design for Stained Glass with Angel Holding a Coat of Arms

c. 1521

Pen and brownish black ink, underdrawing in metalpoint, on beige laid paper

Color notations in pen and brownish black ink: r[ot] (red, in upper third), g? (for gold?), ? (possibly the mark for green, in lower third)

COAT OF ARMS
Unidentified

12.8 × 10.8 cm (matt opening, entire sheet not visible)

Leipzig, Museum der bildenden Künste

Inv. no. NI.11

PROVENANCE

Johann August Otto Gehler, Leipzig; acquired 1859, Stiftung Dörrien, Leipzig

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Leipzig 1913: no. 28; Frenzel 1960: fig. 4 on 199, 200; Nuremberg 1961: no. 84; Ihle and Mehnert 1972: no. 4; Knappe 1973: 83; Gleisberg 1990: no. 14; St. Louis and Philadelphia 1991: no. 11; Scholz 1991: note 392 on 203, 330.

This small drawing by Beham depicts an angel holding an unidentified coat of arms. The angel stands in a landscape and beneath an arch supported by columns with capitals decorated with acanthus leaves. While the columns are vaguely classical, the arch is embellished with a branch, which recalls the Gothic decorative vocabulary. Beham's drawing may have been the model for a rectangular panel, about twice its height and width, in the parish house of Saint Sebald in Nuremberg (cat. no. 64). The panel is one of a group of three commissioned by Georg Pessler, who was provost of Saint Sebald from 1521 to 1533. The glass painter, conjectured to be Augustin Hirsvogel, replaced the unidentified coat of arms in Beham's drawing with the coats of arms of the Pessler and Toppler (Toppler) families of Nuremberg in reference to Georg Pessler's paternal grandparents. He apparently used Beham's design, in reverse, for a second panel of the group, *Angel with the Coats of Arms of the Melber and Pfinzing Families of Nuremberg* (fig. 49).

Gottfried Frenzel was the first to associate the Leipzig drawing with the stained-glass panel commissioned by Pessler.¹ The drawing displays the firm and evenly spaced hatching strokes of Beham's earlier drawings, including *Design for Stained Glass with Saint Sebald*

¹ Frenzel 1960: 200.

Carrying the Model of His Church in Nuremberg. The fact that the drawing in Leipzig served as a model for a stained-glass panel made between 1521 and 1533 and is characteristic of Beham's early work as a draftsman suggests that the sheet may date from c. 1521. Beham might have based the overall composition of his drawing on Hans von Kulmbach's slightly larger design for a panel in the parish house of Saint Sebald, dating from 1517 and depicting an angel holding a coat of arms (cat. no. 54). Beham's transparent and rigorously organized hatching and cross-hatching systems ultimately derive from Dürer. In delineating the angel, Beham adeptly combined contours and shading, the former suggesting volume and fleshiness and the latter the lively play of light across the figure and drapery. Beham enhanced the angel's breadth and monumentality by means of the wings that burst the confines of the architecture surround. Only the lack of convincing bone structure in the angel's hands and of architectonic strength in the columns betrays the artist's youth.

64

After Sebald Beham, workshop of Veit Hirsvogel the Elder, perhaps Augustin Hirsvogel

Angel with the Coats of Arms of the Pessler and Toppler Families of Nuremberg

c. 1521

Clear glass of a slightly greenish tone, yellow stain, sanguine, and black and brown vitreous paint

20 × 15.1 cm with lead border

Nuremberg, Evangelisch-Lutherische Kirchengemeinde Nürnberg—St. Sebald

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Schulz 1908–33: 34, 36, fig. 44 on 51; Frenzel 1960: fig. 3 on 198, 199–200, 204; Nuremberg 1961: no. 71; Knappe 1973: 83; Scholz 1991: note 392 on 203, 324, note 728 and fig. 427 on 325, 330.

This panel is one of a group of three commissioned by the last provost of Saint Sebald in Nuremberg, Georg Pessler (d. 1536), for the church's parish house. The panel was based on a drawing by Sebald Beham (cat. no. 63) and depicts an angel holding two shields with the coats of arms of the Pessler and Toppler families of Nuremberg, in honor of Georg Pessler's paternal grandparents. Georg's



FIGURE 48. After Sebald Beham; workshop of Veit Hirsvogel the Elder (Augustin Hirsvogel?). *Two Angels, the Marshaled Coats of Arms of the Provostship of Saint Sebald and the Pessler Family of Nuremberg, the Coats of Arms of the Pessler and Melber Families of Nuremberg*, c. 1521. Clear glass, yellow stain, sanguine, and black and brown vitreous paint, 20 × 15.1 cm. Nuremberg, Saint Sebald, parish house (Ostchörlein); Evangelisch-Lutherische Kirchengemeinde Nürnberg—St. Sebald.

Photo: Corpus Vitrearum Deutschland, Arbeitsstelle der Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur Mainz, Freiburg i. Br.



FIGURE 49. After a design by Sebald Beham; workshop of Veit Hirsvogel the Elder (Augustin Hirsvogel?). *Angel with the Coats of Arms of the Melber and Pfinzing Families of Nuremberg*, c. 1521. Clear glass, yellow stain, sanguine, and black and brown vitreous paint, 20 × 15.1 cm. Nuremberg, Saint Sebald, parish house (Ostchörlein); Evangelisch-Lutherische Kirchengemeinde Nürnberg—St. Sebald.

Photo: Corpus Vitrearum Deutschland, Arbeitsstelle der Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur Mainz, Freiburg i. Br.

father, Erhart, was the son of Martin Pessler and Margareta Topler, who married in 1449.¹ The second panel in the group of three represents an angel holding the coats of arms of the Melber and Pfinzing families, referring to Georg Pessler's maternal grandparents (fig. 49). Pessler's mother, Katharina Melber, was the daughter of Veit Melber (d. 1504) and Katharina, daughter of Bertold Pfinzing and Klara Kress. These two panels flank a third, which depicts two infant angels standing before an arch supported by two columns and holding the coats of arms of the Pessler and Melber families (fig. 48). In the background is a tent with classical decorations, and in the entrance of the tent a shield with the marshaled coat of arms of the provostship of Saint Sebald and the Pessler family. Georg Pessler assumed the position of provost in 1521 after the resignation of Melchior Pfinzing, who was unhappy with the City Council's support of Martin Luther. Pessler declared himself a follower of the Reformation on May 5, 1533, and handed over the provostship and its income to the City Council, which had officially embraced Luther's cause in March 1525. In commissioning a group of three stained-glass panels for the parish house, Pessler followed the example of his predecessor, who had commissioned a similar group, executed after designs by Hans von Kulmbach in 1517 (cat. nos. 51–54). The original location of Kulmbach's and Beham's panels from 1517 and c. 1521 in the parish house is not known. When Fritz Traugott Schulz published them, the panels were in a wooden *Chörlein* on the third floor.²

Gottfried Frenzel noted that *Angel with the Coats of Arms of the Pessler and Topler Families of Nuremberg* is characteristic of the early work of Augustin Hirsvogel, the youngest of Veit Hirsvogel the Elder's three sons.³ Frenzel believed that a young glass painter executed this panel, since the painterly technique used was unprecedented in Nuremberg. Further, he observed that the panel anticipates Augustin Hirsvogel's later work in its landscape elements, vacant space, pictorial conception, and vividness.⁴ In *Angel with the Coats of Arms of the Pessler and Topler Families of Nuremberg*, the



63

linear hatching systems employed by Augustin's brother Veit in panels he made for the parish house in 1517 (cat. nos. 51–53) were replaced by a planar, pictorial approach in which washes predominated. Black trace lines read as accents against the broad, flat areas of clear glass, gray-brown matt, and yellow stain. The luminosity of *Angel with the Coats of Arms of the Pessler and Topler Families of Nuremberg* is enhanced by the variation of the yellow stain on the verso, which is more delicately applied in the landscape than in the columns. Typically, highlights were scratched in the matt on the recto using sharp tools. *Angel with the Coats of Arms of the Pessler and Topler Families of Nuremberg* marks the introduction in Nuremberg of a pictorial style of glass painting more characteristic of Augsburg (for example, cat. nos. 77, 84, 98–109).

1. A member of the Topler family, Erasmus (born April 26, 1462) had served as provost of Saint Sebald (Imhoff 1900: 267). On Pessler, see Schulz 1908–33: 34, 36 and Frenzel 1960: note 12 on 210.
 2. Schulz 1908–33: 30, 34.
 3. Frenzel 1960: 199–200, 204.
 4. Compare for example three stained-glass panels by Augustin Hirsvogel in the Germanisches Nationalmuseum in Nuremberg: *David and Bathsheba* (inv. no. MM 242), *Samson and Delilah* (rectangular format, inv. no. MM 241) and a second *Samson and Delilah*, c. 1530–36 (roundel, inv. no. MM 239). For the three panels, see Peters 1980: figs. 18–20 on 86–87.





65

65

Sebald Beham

The Circumcision

c. 1522

Pen and black ink, red chalk, and gray, red, and brown wash on beige laid paper

Eight different color notations in red chalk including: *r[ot]* (red, in the priest's robe); *w[eiss]* (white, in the dish); *g* (green, in the cloth behind the priest); *b[lau]*? (on the cushion); and undeciphered color notations in the window and door, below the belt of the figure kneeling in the foreground, and at Joseph's chest

DIAMETER
22.8 cm

Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum

Inv. no. 89.GG.7

PROVENANCE

Private collection, Switzerland; art market, Boston

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Goldner and Hendrix 1992: no. 116.

Around 1522, when Sebald Beham was still listed as a *Malergeselle* (journeyman for painting) in the records of the city council of Nuremberg,¹ he depicted more than twenty separate subjects from the Life of the Virgin and the Life of Christ as circular drawings for stained glass.² The drawings are all approximately the same size, about 23 cm in diameter. But they vary in manner of execution, ranging from swiftly drawn compositions in pen and ink to more extensively worked drawings in pen and ink with modeling in washes and color notations and indications of came lines in red chalk. It is not certain whether Beham's drawings formed a single series encompassing, for instance, the Nativity of Christ (beginning with the Annunciation), his public ministry (beginning with the Baptism), and the Passion (beginning with the Entry into Jerusalem). The drawings may have formed more than one series, such as the Life of the Virgin and the Passion. Two related stained-glass panels have survived, *The Depo-*

sition (fig. 51) and *Ecce Homo* (cat. no. 67). Both belong to the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

The Circumcision illustrates Luke 2:21. On the eighth day after the Christ Child's birth, "the time came to circumcise him, and he was given the name of Jesus." Circumcision was a sign of the Hebrews' unique covenant with God and could be performed by the parents or, as shown here, by a priest of the Temple. Here Mary, Joseph, and two acolytes are present. According to medieval Christian belief, the Circumcision of Christ was the first time the Redeemer's blood was shed and thus could be interpreted as the first event of the Passion.

The Getty's *Circumcision* is among the most highly worked of Beham's drawings depicting the Life of Virgin and the Life of Christ. In its degree of finish, it most closely resembles *The Massacre of the Innocents* in Berlin,³ which is dated 1522. Although this date is not in Beham's own hand, it is thought to accurately reflect when all of the drawings in the group were made. Like the drawing in Berlin, the Getty's drawing shows signs of its use by a glass painter in the Hirsvogel workshop: The red chalk lines indicating the placement of the leading were presumably made by the glass painter. A range of colors is indicated by eight different color notations in red chalk on *The Circumcision*, including those for red (in the robe of the priest), green (in the damask cloth behind the priest), and white (in the dish in the foreground). Beham drew the main outlines of his figures in pen and black ink and then used gray and brown wash for modeling and red watercolor for flesh tones. A close copy of *The Circumcision*, in the Metropolitan Museum of Art (fig. 50), is executed in black chalk, brown pen and ink, and gray wash. While the drawing in New York is less swiftly executed than the sheet in Los Angeles and its forms slightly less three-dimensional, it closely approximates the original and is undoubtedly a copy by the artist's own hand. Such a self-copy might have been made by the artist to keep a record of his design when turning it over to the glass painter. Interestingly, the color notation for green on the damask cloth behind the priest in the Getty drawing is copied as part of the pattern of the cloth in the New York drawing. Thus the color notation clearly preceded the copy and was apparently made by Beham.



FIGURE 50. Sebald Beham. *The Circumcision*, c. 1522. Pen and brown ink and gray wash on cream laid paper, 22.3 cm (diam.). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Anonymous gift, 1995 (inv. no. 1995.470).

Photo: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

1. Stewart 1994: 4.
2. Including copies of several drawings these are, in addition to *The Circumcision*, drawings in Berlin, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin-Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Kupferstichkabinett (*The Massacre of the Innocents*, *Christ Before Pilate*, and *Descent from the Cross*); Cambridge, Massachusetts, Harvard University Art Museums (*The Mocking of Christ* and *The Lamentation*); Copenhagen, Statens Museum for Kunst (*The Expulsion of the Money Changers from the Temple*); European private collection (*The Betrayal*); Frankfurt, Graphische Sammlung im Städtischen Kunstinstitut (*The Crucifixion*); Hartford, Connecticut, Wadsworth Atheneum (*The Entombment*); London, British Museum (*Christ Before the People*, *The Mocking of Christ*, and *Saint Peter Denying Christ*); New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art (*The Circumcision*); New York, Pierpont Morgan Library (*The Flight into Egypt*); Oxford, Ashmolean (*The Multiplication of the Bread and the Fishes*, *The Temptation of Christ*, and *Christ in Limbo*), and Stockholm, Nationalmuseum (*The Visitation*, *The Adoration of the Kings*, *Christ Carrying the Cross*, *Christ Being Nailed to the Cross*, *Christ Before Caiaphas*, and *Christ Entering Jerusalem*). Several other drawings have appeared on the art market: *Christ Healing the Blind* (Bernard Houthakker succr. L. A. Houthakker, *Master Drawings*, Amsterdam 1968: 2 and Bernard Houthakker chez Hélène Aymonier, Paris, 1971: no. 22); *The Agony in the Garden*, *The Entombment*, *Christ Before Pilate*, and *Saint Peter Denying Christ* (Christie's, Oppenheimer sale, London, 1936, lot 358); and *The Crucifixion* (C. G. Boerner, *Wertvolle Handzeichnungen*, cat. no. 145, Leipzig 1924: lot 71). The authors would like to thank Alison Stewart for sharing a list of drawings in the group (Stewart 1994: note 23 on 26–27) and Anne Lauder for further help in compiling this list. Seven drawings by a follower of Sebald Beham of *The Life of Christ*, rectangular in format and measuring approximately 17 × 11.5 cm, are in the Szépművészeti Múzeum, in Budapest (Berlin 1983: nos. E 29.5–29.11).
3. Staatliche Museum zu Berlin-Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. no. KdZ. 15 098; Washington, D.C., et al. 1965–66: no. 78.
4. The authors would like to thank George Goldner for bringing the drawing in New York to their attention in 1995 and Nadine Orenstein and George Goldner for their assistance during the preparation of this catalogue entry.

66

Sebald Beham

Christ Before the People

c. 1522

Pen and brown ink and traces of black chalk on cream laid paper

INSCRIPTION

Inscribed in grayish brown ink by a later hand below in the center of the lower margin, *Albert Dürer*. The same inscription, by the same hand, occurs at the same place on many other drawing from the same series and on others associated with Beham.

DIAMETER

23 cm

London, The British Museum

Inv. no. 1997-7-12-10

PROVENANCE

Mrs. Cleeve, Guildford, Surrey; H. Oppenheimer, sale, Christie's, July 10-14, 1936, lot 358 (B); Edmund Schilling Collection

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Schilling 1982: no. 23; London, Washington, D.C., and Nuremberg 1984: no. 12.



66

67

After Sebald Beham, workshop of Veit Hirsvogel the Elder, perhaps Augustin Hirsvogel

Stained-Glass Panel: Ecce Homo

c. 1522

Pot-metal, flashed, and clear glass (the red flashed glass acid etched), yellow stain, and brown vitreous paint

CONDITION

The border is mended with small pieces of glass at the top (with the letters *egr*) and bottom (after *turbas*). The piece of glass with cross-hatched lines at the right edge, behind the figures, is probably a mend.

INSCRIPTION

Po(n)tius egreditur secumq(u)e ducit Jesum Ecce ait ad turbas [ho]minem sine crimine iustum (Pontius came forth and led with him Jesus. Behold, he said to the crowds, a just man without sin)

DIAMETER

30.5 cm

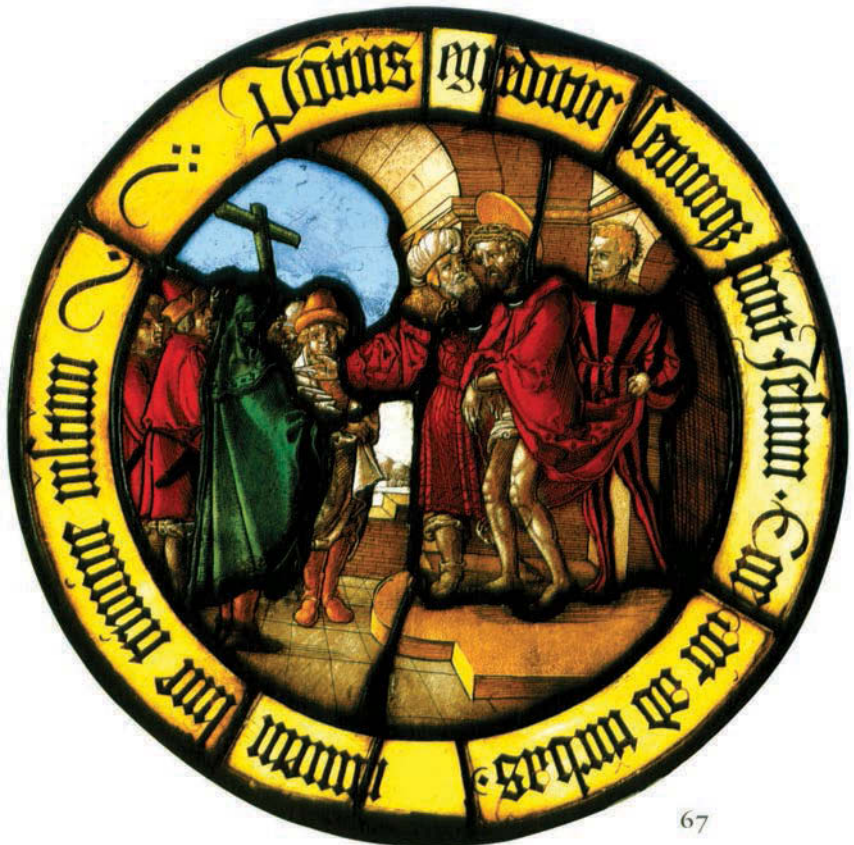
New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1911

Inv. no. 11.93.10

PROVENANCE

Eugen Felix, Leipzig; Ichenhauser collection, New York

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Schmitz 1913, I: 160, fig. 267. London, Washington, D.C., and Nuremberg 1984: 19 (German edition only); *Corpus Vitrearum Checklist I* 1985: 149; Worcester 1987: no. 21A.



67

The subject of the drawing in London and the related stained-glass panel in New York is based on John 19:4–6.¹ It is sometimes referred to as *Ecce Homo* (Behold the Man!) after the words of Pontius Pilate, the Roman governor of Judaea, who presents Christ to the Jews outside the judgment hall where he has been scourged and mocked: “Here he is; I am bringing him out to let you know that I find no case against him.” To this the chief priests and their followers shouted: “Crucify! Crucify!” The inscription on the border of the stained-glass panel reads: “Pontius came forth and led with him Jesus. Behold, he said to the crowds, a just man without sin.” These words are close to John 19:4. Typically in representations of the *Ecce Homo* Christ is shown wearing the crown of thorns and purple cloak that mock him as “King of the Jews.” The cloak is red in the stained-glass panel in New York. Pilate, in a turban, illustrates his words with his gesture toward the crowd. The man in a long cloak looking up toward Christ is perhaps loosely based on a figure in the woodcut of the same subject in Dürer’s *Large Passion*, as Virginia Raguin suggested.²

Like *The Circumcision* in Los Angeles (cat. no. 65), *Christ Before the People* is one of more than twenty circular drawings for stained glass depicting the Life of the Virgin and the Life of Christ that Beham made around 1522 while still a *Malergeselle* (journeyman for painting) in Nuremberg.³ The drawings vary in quality and degree of finish and include self-copies (fig. 50). Drawn in pen and ink without the addition of washes, *Christ Before the People* is less finished than *The Circumcision* but no less accomplished. The drawing in London appears to be a self-tracing of the kind that Dürer is known to have made.⁴ The somewhat schematic drawing in London also recalls Dürer’s simplification of contours and hatching in his drawings for stained glass, specifically several for the series depicting the Life of Saint Benedict (cat. nos. 11–17). The purpose of Beham’s drawing would have been to give unambiguous guidance to the glass painter. Beham clearly indicated how contours could be drawn to suggest foreshortening and how parallel hatching strokes could be arranged to clearly define the planes of three-dimensional forms.

The stained-glass painter closely followed Beham’s contours and the direction and spacing of his hatching and cross-hatching strokes, most notably in the figure of Christ. The use of color in the panel suggests that a drawing comparable to *The Circumcision* in Los Angeles, with color notations and red

chalk indicating lead lines, may also have existed. Perhaps the glass painter was also guided in his tonal modeling in brown matt by a drawing like Beham’s *Circumcision*, with washes and watercolor. The glass painter showed his skill in the use of yellow stain in *Ecce Homo*, achieving a range from pale yellow in the crown of thorns to gold in the hat of the man standing behind the outstretched hand of Pilate. (Yellow stain is also painted on the verso of the blue glass that forms the cross, creating green.) The subtle use of yellow stain to create a range of yellows calls to mind *Angel with the Coats of Arms of the Pessler and Topley Families of Nuremberg* (cat. no. 64), which is believed to be a work of Augustin Hirsvogel after a design by Beham. Also comparable in *Ecce Homo* and *Angel with the Coats of Arms of the Pessler and Topley Families of Nuremberg* is the emphasis placed on modeling, with broad areas of matt in addition to contours and hatching and the delight in using trace paint on top of matt to suggest richly patterned cloth (more pronounced in the stained-glass panel in New York). Based on the similarities in technique in *Ecce Homo* and *Angel with the Coats of Arms of the Pessler and Topley Families of Nuremberg*, the former can be tentatively attributed to Augustin Hirsvogel.⁵

Stained-Glass Panel: Ecce Homo and *Stained-Glass Panel: The Deposition* (fig. 51; also in the Metropolitan Museum of Art)⁶ are the only known panels after Beham’s many drawings for stained glass with the Life of the Virgin and the Life of Christ. The panels might have been commissioned by a patron outside Nuremberg. Alison Stewart observed that the borders of *Ecce Homo* and *The Deposition* are comparable to the border of a Beham drawing in Berlin depicting *Friedrich Betz Adoring the Virgin*.⁷ For Stewart, this suggested that the person who commissioned the drawing depicting Betz was perhaps the donor, or one of several donors, for Beham’s drawings of the Life of the Virgin and the Life of Christ. As noted above, Betz was the commander of the Knights of the Order of Saint John of Jerusalem at Frankfurt am Main.⁸ His date of death (1474) is inscribed on the drawing in Berlin.⁹



FIGURE 51. After Sebald Beham. *The Deposition*, c. 1522. Pot-metal, flashed, and clear glass, yellow stain, and brown vitreous paint, 30.5 cm (diam.). New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1911 (inv. no. 11.93.11).

Photo: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

1. I am indebted to many people for their assistance in writing this catalogue entry. I would like to thank Jessie McNab, Lisa Pilosi, and Timothy Husband at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, Drew Anderson at Goddard and Gibbs in London, and Lee Hendrix for studying and discussing with me the technique and dating of *Ecce Homo*, in particular the use of acid etching in the flashed red. On acid etching in German stained glass from the fifteenth century, see Scholz et al. (forthcoming). Jessie McNab kindly transcribed and translated the inscription on *Ecce Homo*. Alison Stewart also sent a translation of the Latin inscription, made by Neil Adkin, Associate Professor of Classics at the University of Nebraska-Lincoln. I would like to thank Giulia Bartrum at the British Museum, Peter van Treeck, and Hartmut Scholz, with whom I corresponded regarding the *Ecce Homo*.
2. Worcester 1987: 57. For the woodcut, see Bartsch 1803–21: no. 9.
3. Stewart 1994: 4.
4. Dürer’s *Entombment*, 1504, pen and gray ink on cream laid paper, 29.3 × 21 cm (Washington, D.C., The National Gallery of Art, Syma Busiel Fund [Strauss 1974, 11: no. 1504/45]) is inscribed in his own hand *Durchzeichnung [sic]* (traced). On Dürer and tracing, see Anzelewsky and Mielke 1984: no. 42; Stricker 1985–86: 91–92; and Konowitz 1990–91: 148–52.
5. The panel was assigned to the Hirsvogel workshop by Hermann Schmitz (1913, 1: 160) and Virginia Raguin (Worcester 1987: 57).
6. Worcester 1987: no. 21B.
7. Stewart 1994: 9–10. On the drawing in Berlin, see Herwarth Röttgen in Nuremberg 1961: no. 92.
8. See the biography of Sebald Beham.
9. See also Paris 1991–92: no. 105, where it is said that Betz died in 1474 fighting the Turks.

GEORG PENCZ

c. 1500–Leipzig or Wrocław 1550

Pencz (Bentz; Pentz) was Nuremberg's leading painter during the second quarter of the sixteenth century.¹ Although he was not a native of Nuremberg, Pencz trained there, probably with Dürer. Documents indicate that Pencz participated in the renovation of Nuremberg's City Hall in 1521 under the direction of Dürer. He became a citizen on August 8, 1523. His style has close affinities with the work of the Beham brothers, Sebald and Barthel (1502–1540). The three young painters were expelled from Nuremberg in January 1525 for statements they had made about the church and the authority of the Nuremberg City Council but were allowed to return later the same year. Pencz probably traveled to northern Italy immediately after Dürer's death in 1528. The trip apparently included Venice and Mantua. He is thought to have made a second trip to Italy in 1539 to 1540, traveling as far south as Rome. Pencz's earliest known paintings and prints are dated in the early 1530s and include woodcuts illustrating texts by the Nuremberg

cobbler and poet Hans Sachs (1494–1576).² Pencz married the daughter of the painter Matthes Prunner. He and his wife had at least six children. In May 1532, Pencz was appointed Nuremberg's official painter with an annual salary of ten Rhenish guilders for work including drawing, painting, and designing. This amount was raised to twenty-four guilders in 1539. Pencz made replicas of Dürer's paintings of *Emperors Charlemagne and Sigismund* for Johann Friedrich, elector of Saxony (1503–1554).³ He also designed the great triumphal arch, made of wood and painted canvas, for the ceremonial entry of Emperor Charles V into Nuremberg on February 16, 1541.⁴ Pencz's finest works include some 125 engravings, mostly in small format, treating subjects from the Bible, Roman history, and mythology, allegories, and ornament. The impact of Italy, specifically the trompe l'oeil painting of artists like Andrea Mantegna (1431–1506) and Giulio Romano (c. 1499–1546) in Mantua, led to Pencz's introduction of illusionistic ceiling paintings in Nuremberg. These include *The Fall of Phaeton* for the Bolognese Renaissance-style house built on the pleasure grounds of Lienhard Hirschvogel (1534; house destroyed during World War II).⁵ Pencz also received a prestigious commission from King Sigismund I of Poland (r. 1506–48) to paint fourteen scenes from *The Passion* as the outer wings of the silver altarpiece in the Jagiellonian chapel in Wawel Cathedral, Krakow (1531–38, in situ).⁶ A talented portraitist, Pencz was strongly influenced by Mannerism in Rome and Florence. He was appointed court painter to Albrecht, duke of Prussia, on September 5, 1550, but died in Leipzig or Wrocław between October 10 and 15 while en route to his new post at Königsberg (now Kaliningrad).

Pencz's role in the design of stained glass in Nuremberg from around 1530 is not clearly defined. Hermann Schmitz noted that Pencz was less active as a designer of stained glass than Sebald Beham had been before his move to Frankfurt around 1532.⁷ This, Schmitz observed, was in part because after 1530 Nuremberg's glass painters relied increasingly on engravings and woodcuts by Dürer, Beham, and others as the source of their figural compositions. That Pencz was a gifted designer of stained glass is apparent from his *Study for a*

Stained-Glass Panel with the Coat of Arms of the Barons von Paar (cat. no. 68). It is also possible that Pencz's masterful drawing of 1533, *Allegory of Justice* (fig. 52; Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum)⁸ served as a model for a glass painter. A similar female figure was used for a small stained-glass panel with an *Allegory of Time* of 1539 (fig. 54; formerly Berlin, Kunstgewerbemuseum).⁹ A glass painter's drawing for *Allegory of Time* (fig. 53; Erlangen, Graphische Sammlung der Universität)¹⁰ is executed in pen and brown ink and brush and brown wash over black chalk. It indicates how the glass painter could have translated a linear drawing by Pencz similar to the *Allegory of Justice* into a wash drawing more akin in technique to the stained-glass panel of the *Allegory of Time*. Pencz's ideal of female nudity, a smoother version of Dürer's muscular ideal, is probably the source for *Female Nude (Fortune?) Supporting Two Heraldic Shields* in St. Louis (cat. no. 69). Hermann Schmitz described two stained-glass panels depicting *Jacob Receiving Joseph's Bloody Coat* (c. 1530) and *Susanna at Her Bath* (c. 1530) as "probably after Georg Pencz" and "in the manner of Pencz," respectively.¹¹

1. On Pencz's biography, see Rainer Schoch in Imhoff 1984: 126–27, Lawrence et al. 1988–89: 225, and Gmelin's article on Pencz in the *Dictionary of Art (DOA)* 1996, xxiv: 355–56. On Pencz's paintings, see Peter Strieder (1993b: 156–64, 286–90) and Hans Georg Gmelin (1966). On his prints, see Röttinger 1914 and Landau 1978. See also Jeffrey Chipps Smith (Austin 1983: 55–58, 203). The literature on Pencz includes conflicting information on his marriage or marriages.

2. The former identification of the young Pencz with the anonymous master who signed his engravings with the monogram *IB* is now considered doubtful. See Landau 1978: 10–18.

3. Gmelin 1966: nos. 27–28 on 88–89.

4. Austin 1983: 56, fig. 32.

5. Nuremberg, Fembohaus; Gmelin 1966: 64, fig. 17 on 71, no. 22 on 86. The preparatory drawing is in the Germanisches Nationalmuseum in Nuremberg. See Jeffrey Chipps Smith (Austin 1983: 57–58, fig. 33). Pencz's ceiling paintings were on canvas. Gmelin (*DOA* 1996) asserted that because Pencz was apparently unfamiliar with wall painting, he definitely did not contribute to the frescoes in the City Hall in Nuremberg, as is often supposed.

6. See Gmelin in the *Dictionary of Art (DOA)* 1996. The project had been left unfinished by the court painter Hans Dürer (1490–1534/35 or 1538), Albrecht Dürer's brother. The Nuremberg artist Peter Flötner (1490/95–1546) made the wooden models for the altarpiece's silver reliefs of *The Life of Mary*, which were executed by the Nuremberg goldsmith Melchior Baier (c. 1495–1577). See also Strieder 1993b: no. 179.

7. Schmitz 1913, I: 163–64.

8. Goldner and Hendrix 1992: no. 137.

9. The panel was destroyed during World War II. See Schmitz 1913, II: no. 290.

10. Schmitz 1913, I: fig. 276 on 164.

11. Schmitz 1923: figs. 34 and 38. The former, a rectangular panel, was in the Kaiser-Friedrich-Museum in Berlin. It was probably part of a series on *The Life of Joseph*. (On the subject, see cat. nos. 98–109.) The latter, a roundel, was in the Kunstgewerbemuseum. Both were destroyed during World War II.

Study for a Stained-Glass Panel with the Coat of Arms of the Barons von Paar (recto); Study for a Scepter with the Initials MB (verso)

c. 1535

Pen and brown ink and gray wash (recto); black chalk (verso); on cream laid paper

Signed (faintly): GP in black chalk on recto at bottom right corner of board hanging from tree; inscribed in pen and black ink on board: *STEMMATA .VI/RTVTI.E.T.MVN/IFICENTIE..AD/AVCTA. HEROVM] PROPRIA* (The family trees of heroes grow greater through virtue and munificence); inscribed in black ink on circular border: *INSIGNIA. MARCI BARONIS. GENTILIV]M]. Q]VE]. SVOR]UM]. A. PAR* (The marshaled coat of arms of Marco Baro and his family)

COAT OF ARMS
Marcus Belidorus de Casnio

DIAMETER
24.7 cm

Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum

Inv. no. 83.GA.193

PROVENANCE
B.S. collection (Lugt 1956: 414b); Gustav Schwarting, Delmenhorst; art market, London

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Nuremberg 1961: no. 265; Hamburg, Stuttgart, and Bremen 1965–66: no. 66, fig. 37; Washington, D.C. 1974: 42; Goldner 1988: no. 133; New York and London 1993–94: no. 80.

As Herwarth Röttgen first noted in 1961, the arms depicted in this drawing for circular stained-glass panel can be identified from the surrounding inscription as those of Marcus Belidorus de Casnio (alive 1170), an ancestor of the von Paar family.¹ This baronial family from Styria, in Austria, originated in Bergamo. The initials of Marcus Belidorus appear on the base of the crossed scepter held by the crowned bull atop the escutcheon. The inscription on the board that hangs from the tree, in Roman rather than Gothic letters, reads: “The family trees of heroes grow greater through virtue and munificence,” apparently referring to the heroism of family members. (For instance, Marcus



Belidorus' great-grandson Zeninus [or Scurrim], who lived c. 1450, was of great service to the emperors Friedrich and Maximilian during unrest in Milan.)² The humanist spirit of the motto, emphasizing virtue and liberality, is complemented by the classicizing female who holds the von Paar family coat of arms.³

The body type of the nude in the drawing in Los Angeles appears already in Pencz's early painting of *Venus and Cupid*, c. 1528–29 (Berlin, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin-Preussischer Kulturbesitz), as does the spacious landscape backdrop.⁴ George Goldner argued tentatively for a date around 1540 for the Getty's drawing.⁵ He found it to be more developed and more subtle in the use of wash than Pencz's copy after Michelangelo's *Deluge* from 1539 or 1540 (Washington, D.C., The National Gallery of Art).⁶ Goldner argued that the figure in the Getty's drawing looks ahead to Pencz's painting of a sleeping nude of 1544 (Pasadena, Norton Simon Museum).⁷

Goldner also noted, “The integration of figure with landscape has been sensitively accomplished and the latter has a distinctly Northern flavor in its openness and specificity.” The emphasis placed on the spacious landscape calls to mind small stained-glass panels apparently made by Pencz's contemporary, glass painter Augustin Hirsvogel, before

he left Nuremberg in 1536, notably Hirsvogel's roundel with *Samson and Delilah* in the Germanisches Nationalmuseum in Nuremberg.⁸ *Study for a Stained-Glass Panel with the Coat of Arms of the Barons von Paar* has no color notations and may have been intended as a design for either a grisaille panel or a panel like the one in St. Louis, with a nude holding two heraldic shields, which is executed in grisaille except for the coats of arms (cat. no. 69).

1. Herwarth Röttgen in Nuremberg 1961: no. 265 on 159. Röttgen cites G. Bucelinus (1671: P. III, 159f.) and J. F. Gauhe (1740: pt. 1, col. 1147). See also the 1719 edition (Gauhe 1719: cols. 1149–55).
2. Gauhe 1719: cols. 1150–51.
3. See Goldner 1988: no. 133, and notes in the files on the drawing at the Getty. Röttgen, who proposed a date in the early 1530s for the drawing, wondered whether the drawing in Los Angeles was made by Pencz while en route to northern Italy.
4. Strieder 1993b: fig. 196 on 157, no. 173.
5. Goldner 1988: no. 133.
6. Austin 1983: fig. 57 on 203.
7. Strieder 1993b: no. 182, fig. 623 on 288.
8. Peters 1980: fig. 20 on 87.



69

Perhaps after Georg Pencz,
perhaps Augustin Hirsvogel

Female Nude (Fortune?) Supporting Two Heraldic Shields

c. 1535

Pot-metal, flashed, and clear glass, yellow stain
and black vitreous paint

CONDITION

Red border is a later addition

COAT OF ARMS

Gules damasked and bordured a face in profile
on a crescent or (left); argent damasked and
bordured a griffin rampant azure (right)

15.7 × 10.1 cm.; with border: 19.3 × 13.6 cm

St. Louis, The Saint Louis Art Museum, Purchase

Inv. no. 9: 1928

PROVENANCE

Minutoli collection (?); Eugen Felix, Leipzig;
private collection, United States; A. Seligmann,
Rey & Co., New York

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Eye and Börner 1880: 151,
no. 1495 (as collection Minutoli); Schmitz 1913,
I: 165, fig. 275 on 164; Schmitz 1923: 9–10,
pl. 36; Musick 1928: 36; Skinner 1934: 16;
Corpus Vitrearum Checklist IV 1991: 118.



FIGURE 52. Georg Pencz. *Allegory of Justice*, 1533. Pen and black ink and black chalk on cream laid paper, 19.2 × 15 cm. Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum (inv. no. 87.GA.103). Photo: J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles.

Hartmut Scholz observed that the slightly draped figure holding two heraldic shields probably represents the goddess of antiquity, Fortune.¹ She holds the coats of arms of the Gruner and Öllinger families of Nuremberg.² But a specific owner cannot be identified because a marriage between members of the Gruner and Öllinger families is not documented. The Öllingers were pharmacists. It is attractive to speculate that Georg Öllinger (1487–1557), who married into the family that owned the pharmacy “Zu den Fleischbänken” (At the Slaughtering Blocks) on the Hauptmarkt in 1512, commissioned the panel. A member of the city’s Great Council from 1526, Öllinger published a book on botany in 1553 and planted an herbal garden that was later moved to Eichstätt, southwest of Nuremberg, and became famous as the “Hortus Eystettensis.” Unfortunately, no definite link between the panel and Georg Öllinger can be established.

The attribution of the panel in St. Louis is also problematic. Hermann Schmitz described the panel with a nude woman holding two heraldic shields as a work made around 1530 in the manner of Dürer’s pupil Hans Springinklee (c. 1495–after 1522) but did not connect

the panel to any specific works by him. Hartmut Scholz rightly found the connection with Springinklee doubtful. Scholz proposed that a glass painter might have designed the panel in St. Louis. Noting the technique and the proportions of the figure, Scholz described the panel as a work in the manner of Augustin Hirsvogel the Younger from around 1535 to 1540.³ Indeed, the smooth forms and delicately graduated modeling call to mind works by Augustin Hirsvogel, suggesting that he was indeed the glass painter responsible for the panel in St. Louis.⁴ Scholz thought the lost drawing for the panel in St. Louis might have resembled a glass painter’s drawing depicting an *Allegory of Time* (fig. 53), which is, in turn, related to a painted glass panel dated 1539 (fig. 54). As noted above, *Allegory of Time* might be based on a drawing by Georg Pencz, as is *Allegory of Justice* in the collection of the J. Paul Getty Museum (fig. 52).

There is much to suggest that *Female Nude (Fortune?) Supporting Two Heraldic Shields* may also be based on a drawing by Pencz. The smooth form of the nude, achieved by means of a sharply delineated outer contours and softly graduated tonal modeling, calls to mind



FIGURE 53. After Georg Pencz. *Allegory of Time*, c. 1539. Pen and brown ink and brown wash, 18.8 × 15.2 cm. Erlangen, Graphische Sammlung der Universität (inv. no. B198).

Photo: Graphische Sammlung der Universität Erlangen-Nürnberg.

the classicizing nude in *Study for a Stained-Glass Panel with the Coat of Arms of the Barons von Paar* (cat. no. 68). Also characteristic of the figures in the panel in St. Louis and in the drawing in Los Angeles are substantial limbs, gently sloping shoulders, spherical breasts, swelling hips and bellies, and drapery that falls softly around the torsos and limbs, emphasizing their volumes. In both female figures, the heads are relatively small in comparison with the bodies, and the ears are set far back on the head.⁵ An important topic for future study is the extent to which Augustin Hirsvogel and Georg Pencz, two artists almost identical in age, collaborated on the design and execution of stained glass in the fourth decade of the sixteenth century.

1. Letter of June 26, 1992 to Judith Mann. I would like to thank Judith Mann, Curator of Early European Art at The Saint Louis Art Museum, whose research on the panel is integral to this catalogue entry.
2. My information on the Öllinger and Gruner, and on the possible patron of the panel, is from a letter of July 1, 1992, from Dr. Beyerstedt, Archivrat, Stadtarchiv Nürnberg to Hartmut Scholz, who in turn shared the letter with Judith Mann.
3. Letter of June 26, 1992, from Hartmut Scholz to Judith Mann.
4. Note, for example, three stained-glass panels by Augustin Hirsvogel in the Germanisches Nationalmuseum in Nürnberg: *David and Bathsheba* (inv. no. MM 242), *Samson and Delilah* (rectangular format, inv. no. MM 241), and a second *Samson and Delilah*, c. 1530–36 (roundel, inv. no. MM 239). For the three panels, see Peters 1980: figs. 18–20 on 86–87.
5. I would also like to thank Bradley P. Fratello, research assistant for *Painting on Light* at The Saint Louis Art Museum. His insights greatly strengthened my arguments in favor of the attribution of the St. Louis panel to Pencz.



FIGURE 54. After Georg Pencz. *Allegory of Time*, 1539. Pot-metal, flashed and clear glass, yellow stain, and vitreous paint, 29.5 × 19.5 cm. Formerly Berlin, Kunstgewerbemuseum, destroyed during World War II. Photo: Kunstgewerbemuseum Berlin, Archiv.

AUGSBURG



HANS HOLBEIN THE ELDER

Augsburg, c. 1465–Isenheim(?) or Basel(?) 1524

Best known as a painter, Hans Holbein the Elder also designed stained glass.¹ Holbein was the son of a tanner, Michael Holbein (d. c. 1484), who may have moved to Augsburg from Basel. Through his mother, Anna Mair, Hans Holbein the Elder was related to Hans Mair (probably the painter Mair-von Landshut) and to four important sculptors working in and around Augsburg: Michel Erhart (act. 1469–1522) was his uncle, and Gregor Erhart (act. 1494–1540), Paulus Erhart, and Hans Daucher (c. 1485–1538) were his cousins. Hans Holbein the Elder's date of birth has been estimated based on his earliest dated paintings and altarpieces. These include *The Death of the Virgin*, 148(?) (Budapest, Szépművészeti Múzeum); the *Saint Afra Altarpiece*, 1490 (Eichstätt, Bischöfliches Palais; Basel, Kunstmuseum, originally for the church of SS Ulrich and Afra in Augsburg); and an altarpiece of *Scenes from the Life of the Virgin*, 1493 (panels, Augsburg, Cathedral, sculpture untraced, originally for the Benedictine monastery in Weingarten). There is no documentary evidence about Holbein's early training or years as a journeyman. But his debt to Rogier van der Weyden (1399/1400–1464) and other Flemish painters suggests that he traveled to the Upper Rhineland and the Netherlands before 1493. In that year, Holbein bought a house in Augsburg and was recorded as a citizen of Ulm.

Holbein was active mainly in Ulm and Augsburg, but his large workshop carried out commissions over a much wider geographical area, including Frankfurt am Main and Alsace. He was assisted in his workshop by his brother, Sigmund (c. 1470–1540), by his sons, Ambrosius (1494?–after 1519) and Hans the Younger, and by Leonhard Beck (c. 1480–1542), among others. Holbein left Augsburg before the winter of 1516–17. After that, he is recorded in Isenheim and in Lucerne, where in 1517 he worked with Hans Holbein the Younger on the decoration of the

house of Jacob von Hertenstein (1460–1527) (house destroyed). Holbein was one of the foremost artists of his generation north of the Alps, in spite of the fact that he perpetuated a late Gothic style little touched by the innovations of Albrecht Dürer. Holbein is known for soft, naturalistic atmosphere; warm, glowing colors; elongated Flemish figure types; and flowing drapery. He tentatively incorporated Renaissance ornament in his paintings and very gradually introduced greater volume, depth, and spatial unity as well as Italianate contrapposto.

Holbein's most important works were the large altarpieces so in demand in the late fifteenth century. The Convent of Saint Catherine in Augsburg commissioned two of his most famous paintings. The nuns had received a papal dispensation, which granted the indulgence given to those who made the pilgrimage to the seven main churches of Rome to those who prayed as prescribed in the Convent of Saint Catherine. Without visiting either church, Holbein painted the *Basilica of Santa Maria Maggiore* of 1499 and the *Basilica of San Paolo fuori le mura* of 1504 (both Augsburg, Schaezlerpalais), including scenes from the lives of their patron saints. Holbein sometimes collaborated with leading sculptors such as Michel and Gregor Erhart, who provided carved elements for his altarpieces. His numerous portrait drawings in silverpoint, mostly of citizens of Augsburg, reflect the strong impact of late-fifteenth-century Flemish art on his work. They show his ability to subtly represent the character of his sitters. Holbein's silverpoint portraits, studies of details of figures, and animal studies were incorporated in his altarpieces and stained-glass designs, lending a nearness to life to his interpretations of religious subjects.

Hans Holbein the Elder's signature and that of the Augsburg painter and glass painter Gumpolt Giltlinger are found on *The Last Judgment Window*, c. 1505, the fourth window from the north on the eastern side of the mortuary of the cathedral in Eichstätt, northeast of Augsburg. His signature appears again, along with the date 1502, on the second window on the eastern side of the mortuary, depicting the Virgin sheltering supplicants under her cloak. It is thought that Holbein may have made not only the designs but also the to-scale cartoons for the windows.² Many of the heads in the windows are comparable to Holbein's

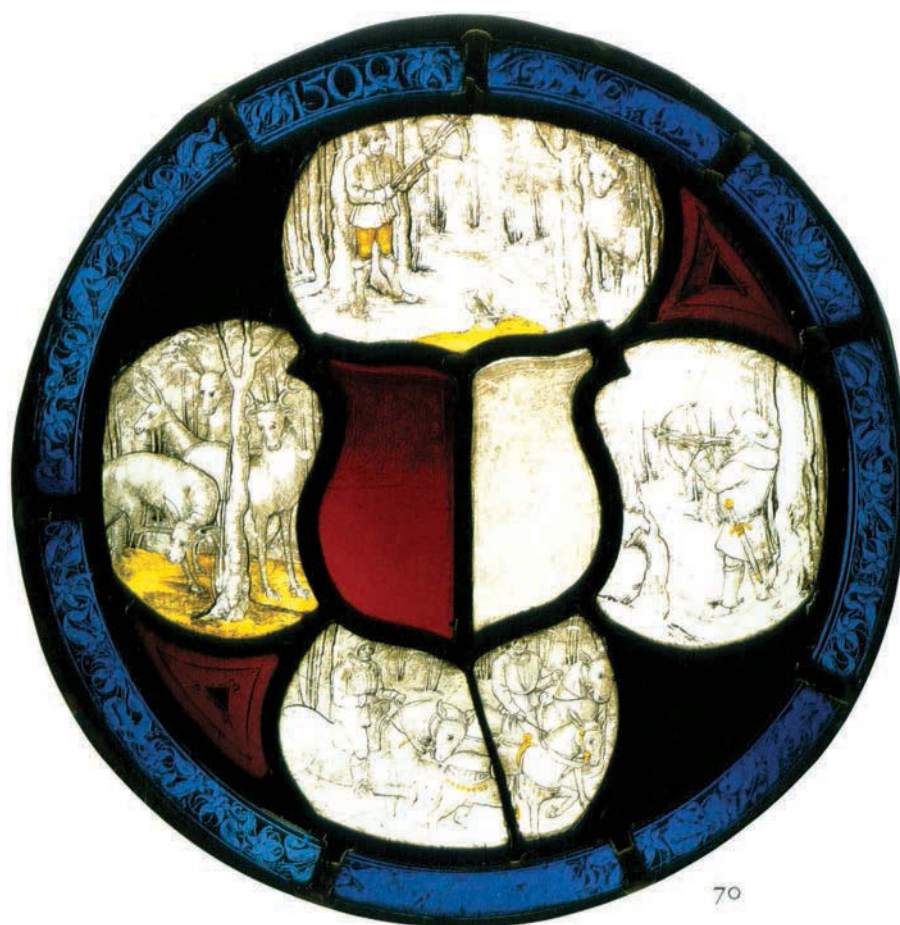
silverpoint portraits.³ Gottfried Frenzel thought that the head of the unidentified donor of *The Last Judgment Window* (fig. 22, p. 36) mirrored the style of Holbein's silverpoint drawings so well that the artist himself may have assisted in painting the window.⁴ Among the other windows attributed to Holbein are the *Saints' Window*, 1496 (Augsburg, Saints Ulrich and Afra), including the delicate *Virgin and Child* that strongly evokes his paintings of the late 1490s (fig. 19, p. 34). Holbein also designed *The Passion Window* in the choir of the church in Landsberg am Lech, c. 1495–1502. If the new attribution to Holbein of a quatrefoil of 1504 with a stag hunt (cat. no. 70) finds favor, it will suggest that Holbein designed small-scale stained glass as well.

1. For Holbein's biography and an assessment of his accomplishments as a painter, see esp. Susan Foister in *DOA* (1996, xiv: 663–665). On his work as a designer of stained glass, see Hartmut Scholz's essay in this volume, and Beutler and Thiem 1960: 141–235.

2. Stuttgart 1988: 172.

3. Beutler and Thiem 1960: 186–87, 190–91.

4. Frenzel 1968: 23. See also Stuttgart 1988: 173.



70

70

Perhaps after a design by Hans Holbein the Elder, based in turn on a design by the Master of the Housebook

Quatrefoil with Hunting Scene

1504

Pot-metal, flashed, and clear glass, yellow stain, sanguine, grayish brown and black vitreous paint

CONDITION

Mended crack in lower lobe; leading modern; paint abraded, particularly in lower part, and slightly corroded, with dotlike losses

Dated in the border: 1504

COAT OF ARMS

The bishopric of Augsburg

DIAMETER

With lead border: 34.7 cm

Füssen, Staatsgalerie im Hohen Schloss Füssen

PROVENANCE

Hohes Schloss, Füssen

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Fischer 1912: no. 8; Schmitz 1913, 1: 131, fig. 216; Stadler 1936: 104; Fischer 1937: 160; Winkler 1941: note 1 on 244–45; Winkler 1959: 27; Müller 1963: 98, fig. 12; Steinke 1985b: 1; Husband 1990: 84, note 22 on 95; Schreyll 1990a, 1: 28; Peresson 1994.

This stained-glass quatrefoil, dated 1504, bears the coat of arms of the bishopric of Augsburg and depicts a hunt, which takes place in a deciduous wood. In the upper lobe, a hunter with a crossbow spies a stag, shielded by trees. In the right lobe, a second hunter with a crossbow takes aim at the herd of red deer, depicted in the lobe at the left. The stag and three hinds are caught unawares; one is engaged in scratching its head with its back hoof. Below, two men on horseback lead a small horse, perhaps belonging to the hunter depicted in the lobe at right.

The quatrefoil is mounted high in a window of the so-called *Rittersaal* (knights' hall) of the Hohes Schloss in Füssen. Along with stained-glass roundels by the younger Augsburg artist Hans Burgkmair the Elder (cat. no. 77), it was once part of a large number of stained-glass panels to decorate the bishop of Augsburg's summer residence in Füssen. Located southwest of Augsburg, Füssen was a favorite spot of the emperor Maximilian, who stopped there thirty-six times between 1492 and 1518.¹ The emperor's frequent visits are thought to have been part of the motivation for the Prince-Bishop Friedrich II von Zollern's extensive renovation of the Hohes Schloss. Building was underway

from 1490 to 1503, during most of the prince-bishop's tenure (1486–1505). The decoration of the interior clearly continued after 1503. During the renovation, the bishop's residence in the Hohes Haus (Storchenturm) was converted into a guest quarters for the emperor, and the north wing became the bishop's new residence.² It is uncertain for which room in the Schloss the *Quatrefoil with Hunting Scene* was intended.

The quatrefoil was published by Josef Ludwig Fischer in 1912 as a work in the manner of Jörg Breu the Elder.³ In 1936, Franz Stadler described the quatrefoil as a work that looked back to the Master of the Housebook.⁴ In 1941, Friedrich Winkler attempted to associate the quatrefoil with Hans von Kulmbach, Hans Schäufolein, or the workshop of the glass painter Veit Hirsvogel the Elder,⁵ but he later published it simply as a product of Augsburg.⁶ In fact, the emphasis on modeling with broadly applied washes rather than with painted hatching lines at this early date (1504) points to Augsburg. In 1963, Bruno Müller included *Quatrefoil with Hunting Scenes* among the stained-glass panels that he thought were based on a design by Schäufolein.⁷ Most recently, Magnus Peresson suggested that Albrecht Dürer was the designer of *Quatrefoil with*



FIGURE 55. The Master of the Housebook. Detail of deer and trees from *The Noble Hunt*, fols. 22v–23r in the *Medieval Housebook*, c. 1475–81. Pen and brown ink, 29.2 × 38.8 cm (fols.). Wolfegg, Kunstsammlungen der Fürsten zu Waldburg-Wolfegg. Photo: René Schrei, Ravensburg.

Hunting Scene.⁸ The design was clearly made by one of the most accomplished artists active in southern Germany in 1504. But unlike Dürer in 1504, the artist was hardly affected by the Italian Renaissance. He looked back instead to an earlier aesthetic in both subject matter and style. The deer and horses immediately call to mind their counterparts in the Master of the Housebook's drawing *The Noble Hunt* (fols. 22v–23r in the *Medieval Housebook* in Schloss Wolfegg;



FIGURE 56. Hans Holbein the Elder. *The Adoration of the Magi*, c. 1504. Pen and brown and blackish brown ink with brush and gray wash, white gouache and watercolor, 386 × 537 cm. Basel, Öffentliche Kunstsammlungen Basel, Kupferstichkabinett (inv. no. 1662.217). Photo: Öffentliche Kunstsammlung, Martin Bühler.

fig. 55). Thus one suspects that a design by the Master of the Housebook ultimately lies behind the quatrefoil, as Stadler proposed, reinterpreted by an artist active in Augsburg in the first years of the sixteenth century.

The stained-glass quatrefoil in Füssen is perhaps based on a drawing by the talented but backward-looking Hans Holbein the Elder. One of the most prolific artists in Augsburg around 1504, Holbein was active in the design of stained glass for the cathedral in Eichstätt at precisely this time and may well have designed small-scale stained glass, too. Particularly in the details, there are many parallels between the quatrefoil in Füssen and Holbein's drawings, notably Holbein's design for a painting of *The Adoration of the Magi*, c. 1504 (Basel, Kunstsammlungen; fig. 56).⁹ The long ears of the deer in the Füssen quatrefoil are comparable to those of the donkey in Holbein's drawing. The square muzzles of the deer in *Quatrefoil with Hunting Scene* are much like the muzzle of the ox in the design in Basel. Also comparable in the works are the curving flanks and bellies of the horses, with their carefully lifted forelegs, as well as the trees,

with their tall trunks and sparse leafage. The figures in the *Quatrefoil with Hunting Scene* recall the doll-like, squat background figures of the Basel drawings rather than the elongated figures in the foreground. Among Holbein's silverpoint drawings, there are two that strongly recall the motifs of the quatrefoil in Füssen: *The Emperor Maximilian on Horseback*, perhaps 1510 or 1513 (Staatliche Museen zu Berlin-Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Kupferstichkabinett),¹⁰ and *Crossbowman* (Copenhagen, Statens Museum for Kunst).¹¹ Furthermore, the doll-like quality of the figures and the painting technique of *Quatrefoil with Hunting Scene* recall *The Virgin and Child* after Holbein's design in Saints Ulrich and Afra in Augsburg (fig. 19, p. 34). The figures, animals, and trees in the quatrefoil in Füssen are rendered in clear, fluid contours overlapping delicately modulated tonal modeling in gray matt.¹²

1. Böhm 1994: 54 and 1995: 17.
 2. On the Schloss and its renovation, see Peresson 1994: 78, 83. The authors would like to thank Thomas Riedmiller for drawing their attention to the work of both Böhm and Peresson.
 3. Fischer 1912: no. 8; see also Schmitz 1913, 1: 131.
 4. Stadler 1936: 104.
 5. Winkler 1941: note 1 on 244–45.
 6. Winkler 1959: 27.
 7. Müller 1963: 98.
 8. Peresson 1994.
 9. Basel 1991: no. 31.
 10. Washington, D.C., et al. 1965–66: no. 98.
 11. Schilling 1955a: no. 15.
 12. In a condition report, Peter van Treeck described the technique as follows: "strong grayish brown matt, badgered. On top of that follows the drawing in wash and contours in black vitreous paint and occasional shading washes in grayish brown matt. Etched, scratched out (modeling and light contours), partially scratch-stippled. Verso: bright golden yellow silver stain, applied somewhat irregularly, and a whitish gray in the upper backgrounds of the scenes, badgered very thinly and etched." On technique, see Peter van Treeck's essay.

HANS SCHÄUFELEIN

Nuremberg, Nördlingen or Augsburg? c. 1482–Nördlingen 1539/40

Nuremberg, Nördlingen, and Augsburg have all been suggested as Schäufelein's place of birth. It has also been proposed that he might have studied in Nördlingen with the painter Friedrich Herlin, leaving Nördlingen after Herlin died in 1500.¹ A close connection with the merchant family Scheuffelin, who settled first in Nördlingen and then in Nuremberg and Geneva, has been proven incorrect. So too has the use of the middle name Leonhard. It does not appear in the early documents, nor is its use supported by Schäufelein's monogram, the ligated letters *H* and *S* with a small shovel. (*Schäufelein* means small shovel.) Schäufelein was active from c. 1502–3 to early 1507 in the Nuremberg workshop of Albrecht Dürer, from 1507 to 1508 in the workshop of Hans Schnatterpeck (act. 1478–1540) in Merano (South Tyrol), and in 1508–9 in the Augsburg workshop of Hans Holbein the Elder.² Schäufelein apparently remained in Augsburg until 1515. From 1515 until his death, he was the municipal painter of Nördlingen. He paid taxes in Nördlingen for the last time in 1539. In 1540, his widow paid taxes. Schäufelein was apparently married twice, first to a woman named Afra Tucher and then to a woman named Apollonia. He was survived by a son, Hans (a painter); a daughter, Walburga; and three minor children, Hans, Barbara, and Laux (Lukas).³

Schäufelein's artistic activity was above all as a painter of altarpieces, epitaphs, and portraits and as a designer of woodcuts. While in Dürer's workshop, Schäufelein collaborated on the woodcut illustrations of Ulrich Pinder's (d. 1519) *Der beschlossen gart des rosenkrantz marie* (The Closed Garden of the Rosary of Mary; Nuremberg, 1505) and *Speculum passionis domini nostri Ihesu christi* (Mirror of the Passion of Our Lord Jesus Christ; Nuremberg, 1507).⁴ During Dürer's stay in Italy from 1505 to 1507, Schäufelein was entrusted with the execution of the monumental *Passion* altarpiece for Frederick the Wise, elector of Saxony (1463–1525), and his brother Johann the Steadfast (Vienna, Dom- und Diözesanmuseum).⁵ Dürer provided highly finished designs for the wings (Frankfurt am Main, Graphische Sammlung im Städelschen Kunstinstitut).⁶ While Schäufelein's woodcuts had an impact around 1508 on the design of the stained-glass panels for Nuremberg's

Carmelite convent, unlike Baldung and Dürer, he cannot be identified as the designer of any of the panels.⁷

From 1507 to 1508, Schäufelein was in South Tyrol, where he painted four scenes from the Passion on the outer wings of a sculpted altarpiece by Schnatterpeck (Niederlana, parish church, high altar).⁸ In 1508, Schäufelein was in Augsburg, where he assisted Hans Holbein the Elder in the design and execution of an altarpiece with scenes from the Passion and Marian themes.⁹ In 1513, Schäufelein completed the high altarpiece for the former Benedictine abbey of Auhausen near Oettingen (now Protestant parish church, in situ).¹⁰ He was apparently assisted by Sebastian Dayg, who emulated Schäufelein's figural style and who appeared in the tax lists of Nördlingen between 1508 and 1554 as *Maler und Glaser* (painter and glazier).¹¹ Schäufelein settled in Nördlingen in 1515 and became a citizen in the same year. Among his most important works in Nördlingen are the wall painting depicting *The Defense of the City of Bethulia Against Holofernes* of 1515, in the assembly room of the Swabian league of princes, free imperial cities, and knights in the town hall of Nördlingen (in situ)¹²; and the altarpiece with *The Lamentation* for Nikolaus Ziegler (d. 1526), who was head of the imperial chancery in 1520–21 (1521; Nördlingen, Saint Georg).¹³

Schäufelein was a prolific designer of woodcuts for publishers in Augsburg and Nuremberg. He contributed to a number of the emperor Maximilian I's woodcut projects. These included the *Theuerdank* (published in Nuremberg in 1517). The largely fictitious story of the emperor's adventures on his journey to his bride, Mary, duchess of Burgundy, also contained woodcuts designed by Leonhard Beck (c. 1480–1542) and Hans Burgkmair the Elder.¹⁴ Like Burgkmair, Beck, Wolf Huber (c. 1480/5–1553), Albrecht Altdorfer, and Hans Springinklee (c. 1495–after 1522), Schäufelein contributed designs to *The Triumphal Procession of Maximilian I* of 1516–18, a woodcut measuring some fifty meters in length.¹⁵ Hans Guldenmund (c. 1490–1560) of Nuremberg published most of Schäufelein's later woodcuts, including many with texts by the Nuremberg poet and cobbler Hans Sachs (1494–1576) and *The Triumphal Procession of Charles V* of 1537.¹⁶ Schäufelein's activity as a designer of

stained glass seems to have been confined to designing cabinet panels, most notably a series of quatrefoils for the bishop of Augsburg in 1510 (cat. nos. 71–74).¹⁷

1. On Schäufelein's biography, see Sonja Weih-Krüger (1986: 9–14). For a chronological overview of his life and work, see Karl Heinz Schreyll (1990a, 1: 15–16). For an overview of the literature on Schäufelein, see Schreyll (1990a, 1: 17–34).
2. On Schäufelein's activity in the Tyrol and in Holbein's workshop, see Peter Strieder (1990: 240–72).
3. On Schäufelein's marriages and children, see Weih-Krüger 1986: 12–13, notes 20–23, 31 on 238.
4. Nuremberg 1961: nos. 25, 27.
5. Strieder 1993b: no. 146 and Nuremberg 1961: no. 293.
6. Strauss 1974, 11: 1505/18–1505/21.
7. On the impact of the woodcuts of the *Speculum passionis* on the stained glass of the Carmelite monastery in Nuremberg, see Hartmut Scholz (1991: 106–110, 112). On the influence of the woodcuts in general, see Kurt Löcher (1986).
8. Strieder 1990: figs. 150–51.
9. Strieder 1990: 257–70.
10. Genck-Bosch 1988: 31–39, with color illustrations.
11. Gümbel 1905: 454. On Dayg's work as a glass painter, see Johannes Schinnerer (1909). I incorrectly identified the artist as Schäufelein's son-in-law in my article on Schäufelein in the *Dictionary of Art* (DOA 1996, xxviii: 57–60). I took my information from an undated pamphlet on the *Ehemalige Klosterkirche Auhausen*.
12. Schreyll 1990b, with color illustrations. See also Genck-Bosch 1988: 17–21.
13. Genck-Bosch 1988: 16–17, illustrated in color on 14–15. Ziegler's death date has been published as 1543. I would like to thank Dr. Hermann Kessler for informing me otherwise. For more biographical information on Ziegler, see cat. no. 112.
14. See Appuhn 1979.
15. See Appelbaum 1964.
16. Schreyll 1990a: nos. 1157–65.
17. Timothy Husband (1990: figs. 54, 57) discussed two stained-glass roundels that closely follow woodcuts by Schäufelein: *Christ Taking Leave of His Mother* (New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Cloisters Collection) and *Pyramus and Thisbe* (New York, private collection). Drawings for painted glass by Schäufelein's hand include *Aristotle and Phyllis* (Winkler 1942: no. 58), *The Flagellation* (Winkler 1942: no. 59) is probably a design for painted glass.

71

Hans Schäufelein

Design for a Quatrefoil with Four Scenes from the Life of Knights and Lansquenets with, in the Center, a Crowned Head of a Woman on a Shield

1510

Pen and black and brown ink and black chalk, the head of the woman in black chalk, on cream laid paper

COAT OF ARMS
The abbey of Kempten

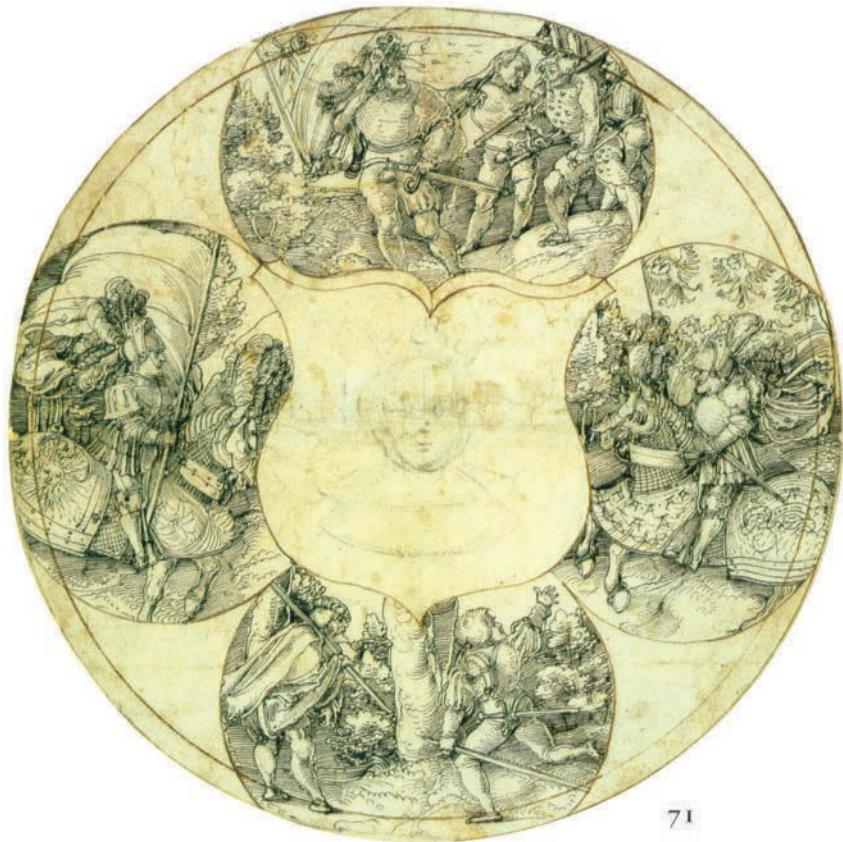
DIAMETER
26.7 cm

London, The British Museum

Inv. no. 5218-122

PROVENANCE
Sloane bequest, 1753

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Dodgson and Parker 1928: no. 317; Winkler 1941: 243, 245; Winkler 1942: 129, under no. 43 on 151, 168; Schilling 1955b: 156-57, 172-76, fig. 7 on 156, no. 11 on 178; Müller 1963: 95, 97-98, fig. 9 on 96; Shoaf 1984: 218; London 1988: no. 171; Husband 1990: 84, note 23 on 95; Schreyll 1990a, 1: 24, 27-28; Rowlands 1993: no. 449.



71

72

After Hans Schäufelein

Quatrefoil with Scenes of the Glorification of Emperor Maximilian

1510

Pot-metal, flashed, and clear glass of a slightly greenish tone (as white in the coat of arms), yellow stain, and black vitreous paint

CONDITION
Leading early twentieth century, cracks in the lobes at left and below

COAT OF ARMS
Imperial eagle of the Holy Roman Empire with the marshaled coat of arms of Austria-Burgundy

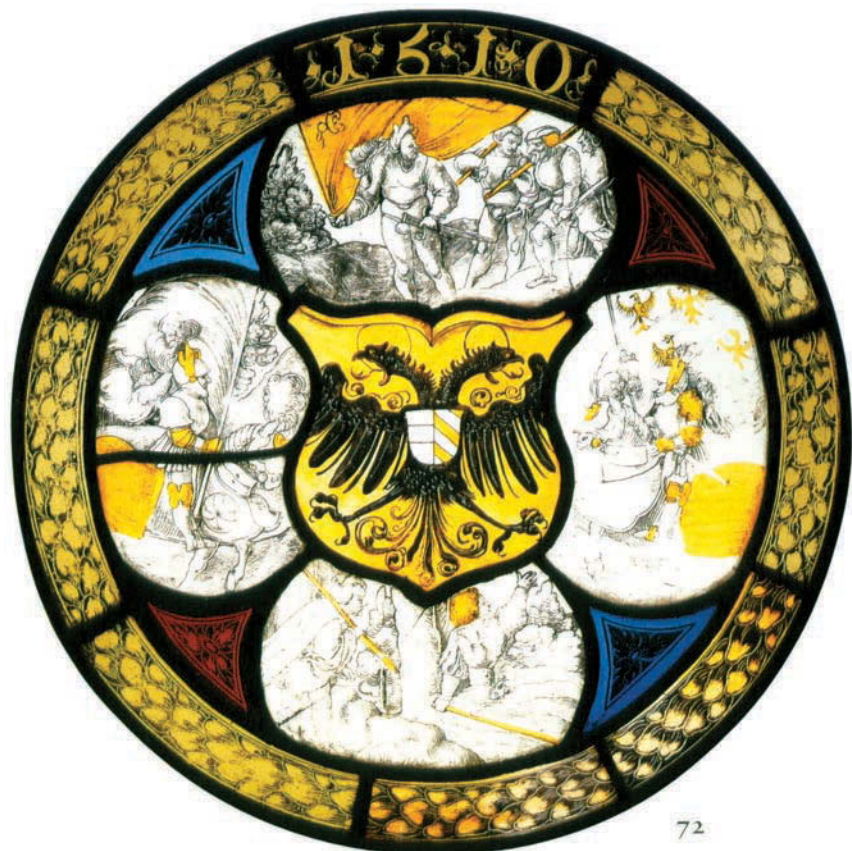
DIAMETER
With lead border: 33.8 cm

Berlin, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin-Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Kunstgewerbemuseum

Inv. no. F434

PROVENANCE
Figdor collection, Vienna

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Winkler 1941: 245, fig. 9 on 248; Winkler 1942: under no. 43 on 151, 168; Schilling 1955b: 156-57, 172, no. 1b on 176, fig. 24 on 174; Müller 1963: 93-98; Shoaf 1984: 218; Steinke 1985b: 1; London 1988: 202; Husband 1990: 84, note 24 on 95; Schreyll 1990a, 1: 24; Rowlands 1993, 1: 211, under no. 449.



72

The drawing in London is the design for the stained-glass quatrefoil in the Kunstgewerbemuseum in Berlin. The quatrefoil is dated 1510 in a frame of laurel leaves. The crowned female bust in the shield of the London drawing indicates that the design was originally for the abbey of Kempten, southwest of Augsburg.¹ It was replaced in the quatrefoil by the arms of the German empire with the double-headed eagle and the marshaled coat of arms, Austria-Burgundy.² Bruno Müller carefully described the quatrefoil, noting that it glorifies Maximilian as Holy Roman Emperor, as archduke of Austria, and as chief and sovereign of the Order of the Golden Fleece.³ The order was founded in 1429 by Duke Philip the Good of Burgundy (1396–1467) “to the glory and praise of the Redeemer, the Virgin Mary, and Saint Andrew,” and dedicated to “the protection and support of the Christian faith and the Holy Church and the increase of virtue and good mores.”⁴ Maximilian became sovereign after his marriage to his first wife, Mary, duchess of Burgundy, in 1477. His son Philip the Fair (1478–1506) and grandson Charles V, 1500–1558) succeeded him.

The upper lobe of the quatrefoil depicts four *Landsknechte* (lansquenets). The *Landsknechte*, founded by Maximilian, were the first German regular troops; the Holy Roman Empire owed its might to this Swabian mercenary infantry.⁵ In the quatrefoil, one lansquenet holds the banner of the Order of the Golden Fleece, with the cross of Saint Andrew (patron saint of the House of Burgundy) and, in the corners, the Fire-Steel with sparks, symbolic of God’s mercy enlightening the knights to walk the path of virtue.⁶ This was the insignia of Maximilian’s imperial troops. The lower lobe of the quatrefoil in Berlin represents two cannoniers, one gesturing toward a knight on horseback in the lobe at the right. The knight is identifiable as Maximilian by the banner of Old Austria, with five golden eagles on a blue ground, which he carries. In the drawing, the bards of Maximilian’s horse are decorated with the letter A, apparently referring to Austria, and a banderole with an indecipherable inscription. Müller conjectured that the words are a motto of the Order of the Golden Fleece, *Je l’empris* (I have dared) or Philip the Good’s motto, *Autre n’auray* (I will have no other [than the patron saint Andrew]).⁷ It might also represent the rebus glorifying Austria, AEIOU, understood at the court to mean *Austria Erit In Orbe Ultima* (Austria will live forever), *Al Ere Ist Ob Uns* (We are the source of all honor), or *Austria Est*



FIGURE 57. Hans Schäufelein. *Design for a Quatrefoil with Scenes from the Life of Saint Andrew*, c. 1510. Pen and black and brown ink over traces of chalk, on cream laid paper, 29 × 26.8 cm. New York, The Pierpont Morgan Library (inv. no. 1982.89). Photo: The Pierpont Morgan Library, New York.

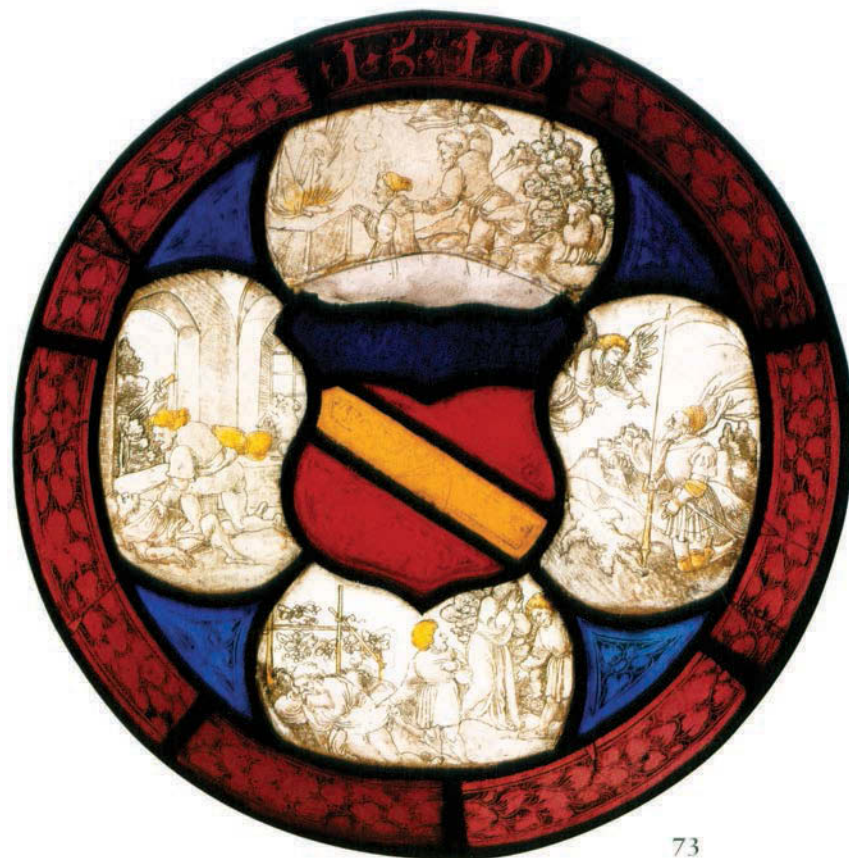
Imperium Orbis Universi (Austria rules the entire world).⁸ In the lobe at left, the knight riding toward Maximilian is identifiable in the drawing in London by the coat of arms on the hindquarters of his horse’s mail (a shield with a sun and a rampant lion) as Graf Andreas von Sonnenberg, Truchsess von Waldburg.⁹ He carries the flag of New Austria (red with a white band). Müller noted that the count distinguished himself in Maximilian’s military campaigns and was murdered in 1511 (a year after the quatrefoil was made) by Graf Felix von Werdenberg (d. 1530), who was jealous of the emperor’s favor.

Müller was the first to observe that this quatrefoil was part of a series planned by Heinrich von Lichtenau with Emperor Maximilian I in mind. A member of a Swabian-Bavarian noble family, Heinrich von Lichtenau was bishop of Augsburg from 1505 to 1517. The series of quatrefoils, Müller argued, may have been made in honor of the emperor’s stay at the bishop’s residence in Dillingen,

northwest of Augsburg, after the Imperial Diet in Augsburg in 1510. Three further quatrefoils depicted *Scenes from the Life of Saint Andrew* (quatrefoil lost; monogrammed design extant, New York, Pierpont Morgan Library; fig. 57),¹⁰ *Scenes from the Old Testament* (quatrefoil extant, cat. no. 73), and *The Deeds of Hercules* (quatrefoil extant, cat. no. 74). Müller related the subjects of the four quatrefoils to the Order of the Golden Fleece. The quatrefoils with *Scenes from the Old Testament* and the *Deeds of Hercules* bear the arms of Heinrich von Lichtenau. The design with *Scenes from the Life of Saint Andrew* bears the arms of Graf Andreas von Sonnenberg. But it also shows the outline of Heinrich von Lichtenau’s arms.¹¹

Two circles drawn with pen and brown ink on the drawing in London define the outer limit of the composition and a possibility for cropping the lobes. The glass painter followed the proposed cropping in the lobes on the left, right and bottom but not in the upper lobe. He

transferred Schäußelein's design to clear glass using gray matt and black trace lines on the recto, then scratched out parts of his drawing using wood or a quill. On the verso he used yellow stain, which he applied with a brush but did not badger. Edmund Schilling likened the glass painter's technique to a pen drawing on glass.¹² Friedrich Winkler observed that Schäußelein might have painted the quatrefoils, since they so closely approximate his drawings.¹³ One must also consider the possibility that the quatrefoils were painted by Sebastian Dayg, who emulated Schäußelein's robust figural types and who appears in the tax lists of Nördlingen between 1508 and 1554 as *Maler und Glaser* (painter and glass painter).¹⁴ Unfortunately, little is known about Dayg's life and career. Karl Adolf Knappe thought he might have worked as a glass painter in Nuremberg c. 1506–8.¹⁵



73

73

After Hans Schäußelein

Quatrefoil with Scenes from the Old Testament Symbolizing the Order of the Golden Fleece

1510

Pot-metal, flashed, and clear glass of a slightly greenish tone, yellow stain, and black vitreous paint

CONDITION

Repair in upper lobe, two small repairs in border at left, small cracks in border, border partially reinforced on verso with clear glass. Scratched in the glass: in the upper lobe: *Bettger 1832*; on the coat of arms, several times: *Mayer*; and on the banner in the right lobe: *L.H.* Several small scratches on left lobe; nineteenth-century leading; border leaded c. 1970; paint partially washed off, light surface corrosion.

Dated on the upper border in black vitreous paint: 1510

COAT OF ARMS

Heinrich IV von Lichtenau, bishop of Augsburg

DIAMETER

With lead border: 26.7 cm

Bamberg, Historisches Museum Bamberg

Inv. no. 6/91

PROVENANCE

Augustin Schnellenger (died 1832), Bamberg

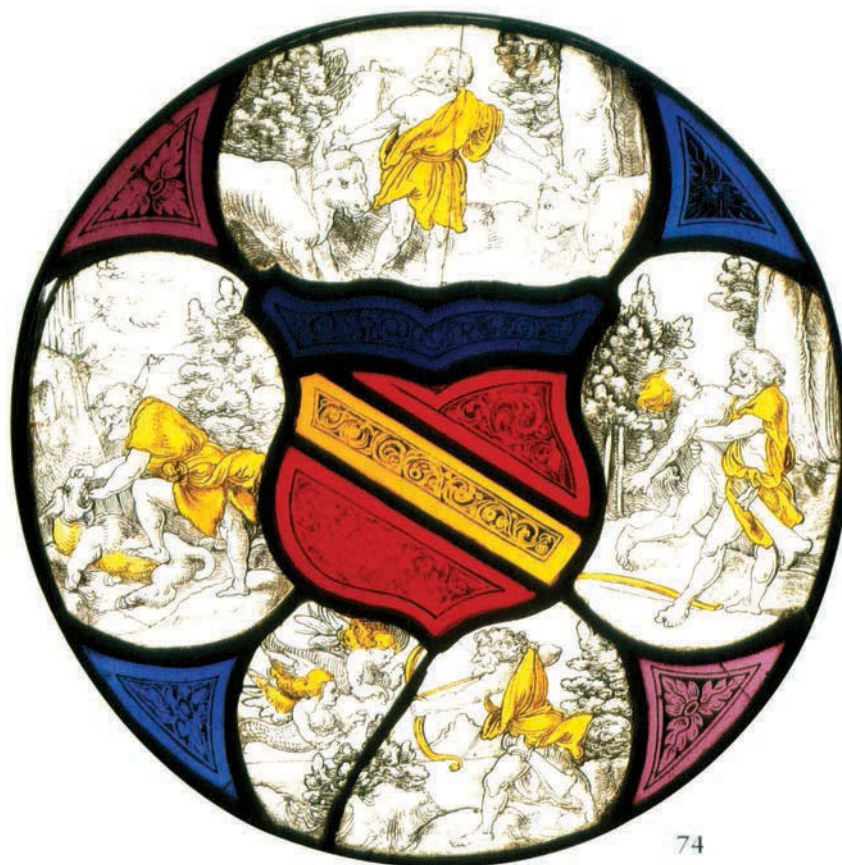
BIBLIOGRAPHY: Müller 1963: 89–93, 97–98, figs. 1–6; Steinke 1985b: 1; Husband 1990: 84, note 27 on 95; Schreyll 1990a, 1: 27–28.

Bruno Müller, who first published the quatrefoil in Bamberg, argued compellingly that it was part of a series made in 1510 for Heinrich of Lichtenau, bishop of Augsburg and a generous benefactor of monasteries and of the poor and patron of the arts and sciences. Specifically, Müller argued that the series may have been made in honor of the Holy Roman Emperor Maximilian I's stay at the bishop's residence in Dillingen, northwest of Augsburg, after the Imperial Diet met at Augsburg in 1510 (cat. nos. 71–72).¹ The former fortification was bequeathed to the diocese of Augsburg in 1258 by the last scion of the Dillingen counts. It acquired its castle-like character between 1425 and 1520. A fire in 1595 was the impetus for renovation and further building, which continued into the eighteenth century. The quatrefoil in Bamberg bears the coat of arms of Heinrich von Lichtenau. The imperial arms and the von Lichtenau arms were represented on two, or perhaps three, other quatrefoils from the same series (cat. nos. 72, 74, fig 57).

1. Edmund Schilling (1955b: 156) thought the crowned female bust might represent Nuremberg. But Bruno Müller (1963: 95) thanks Dr. Ottfried Neubecker for correctly identifying the coat of arms as that of "das Stift in Kempten. The abbots of Kempten held the title of "prince-abbot." Our thanks to Hartmut Scholz for information on Kempten.
2. See cat. nos. 71–72.
3. Müller 1963: 95–96.
4. Author's translation from Müller 1963: 92.
5. Appelbaum 1964: note 44.
6. See Müller 1963: 93. The banner appears several times in *The Triumphal Procession of Maximilian I*. See Stanley Appelbaum (1964: pls. 91, 95, 100, 102).
7. 1963: 95.
8. On the rebus, see Timothy B. Husband in New York 1999a: 76.
9. Müller 1963: 96.
10. New York and Nuremberg 1986: no. 168. The drawing is the only autographed design for a quatrefoil by Schäußelein.
11. Müller 1963: 94. A fifth quatrefoil with *Scenes from the Life of John the Baptist* bears the coats of arms of the bishopric of Augsburg (design and quatrefoil, cat. nos. 75–76). While the quatrefoil and the design for it are similar in size, format, and execution to drawing and quatrefoils discussed here, Müller is not successful in establishing a firm relationship of the subject matter to the Order of the Golden Fleece. And Timothy B. Husband (1990: 82–83) presents evidence that it could not have belonged to the same series as the lost quatrefoil after *Scenes from the Life of Saint Andrew*.
12. Schilling 1955b: 172.
13. Winkler 1941: 245.
14. See Schinnerer 1909 on Dayg as a glass painter.
15. Knappe 1961a: 100.

The subject matter of the narratives depicted on the four quatrefoils varies. But they all refer to the chivalric Order of the Golden Fleece, founded by Duke Philip the Good of Burgundy in 1429. According to Müller, Heinrich of Lichtenau might have designed the program of the quatrefoil in Bamberg as an illustration of the rules of the Order of the Golden Fleece. Müller connected the four Old Testament scenes represented on the quatrefoil with the Order's code regarding the love of God and Mary, charity, respect for one's earthly parents, and military service for the Church against the infidel.

The scenes are depicted within a frame with laurel leaves and the date 1510, matching the frame of *Quatrefoil with Scenes of the Glorification of Emperor Maximilian* (cat. no. 73). The upper lobe of the quatrefoil in Bamberg shows *The Sacrifice of Isaac* (Genesis 22:1–19). As a test of his faith, God commanded Abraham to make a burnt offering of his son Isaac. The artist depicts the moment when an angel intercedes, pointing to a ram, which is to replace the child on the sacrificial altar. The lower lobe represents the *Drunkenness of Noah* (Genesis 9:20–27). Noah's son, Ham, discovers Noah, who has fallen asleep, drunk and naked, after having worked strenuously in the fields. Ham tells his brothers, Shem and Jepheth, who cover Noah. In the left lobe, Cain, the elder son of Adam and Eve, slays his brother, Abel, after God favors Abel's sacrificial offering (Genesis 4:1–16). The right lobe represents *Gideon's Fleece* (Judges 6:36–40). One of the early leaders of the Israelites after the conquest of Canaan, Gideon asked for tangible proof that God would deliver Israel through him. Laying a fleece on the ground at night, he asked that the dew fall only on the fleece, leaving the surrounding ground dry. God granted Gideon this miracle and then another, that the dew would fall on the ground and not the fleece. Gideon's Fleece, called *Gedeonis signa*, was chosen as an emblem of the Order of the Golden Fleece. As Müller noted, Philip the Good originally chose the Golden Fleece that the pagan hero Jason captured from the king of Colchis to serve as the emblem of the chivalric order. But the Old Testament judge Gideon was considered a more appropriate model for the Christian knights than the Greek hero Jason, who committed perjury in order to carry off the Golden Fleece. In the quatrefoil in Bamberg, Gideon is depicted in armor with a pleated skirt of the type worn by German knights around 1510.



74

74

After Hans Schäufelein

Quatrefoil with the Coat of Arms of Heinrich IV von Lichtenau, Bishop of Augsburg, and Deeds of Hercules

1510

Pot-metal, flashed, and clear glass of a slightly greenish tone, yellow stain, and black vitreous paint

CONDITION

Leading early twentieth century, cracks in upper and lower lobes

COAT OF ARMS

Heinrich IV von Lichtenau, bishop of Augsburg

DIAMETER

With lead border: 27.7 cm

Berlin, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin-Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Kunstgewerbemuseum

Inv. no. F436

PROVENANCE

Figdor collection, Vienna

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Winkler 1941: 245; Schilling 1955b: 172–73, 175, fig. 25 on 175, no. 1C on 176–77; Müller 1963: 93–94, 97–98, fig. 7 on 94; Shoaf 1984: 218; Steinke 1985b: 1; London 1988: 202; Husband 1990: 84, notes 25 and 26

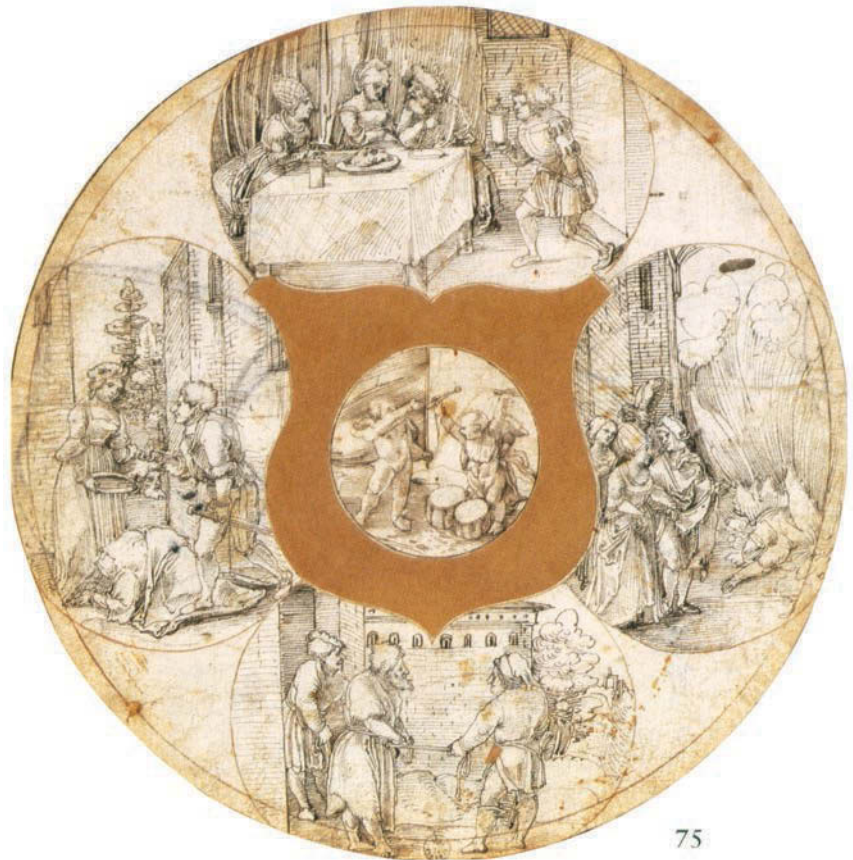
on 95; Schreyll 1990a, 1: 24, 27; Rowlands 1993, 1: 211, under no. 449.

In 1963, Bruno Müller compellingly argued that this quatrefoil may have been part of a series made in honor of the Holy Roman Emperor Maximilian I's stay at the bishop of Augsburg's residence in Dillingen, northwest of Augsburg, after the Imperial Diet met at Augsburg in 1510. The quatrefoils, Müller argued, had subjects relevant to the chivalric Order of the Golden Fleece. Founded by Philip the Good of Burgundy in 1429, the Order of the Golden Fleece was highly prized by Maximilian, whose first wife was Mary, duchess of Burgundy. Like a companion quatrefoil from 1510 in Bamberg with *Scenes from the Old Testament Symbolizing the Order of the Golden Fleece* (cat. no. 73), this quatrefoil depicting Deeds of Hercules bears the coat of arms of Heinrich IV von Lichtenau, bishop of Augsburg (1505–17). It depicts four of the deeds of Hercules. At left, the Greek hero slays the lion that terrorized the citizens of Nemea. Above, Hercules holds the oxen of Geryon by the horns. Hercules had been ordered to capture the oxen of Geryon, a human monster with three

1. See the detailed arguments in Müller 1963.

bodies and one pair of legs. To do so, he had to kill a two-headed dog and a giant as well as Geryon. At right, Hercules slays Antaeus. Because the giant drew his strength from the earth, Hercules held him aloft in a viselike grip until he died. Below, Hercules uses a bow and arrows to slay the birds that inhabited Lake Stymphalus in Arcadia. These destructive birds had brass wings, claws, and beaks and feathers that were poisoned arrows.

The deeds of Hercules came to symbolize the victory of right over wrong and were thus a fitting example for the Christian knights of the Order of the Golden Fleece. Furthermore, as Müller pointed out, Hercules was thought to have been with Jason on his journey to capture the Golden Fleece from the king of Colchis.¹ And, like Jason, Hercules was a classical prototype for Gideon, whose fleece became the emblem of the Order of the Golden Fleece and who is depicted in the companion quatrefoil in Bamberg (cat. no. 73). The quatrefoil with the Deeds of Hercules would also have been readily understood as a glorification of Maximilian, who, c. 1500, was praised as *Hercules Germanicus* in a woodcut that showed the imperial arms surrounded by the collar of the Order of the Golden Fleece.²



75



76

1. Müller 1963: 94.
2. Müller 1963: 94; Innsbruck 1969: no. 108, fig. 12.

Design for a Quatrefoil with Scenes from the Life of John the Baptist

c. 1510

Pen and brown and black ink, traces of black chalk on cream laid paper; cut in a circular form, shield at center cut out; mounted on a square sheet; a small circular drawing attached at the center

DIAMETER

26.4 cm; sheet: 26.7 × 26.4 cm; diameter of circular sheet attached at center: 6.7 cm

Florence, Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi

Inv. no. 2284 F

PROVENANCE

Fondo Mediceo-Lorenese

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Ferri 1890: 330; Schilling 1929: no. 35; Buchner in Thieme and Becker 1907–50, XXIX: 560; Winkler 1941: 243, 245, fig. 10 on 249; Winkler 1942: no. 43; Schilling 1955b: 155–56, 175–76; Müller 1963: 96–98, fig. 10 on 97; Shoaf 1984: 218; Andrews 1988: no. 33; London 1988: 202; Husband 1990: 82–84, note 19 on 94, note 20 on 95; Schreyl 1990a, 1: 24, 28; Rowlands 1993, 1: 211–12, under no. 449.



FIGURE 58. Hans Schäufolein. *Design for the Left Lobe of a Quatrefoil with Scenes from the Life of Saint Andrew*, c. 1510. Pen and brown ink on cream laid paper, 13 × 9.4 cm. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France (inv. no. 55 B 15955).

Photo: Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris.

Quatrefoil with the Coat of Arms of the Bishopric of Augsburg and Scenes from the Life of John the Baptist

c. 1510

Pot-metal, flashed, and clear glass of a slightly warm tone, yellow stain, and black vitreous paint

CONDITION

Leading early twentieth century

COAT OF ARMS

The Bishopric of Augsburg

DIAMETER

With lead border: 27.7 cm

Berlin, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin-Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Kunstgewerbemuseum

Inv. no. F433

PROVENANCE

Figdor collection, Vienna

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Winkler 1941: 245, fig. 8 on 248 (reversed); Schilling 1955b: 155–56, 172–73 (reversed), no. 1a on 176, fig. 23 on 173; Winkler 1942: 151, under no. 43; Müller 1963: 93, 96–98, fig. 11 on 97; Shoaf 1984: 218; Steinke 1985b: 1; London 1988: 202; Husband 1990: 84, note 21 on 95; Schreyl 1990a, 1: 24, 28; Rowlands 1993, 1: 211, under no. 449.

The quatrefoil with *Scenes from the Life of Saint John the Baptist* closely follows the design in Florence. The drawing and quatrefoil represent the story of John's imprisonment by the tetrarch Herod after John rebuked him for marrying his brother's wife, Herodias. When Herodias's daughter, Salome, danced for Herod at a banquet, he swore to grant her whatever she asked, up to half of his kingdom. Directed by her mother, Salome asked for the head of John the Baptist. In the lower lobe of the quatrefoil, John is led to his execution. In the left lobe, his head is placed on a dish held by Salome. Above, the head lies on a table before Herod, Salome, and Herodias. In the right lobe, John's bones are destroyed at the command of the fourth-century Roman emperor Julian the Apostate in order to discourage his cult. A small circular drawing by Schäufolein with putti playing drums was attached at the center of the design in Florence at a later date.

Like the design in London for a *Quatrefoil with Scenes of the Glorification of Maximilian I* (cat. no. 72) and the design for a quatrefoil by Schäufolein with *Scenes from the Life of Saint Andrew* (fig. 57; New York, Pierpont Morgan Library),¹ the drawing in Flor-

ence has a pen-and-ink circle to indicate how the lobes of the quatrefoil might be cropped. The narrative scenes are cropped in the quatrefoil with *Scenes from the Life of Saint John the Baptist*, but not as much as the circle on the drawing indicates is possible. The stained-glass panel is loosely executed using gray matt and black trace lines on clear glass with yellow stain applied with a brush on the verso. As noted above, Edmund Schilling compared the technique of Schäufolein's quatrefoils to pen drawing on glass,² while Friedrich Winkler observed that Schäufolein might have painted the quatrefoils, since they so closely approximate his drawings.³ Schäufolein's swiftness of hand is apparent in the redrawing of one of the lobes. A sketch in Paris of the left lobe of *Scenes from the Life of Saint Andrew* (fig. 58; Paris, Bibliothèque nationale)⁴ is characterized by adept foreshortening, convincing facial expressions, and lightness of touch. Schäufolein might have made the drawing both as a record of his composition and as a study of how the line work could be abbreviated in the painting of the quatrefoil.

Bruno Müller thought that the quatrefoil with *Scenes from the Life of John*

the Baptist might have been part of a series made in honor of the Holy Roman Emperor Maximilian I's stay at the bishop of Augsburg's residence in Dillingen after the Imperial Diet met at Augsburg in 1510 (cat. nos. 71–74).⁵ As noted above, Müller included in the series four additional quatrefoils (one known only through a drawing [fig. 57]) with subject matter he could connect to the chivalric Order of the Golden Fleece. *Quatrefoil with the Coat of Arms of the Bishopric of Augsburg and Scenes from the Life of John the Baptist* approximates the others in style and format. But Müller was less successful in connecting it with the Order of the Golden Fleece. He argued simply that Mary, Christ, and John the Baptist are depicted on the vestments that were worn by three celebrants of the high mass of the chapter of the Order.⁶ Timothy B. Husband noted that the design for a quatrefoil with *Scenes from the Life of John the Baptist* and the design for a quatrefoil with *Scenes from the Life of Saint Andrew* could not have been made for the same commission,⁷ for while the drawings are comparable in ink, size, and subject matter, the sequence of narratives is inconsistent. In the drawing in Florence, the narrative begins at the bottom. In the drawing in New York, the narrative begins at the top. In the upper and right lobes, a bishop is being seduced by the devil disguised as a courtesan. But Saint Andrew, dressed as a pilgrim, arrives at the bishop's door in time to save him from temptation. In the lower lobe, Saint Andrew is crucified on an X-shaped cross but continues to preach to imprisoned disciples. In the left lobe, a woman accuses her prostrate son, while a devil whispers in the judge's ear. Since the present example bears the arms of the bishopric of Augsburg, it was apparently part of a second series of quatrefoils commissioned around 1510 by Heinrich von Lichtenau. It too may have been made for the bishop's residence in Dillingen.

HANS BURGKMAIR THE ELDER

Augsburg 1473–Augsburg 1531

One of the greatest Renaissance artists active in German-speaking lands, Burgkmair was a painter, etcher, and Augsburg's foremost designer of woodcuts, largely in connection with projects instigated by Emperor Maximilian I. He trained with his father, Thomas Burgkmair, and from 1488 to 1490 was apprenticed to Martin Schongauer in Colmar. In 1491, he was designing woodcuts for the Augsburg publisher Erhard Ratdolt and continued to work for Augsburg's leading presses throughout his career. He became a master in 1498. Around 1500, at the Diet of Augsburg, Burgkmair made contact with Emperor Maximilian, who became his main patron from around 1508 to 1519. Along with Dürer, Baldung, Breu, and others he made marginal drawings for *The Prayer Book of Maximilian I* of c. 1515 (Besançon, Bibliothèque Municipale). He spearheaded the design of woodcut illustrations for Maximilian's ambitious printing projects, *The Genealogy of the Habsburgs* of 1509–11, *Der Weisskunig* (The White King) of 1514–16, *Theurdank* of 1517, and *The Triumphal Procession of Maximilian I* of 1516–18. His importance for the history of printmaking also stems from his seminal role in the development of the chiaroscuro woodcut. Examples such as

the pair of *Saint George and the Dragon* and *Emperor Maximilian on Horseback* of 1508 (figs. 95–96) display monumental classicizing architecture and spaciousness new to German art, reflecting the impact of a visit to Venice and elsewhere in Italy that Burgkmair made in 1507. The painting *The Virgin in a Landscape* (1509; Nuremberg, Germanisches Nationalmuseum) also exemplifies his introduction of Italianate elements to German art, with its Leonardesque sfumato and classicizing details.

Burgkmair's later painting commissions include the altarpieces of *Saint John the Baptist*, signed and dated 1518 and *The Crucifixion*, signed and dated 1519 (both divided between Augsburg, Staatsgalerie, and Munich, Alte Pinakothek), and *Esther and Ahasuerus* of 1528 for the Munich Residence of Duke Wilhelm IV of Bavaria (Munich, Alte Pinakothek).

The surviving evidence of his activity as a stained-glass designer includes no known drawings and is limited to a handful of panels (cat. no. 77). Like Breu, he appears to have preferred the favored Augsburg format of the small-scale monochrome roundel.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: G. Seelig in *AKL* 1992, xv: 216–17; Tilman Falk in *DOA* 1996, v: 198–201 (for further literature).

1. New York and Nuremberg 1986: no. 168.
 2. Schilling 1955b: 172.
 3. Winkler 1941: 245. Sebastian Dayg, who is named in archival documents as a painter and glass painter (see cat. nos. 71–72), is more likely to have executed the quatrefoils.
 4. Schilling 1955b: no. 21, fig. 9.
 5. Müller 1963: 93, 96–98.
 6. Müller 1963: 96–97.
 7. Husband 1990: 82–83.



77

77

After Hans Burgkmair the Elder

Allegory of Charity

c. 1510–20

Clear glass with black vitreous paint, yellow stain, and sanguine; border in red glass with black vitreous paint

CONDITION
Paint abraded

Inscribed *DIE LIEB*. (Love) in black vitreous paint in the cartouche at the left

DIAMETER
19 cm

Füssen, Staatsgalerie im Hohen Schloss Füssen

PROVENANCE
Hohes Schloss, Füssen

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Fischer 1912: no. 10; Schmitz 1913, II: 135, note 1; Stuttgart 1973: under no. 63 (unpaginated).

The roundels depicting the female personifications of *Justice*, *Faith*, and *Charity* (cat. no. 77)—three from what must have originally been a series of the *Seven Cardinal Virtues*—are among the handful of works in the glass medium that can be connected with Augsburg's greatest Renaissance artist, Hans Burgkmair the Elder, who is documented in 1515 as

having provided designs for stained glass for the renovated Augsburg city hall.¹ Like *Quatrefoil with Hunting Scenes*, attributed to Hans Holbein the Elder (cat. no. 70), the three roundels of *Justice*, *Faith*, and *Charity* are mounted in the so-called *Rittersaal* (knights' hall) of the Hohes Schloss in Füssen.²

The figure of *Charity* (*Die Liebe*) holds an infant and a cornucopia, while another baby looks up from underneath her skirts. She stands under a coffered portico that opens onto a vast and beautifully rendered landscape, still visible despite some abrasion. The figures in *Charity* and its companion roundels find their closest parallels in Burgkmair's oeuvre in his woodcut series of *The Seven Cardinal Virtues* of c. 1510 (fig. 59).³ Although the figures could be copies after the prints, the roundels are so Burgkmairesque in their overall handling and conception that it seems possible that they are based upon drawings by him. In the first place, the glass painter evinces a grasp of Burgkmair's style through the sculptural handling of *Charity*, subordinating line to fluid modeling in her drapery and face, delicately washed in sanguine. The overhead coffering and relatively shallow yet monumental classical architectural space are also Burgkmair hallmarks as seen, among others, in the

renowned woodcut *Emperor Maximilian on Horseback* (fig. 96).⁴ A classical, harmonic sense of three-dimensional space permeates and unites the composition. It is established in the dominant columnar figure of *Charity* and radiates back from her through the rounded forms of the columns and archways, into the landscape beyond. The airiness of the architecture and landscape background reinforces the roundness of the forms by establishing a clear sense of space surrounding them. The roundness of the forms and the overall convex shaping of the composition beautifully complement the roundel format.

Both Burgkmair and Breu exploited the well-known Augsburg love of classicizing architectural space to great effect in glass roundels. While in *Charity* Burgkmair emphasizes unified, three-dimensional space determined ultimately by the human figure, Breu, by contrast, as seen in *Joseph and Potiphar's Wife* (cat. no. 101), has a flatter approach to figures and architecture and is more concerned with the intricate interrelation of figures and ornamental architectural forms. Both Burgkmair's *Charity* and Breu's *Emperor Maximilian's Hennegau War* (cat. no. 84) show the heights to which delicate, spacious landscape painting flourished in Augsburg glass roundels.

JÖRG BREU THE ELDER

Augsburg c. 1475–Augsburg 1537



FIGURE 59. Hans Burgkmair. *Charity (Die Liebe)* from *The Seven Cardinal Virtues*, c. 1510. Woodcut, 17 × 7 cm. New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Henry Walters, by exchange, 1931 (inv. 31.31.4).

Photo: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

Painter of altarpieces, panels, and murals, and designer of book illustrations and stained glass, the versatile Breu stands alongside Hans Holbein the Elder and Hans Burgkmair as one of Augsburg's leading Renaissance artists. In 1493, he was apprenticed to the Augsburg painter Ulrich Apt the Elder. As a journeyman in Austria, he made some of his most important paintings: the altarpiece of the Stiftskirche, Zwettl (1500), showing the life of Saint Bernard; the Aggsbach Altarpiece with scenes of the Passion of Christ (1501, parts of which are in the Augustinerchorherrenstift in Herzogenburg and the Germanisches Nationalmuseum in Nuremberg); and the altarpiece at Melk Abbey (1502). These are early examples of the Danube School of painting, known for its emphasis upon dynamic nature imagery.

By 1502, Breu had established a workshop in Augsburg, where he came under the classicizing influence of Hans Burgkmair. His first dated woodcut is from 1504, beginning a prolific career as a book illustrator mostly for Augsburg publishers, with his best-known illustrations being those to *Vartoman's Travels*. During the following decades, Breu received major commissions in Augsburg, such as the frescoes for the Augsburg Rathaus (destroyed), begun in 1516, and the organ wings for the mortuary chapel of the Fugger family in the church of Saint Anne (in situ). The organ wings' great debt to Italian sources, including Botticelli and Filippino Lippi, strongly indicates that Breu visited Italy prior to making them. Breu also received several commissions from Emperor Maximilian I. Around 1515, he participated with Dürer, Baldung, and others in making marginal drawings in *The Prayer Book of Maximilian I* (Munich, Bayerisches Staatsbibliothek) and the following year undertook the

drawings for the cycle of stained-glass roundels depicting the battles and hunts of Emperor Maximilian for the imperial hunting lodge in Lermoos, Tyrol (cat. nos. 83–90). Another key later commission were the paintings he produced for the cycle of biblical and antique heroes and battle scenes (see also Burgkmair and Altdorfer) made for the Munich residence of Duke Wilhelm IV of Bavaria (1528; Munich, Alte Pinakothek). From 1512 to 1537, he compiled a chronicle of Augsburg in which he recorded his support of the Reformation.

Breu's large body of drawings, for which he is as much or more appreciated than his paintings, principally comprises stained-glass designs. He specialized in the production of monochrome roundels, a format popular in Augsburg. He also excelled at producing roundels in series that display his talent for cropping, manipulating large numbers of figures, and creating expansive landscape and spacious architectural settings. These treat a range of secular, classical, and religious subjects, including *The Labors and Pastimes of the Months* for the Augsburg Hoehstetter family of the early 1520s (cat. nos. 91–94); heroes of antiquity including *Ulysses and Telemachus Slaying the Suitors* (fig. 11, p. 12; London, The British Museum); and holy personages, such as *The Story of Joseph* (cat. nos. 98–109). Breu's designs for stained glass were much copied and used throughout the sixteenth century. A number of glass roundels after his designs survive, some in multiple versions.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Roth 1906; Buchner 1928b: 370–75; Wegner 1959: 17–36; Christiane Andersson in Detroit, Ottawa, and Coburg 1983; Morrall 1994: 128–47; Claudia Däubler in *AKL* 1992, XIV: 165–67 (for further literature); Gode Krämer, *DOA* 1996, IV: 759–61 (for further literature).

1. Falk (1978: 80, 116, no. 5), who also mentions the panel of *The Virgin, Christ and Saint Anne* in Schloss Hohenschwangau (see Scholz's essay, note 96); cf. Fischer 1912: 12–13. Cf. Buff 1893: 22, note 36; Schmitz 1913, I: 131, note 1; Morrall 1994: 135. Cf. *Corpus Vitrearum Checklist IV* 1991: 102 for a panel after Burgkmair's woodcut "The Madonna with a Carnation" (Bartsch 1803–21: no. 9) in Cambridge, Massachusetts, Harvard University, Fogg Art Museum. The authors thank Matthias Mende for alerting them to two glass panels in Nuremberg, Germanisches Nationalmuseum after Burgkmair's woodcuts from the series of *Illustrious Christians, Jews, and Pagans* (Bartsch 1803–21: nos. 64–65). Cf. the essay by Hartmut Scholz in this catalogue, p. 37.
2. Cf. cat. no. 70.
3. Bartsch 1803–21: nos. 48–54.
4. Bartsch 1803–21: no. 32.



78

78

Jörg Breu the Elder or follower

Tournament Scene

c. 1510–15

Pen and black ink over black chalk on cream laid paper

DIAMETER
25.5 cm

Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum

Inv. no. 89.GA.16

PROVENANCE

J. Hendriks, Oisterwijk, Holland, on loan to the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam (Lugt 1921: 2228) (sale, Sotheby's, Amsterdam, April 25, 1983, lot 2); art market, Munich; art market, Boston

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Goldner and Hendrix 1992: no. 120; Rowlands 1993, 1: 191, under no. 408; Husband 1998: 181–83, fig. 5.

79

After Jörg Breu the Elder,
Augsburg glass painter

Roundel with a Tournament Scene

c. 1510–20

Clear glass, black and brown vitreous paint,
yellow stain, sanguine

CONDITION

Paint abraded; backed by a piece of white glass;
frame nineteenth or twentieth century

DIAMETER

24.5 cm with lead frame; 28.5 cm with border

Augsburg, Stadt Augsburg Kunstsammlungen,
Maximilianmuseum

Inv. no. 3494

PROVENANCE

Together with *October* (cat. no. 94) from one of the Fugger houses in Augsburg as recorded by Dörnhöffer 1897: 25.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Dörnhöffer 1897: 25; Schmitz 1913, 1: 135; Bock 1921: 16, no. 4782; Baum 1923: 117; Augsburg 1955: no. 65; Augsburg 1980, 1: no. 4.



79

The Los Angeles drawing of a tournament scene, the closely corresponding but severely abraded tournament roundel in Nuremberg (fig. 60), and the better-preserved roundel from Augsburg included in this exhibition raise questions about the relationship between Nuremberg and Augsburg stained glass in the early decades of the sixteenth century.¹

Tournament imagery appeared with a range of other courtly subjects in stained-glass quatrefoils from the orbit



FIGURE 60. After Jörg Breu the Elder; Augsburg glass painter. *Tournament Scene*, c. 1510–15. Clear glass, yellow stain, sanguine, and vitreous paint, 25 cm (diam.). Nuremberg, Germanisches Nationalmuseum (inv. no. MM 162).

Photo: Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg.



FIGURE 61. After a drawing by Albrecht Dürer?; workshop of Veit Hirsvogel the Elder. *Quatrefoil Roundel with Tournament Scenes*, c. 1495–98? Pot-metal, flashed, and clear glass, yellow stain, and vitreous paint, 31 cm (diam.). Berlin, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin-Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Kunstgewerbemuseum (inv. no. 1907, 164).

Photo: Hilda Deecke.

of the Master of the Housebook (cat. no. 3), from which it was appropriated in the stained-glass production of Dürer and his school, such as the quatrefoil panel of 1508 in the Walters Art Gallery in Baltimore (fig. 8) and one in the Kunstgewerbemuseum in Berlin (fig. 61).² The latter—or a similar, no longer extant panel—appears to have provided the primary inspiration for the Los Angeles drawing and the Nuremberg roundel. They contain the same components as their quatrefoil precedents, consisting of a knight jousting astride a caparisoned horse, accompanied by a mounted page who raises his hand, possibly to begin the joust, the trumpeting heralds on horseback, and a romping attendant with a baton, known as a *Griesswärtel*. This figure acted as a steward, using his baton to break up fights and acting much as rodeo clowns do today to assist fallen riders and entertain the crowds.³

The Los Angeles drawing, which emerged in the 1980s, brings new and important evidence to bear upon the evaluation of the related Nuremberg and Augsburg roundels, as well as Breu's early activity as a designer of stained glass.⁴ While the Augsburg roundel of a tournament has traditionally been regarded as being after a design by Breu, the Nuremberg example was attributed to the Hirsvogel workshop by Schmitz, who dated it to around 1500, and thought it to be based upon a design by a Dürer school artist, possibly Hans von Kulmbach.⁵ The Los Angeles drawing has been associated with Breu until recently,

when it was suggested that it is by a Nuremberg rather than an Augsburg hand, and that it is a copy of rather than a study for the Nuremberg roundel.⁶ The association with Breu, however, is supported by the Breuesque formal vocabulary and style of the drawing, including the lively group of bystanders at the left with their caricatural facial types, the head of the mounted page's horse, which corresponds closely, for example, to that in the bridal scene from the *Gesta Romanorum* (cat. no. 95), and the pen work with prominent parallel hatching. (The lack of dark, swelling-and-tapering outlines typical of Breu, the generalization of the forms, and the thinness and swift application of the pen lines leave room for the possibility that an Augsburg artist in his orbit, rather than Breu himself, could have made the drawing.) Furthermore, it appears to be a working design for a roundel rather than a copy after one. In support of this are the prominent underdrawing in coarse black chalk marking the position of the legs and hooves of the knight's horse, as well as numerous ink pentimenti, as seen, for example, in the back and rump of the same horse.

In its very composite quality, the drawing gives the impression of being a sheet in which the artist was solving the compositional problem of adapting a quatrefoil composition to the roundel format. The three trumpeters on horseback are clearly traced and correspond closely to those in the Berlin quatrefoil (fig. 61).⁷ The *Griesswärtel* also finds a

source in the right-hand figure in this panel's bottom lobe. More freely drawn than the above-mentioned passages, the jousting and mounted page combine elements from both the left and right lobes of the Berlin quatrefoil, with the knight close to the one in the left lobe, while the accompanying rider, with his outstretched arm and hand and exposed chest, seems to derive from the corresponding figure in the right lobe.⁸ The reversal of this figure from the Berlin quatrefoil and its combination with the knight from the left lobe marks the point at which artists ceased to quote from the formula of the Master of the Housebook's quatrefoil and rather began to adapt it freely. This is in contrast to the sketch in The British Museum assigned to an artist of the Dürer school (fig. 62), whose composition still remains close to the right lobe of the quatrefoil in Berlin.⁹ Moreover, the Los Angeles drawing introduces "modernizing" elements not found in the Berlin quatrefoil, such as the bearded face and elegant beret and skirted costume of the mounted page, the numerous bystanders, and the spatially unified urban backdrop with its prominent receding orthogonals. As has recently been suggested, it might have also once possessed a pendent roundel of an opposing jousting.¹⁰ All of this suggests how different and modern it was in conception, compared to its predecessors.

The Augsburg roundel appears to develop the composition still further, by including opposing jousting together in a single roundel. Indeed, its composition

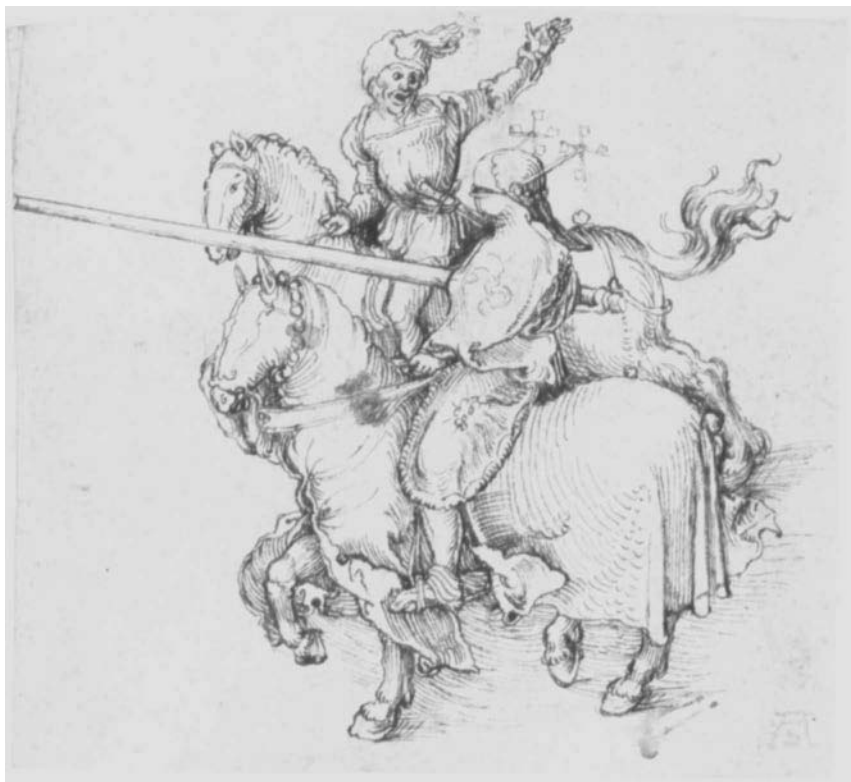


FIGURE 62. Dürer workshop. *A Knight Jousting and a Horseman*, c. 1505. Pen and brown ink, 13.3 × 14.7 cm. London, The British Museum (inv. no. 5218-121). Photo: © The British Museum.

and style of drawing are exceptionally close to a drawing for a glass roundel in Prague that depicts knights on horseback engaged in a sword fight.¹¹ The closeness between the Augsburg roundel and the Prague drawing suggests that they might be for the same series.

It would thus seem that the Los Angeles drawing and the related roundels in Augsburg and Nuremberg mark an important moment in the evolution of small-scale stained glass in Southern Germany from preference for the quatrefoil, with its separate vignettes, to the roundel, with its unified space. While it is still unclear whether the roundel composition for the tournament scene originated in Nuremberg or Augsburg, the cluster of works discussed here would seem to mark the starting point for Breu's vast production of stained-glass roundels, the format that he preferred above all others. The reliance upon sources in Nuremberg quatrefoils points to a dating of the Los Angeles drawing to c. 1510–15, making it one of the earliest surviving designs for stained glass associated with Breu. His preference for the roundel should also probably be attributed in part to practical exigencies, as a monochrome roundel was less complicated to produce than a quatrefoil, with its leading and combination of colored and monochrome painted glass. The popularity of Breu's design is attested to by the Augsburg roundel and the drawing in Prague, which suggest that Breu and his studio continued to produce tournament roundels, varying the

compositions and adding scenes as time went on.

Augsburg was one of the major jousting cities of Germany, being a center for the study of the theory and history of jousting and—besides Nuremberg—the German city that during the early sixteenth century held more tournaments than any other.¹² A prominent artistic expression of this is *The Labors and Pastimes of January, February, and March*, with a jousting scene in an urban setting reminiscent of Augsburg at the center. This is one of the series of four large paintings (Berlin, Deutsches Historisches Museum) made by an Augsburg artist strongly influenced by Breu and of the next generation, and depicting the monthly labors and pastimes against an urban backdrop strongly inspired by the city of Augsburg.¹³

It has long been noted that this series of four paintings was inspired by Breu's series of glass roundels of the labors and pastimes of the months made for the Augsburg Hoehstetter family (cat. nos. 91–94). In light of the many parallels that exist between the Berlin paintings and the Hoehstetter series, it is a curious divergence that jousting is absent from Hoehstetter series, and yet it appears in the January, February, March canvas (which is appropriate, since the months of February and March encompassed Shrovetide [*Fastnacht*] which was the time for jousting). Based upon its parallel theme with the painting in Berlin, it has recently been proposed that the Getty drawing may in fact

reflect an early idea for the Hoehstetter roundels.¹⁴ In sum, it seems that Breu popularized—and he even may have originated—a new phase in the life of tournament imagery in stained glass, conveying it in unified pictorial terms and naturalistically set within an urban context inspired by his native Augsburg.

1. Germanisches Nationalmuseum (inv. no. MM 162); note Schmitz 1913, 1: 155–56, fig. 256; Schmitz 1923:9, pl. 24; Scholz 1991: 331–34, note 744, fig. 436.
2. For the Baltimore panel (inv. no. 46.76), see cat. no. 2, note 9, and Corpus Vitrearum Checklist 11 1987: 62; for the Berlin panel, see cat. no. 2, especially note 8, and Schmitz 1913, 11: no. 266; Scholz 1991: 332, fig. 434; Husband 1998: 181–82, fig. 3.
3. Husband 1998: 179; Berlin 1992: 62, under no. 67. The authors thank Donald J. La Rocca, Associate Curator of Arms and Armour, Metropolitan Museum of Art, for his help with the subject matter of this scene.
4. The drawing was exhibited in *Galerie Arnoldi-Livie, Gemälde und Zeichnungen 1490–1918*, Munich, 1987.
5. The Augsburg panel was first associated with Breu by Dörnhöffer 1897: 25.
6. Rowlands 1993, 1: 191, under no. 408.
7. They could have been traced from a drawing such as the glass painter's tracing from the Nuremberg Hirsvogel shop found in the University Library, Erlangen (Bock 1929: no. 144) that repeats the left and top lobes of the Berlin panel. For the Erlangen drawing, cf. Scholz 1991: 331–33, note 744, fig. 435.
8. The gesture of the raised hand in the rider who accompanies the jousting does not occur in the panels associated with the Housebook Master school and seems to arise in those of the Dürer school.
9. Rowlands 1993, 1: 191, no. 408, 11, pl. 261; inv. no. 5218-121. See also cat. no. 2, note 8.
10. Husband 1998: 183.
11. Prague, Národní Galerie, inv. no. K-22444. There is a copy of this drawing in Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, KdZ 4782. The authors are deeply grateful to Tilman Falk, who pointed out the similarity of the Getty sheet to the Prague example, especially with regard to the urban backdrop and bystanders.
12. Dormeier 1994b: 201–8.
13. See further cat. nos. 91–94.
14. Husband 1998: 183. Another Breu circle variant of a tournament scene, formerly in the Graphische Sammlung Albertina, Vienna, and now in the Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin, was mentioned by Wegner as being similar to the scene in the Berlin painting. Cf. Wegner 1959: 30, fig. 13.

80–82

Designed by Jörg Breu the Elder

The Children of the Planets

c. 1512–16

80

After Jörg Breu the Elder

The Children of Luna

c. 1512–16

Pen and brown ink on cream laid paper

Inscribed in light brown ink in the cartouche at the top *VENUS*, which is crossed out and inscribed above in dark brown ink *luna*

DIAMETER

23.7 cm

Weimar, Kunstsammlungen zu Weimar, Schlossmuseum

Inv. no. KK 93

PROVENANCE

Granducal collection

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Morrall 1993: 212–13.



80

81

After Jörg Breu the Elder

The Children of Luna

c. 1512–16

Clear glass, brown and black vitreous paint, yellow stain and sanguine

DIAMETER

With lead frame: 17.3 cm.

Frankfurt am Main, Museum für Kunsthandwerk

Inv. no. 6131

PROVENANCE

Acquired in 1926 from Kammerherr von der Gabelentz

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Kunstgewerbemuseum 1927: 44 ff., sect. 20; Bech-Lustenberger 1965: no. 53, 123–25; Morrall 1993: 214.



81



82

82

After Jörg Breu the Elder

The Children of Saturn*

c. 1512–16

Clear glass, black and brown vitreous paint, yellow stain, sanguine

CONDITION
Flaked paint; later blue frame

16.4 cm; 19.4 cm with frame

Glasgow, Glasgow Museum, The Burrell Collection

Inv. no. 45/494

PROVENANCE
William Burrell (original gift, Hutton Castle)

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Glasgow 1965: no. 193;
Morrall 1993: 211–14.

Among the enduring legacies of classical antiquity in Western culture is that of planetary influence upon human life. The ancients identified seven so-called planets: Saturn, Jupiter, Mars, Venus, Sol (the Sun), Mercury, and Luna (the Moon).

*Not included in exhibition

Throughout the Middle Ages and Renaissance, it was thought that the planet that dominated the heavens at birth determined an individual's nature.

While *The Children of the Planets* had a rich tradition in the graphic arts of the late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, Breu appears to have introduced it to stained glass, producing several cycles of glass designs illustrating the subject, as evidenced by a number of drawings and two surviving glass roundels. The drawings include *The Children of Sol* in Leipzig, Museum der bildenden Künste (fig. 63); *The Children of Saturn* (fig. 64) and *The Children of Mercury* (fig. 65) in the Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin; *The Children of Luna* in Schlossmuseum, Weimar (cat. no. 80); and what seems to be the only autograph drawing in the series, *The Children of Mars* in Linz, Stadtmuseum Linz-Nordico.¹ The glass includes *The Children of Luna*, Frankfurt am Main, Museum für Kunsthandwerk (cat. no. 81); *The Children of Saturn*, Glasgow, Burrell Collection (cat.

no. 82); and *The Children of Venus*, formerly in Berlin.²

The Leipzig drawing shows Sol in a chariot overhead, while below, a king presides over hot-tempered men who engage in swordplay and acrobatic contortions. The Weimar drawing and Frankfurt panel appear to be variants of each other. The Weimar drawing presents Luna as Diana riding in a heavenly chariot, while below a panorama unfolds that refers largely to water, the lunar element, with a mill in the foreground, behind which flows a river with a boatman, a fisherman, and a bridge crossed by peasants carrying produce to the mill. In the left background are men standing around a table where a magician performs tricks. In the Frankfurt panel, foreground and background elements have been re-versued, with the magician and onlookers in the foreground, while the water-related elements—consisting of a mill, peasants carrying produce, a lake, and a fisherman—are placed in the distance. At the left is a bird-catcher and at the right a fal-



FIGURE 63. After Jörg Breu the Elder. *The Children of Sol*, c. 1515. Pen and brown and black ink, 23.7 cm (diam.). Leipzig, Museum der bildenden Künste (inv. no. 4766). Photo: mdbk, Gerstenberger 1998.



FIGURE 64. After Jörg Breu the Elder. *The Children of Saturn*, c. 1515. Pen and brown ink, 23.7 cm (diam.). Berlin, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin-Preussischer Kulturbesitz (inv. no. KdZ 4327). Photo: Jörg P. Anders.

coner on horseback and a couple riding double, seen from the rear.

Breu's Leipzig and Weimar drawings rely strongly upon the series of Florentine engravings of the planets of around 1460, attributed to Baccio Baldini (fig. 66), which also inspired a series of late-fifteenth-century woodcuts published in Augsburg by Erhard Radolt. Other comparable depictions of the planets include the series of woodcuts of 1531 generally attributed to Georg Pencz (cf. cat. no. 66) and drawings by the Master of the Housebook (cf. cat. nos. 1–3) in the manuscript after which he is named in the collection of the princes of Waldburg-Wolfegg in Wolfegg.³ Following the example of the above-mentioned Florentine engravings, the illustrations of *The Children of the Planets* in the *Housebook* are accompanied by texts outlining the character of individuals born under each planet. Luna, for example, describes her influence over her children as “Cold and wet my power ranging overall, unstable, changing.”⁴

Saturn's children exhibit the troubled nature of their planetary forbear who was so closely identified with the artistic temperament, melancholy, and obsession with immense and imponderable philosophic and religious questions, as definitively expressed by Dürer in the engraving *Melencolia I*.⁵ In the *Medieval Housebook*, Saturn describes his progeny: “vicious, dry, and old/ envious, weary, wretched, cold . . . /They grub the dirt, dig graves, plow land/ in foul stinking clothes, they stand . . . always needy, never free.”⁶ The Glasgow roundel of *The Children of Saturn* includes a beggar-like man with a sack and ill-fitting hose and a man on crutches in the foreground, with two prisoners in stocks in the middle distance. These have been shown to refer to Saturn's malign aspects of causing dark moods and susceptibility to crime, beggary, and physical misfortune. The farthest from the earth and thus coldest planet, Saturn was associated with winter and its labors of hog slaughtering, wood chopping, and breaking ground with a plow, which also appear in the Glasgow roundel.⁷

A comparison of the Weimar *Luna* and Berlin *Saturn* drawings to the roundels in Frankfurt and Glasgow shows that the drawings, with their many figures, vast panoramas, and planetary gods in the heavens evince a more direct reliance on the tradition of the Baldini-ascribed Florentine engravings. The glass panels, on the other hand, which are smaller than the drawings, omit the overhead gods, reduce the number of the figures, and place clearly defined groups of figures in the foreground—changes that make them less emblematic, more



FIGURE 65. After Jörg Breu the Elder. *The Children of Mercury*, c. 1515. Pen and brown ink, 23 cm (diam.). Berlin, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin-Preussischer Kulturbesitz (inv. no. Kdz 4326). Photo: Jörg P. Anders.



FIGURE 66. Attributed to Baccio Baldini. *The Children of Luna*, c. 1460. Engraving, 32.4 × 21.6 cm. London, The British Museum (inv. no. 1845-8-25-476). Photo: © The British Museum.

naturalistic, and improve their legibility in the glass medium. This placement of groups of sculptural, energetic figures in the foreground corresponds to Breu's compositional method in the Hoechstetter series, with a particularly good comparison existing between the woodcutter in March from the cycle of the months and the analogous figure in the Glasgow panel.⁸ This leads one to interpret the surviving evidence as pointing to Breu having designed two cycles of glass panels of the Children of the Planets, basing the first one on the tradition of the Florentine engravings, and with this series in turn providing the starting point for a more original and legible cycle produced after he had further developed his compositional methods for glass. The dependence on earlier sources and less assured manner of composition suggest that Breu made the planetary series somewhat before he embarked upon his greatest treatment of cosmological themes, the Hoechstetter cycle of the months. Like the Hoechstetter series, the cycle of glass roundels to which the examples in Frankfurt and Glasgow belong provided the inspiration for paintings.⁹

1. The major work on this series has been done by Andrew Morrall; cf. Morrall 1993: 212–14. For the Berlin *Saturn* and *Mercury*, cf. Bock 1921, 1: nos. 4327, 4326, 4779. For the Leipzig *Sol*, see Ihle and Mehnert 1972: no. 10 (27.3 cm; inv.no. 4766); for the Erlangen copy of *Mars*, cf. Bock 1929, 1: no. 771, 11: pl. 182 (diameter of 23.7 cm). The authors are deeply indebted to Tilman Falk, who brought to our attention the only possibly autograph drawing to have survived from the series, *The Children of Mars* in Linz (drawn in pen and black ink), which, although not as high in quality as the Munich drawings for the Maximilian *Wars and Hunts* series, could be autograph, perhaps a reworked tracing. Cf. Pokorný 1998: no. 3 (inv. no. sv/320). It bears the monogram *HB* applied in gray ink by a later hand, which could refer to the glass painter Hans Braun, whose monogram appears on the Göttingen series of copies after Breu's cycle of the Months (cf. cat. nos. 91–94).
2. For the Frankfurt *Luna*, cf. Bech-Lustenberger 1965: no. 53, 123–25. For the Berlin *Venus*, see Schmitz 1913, 11: pl. 36, no. 224 (as Breu the Elder or Younger, c. 1530).
3. For the Florentine prints attributed to Baldini, see Hind 1938–48, 11: 77 ff., no. A, 111: 1–9; cf. Morrall 1993: 212–14; Bech-Lustenberger 1965: no. 53, 123–25; For the woodcuts after Pencz, cf. London 1995: no. 109a–c, 115–17.
4. Washington, D.C., and New York 1998–99: 38.
5. Cf. Klibansky, Panofsky, and Saxl 1964.
6. Washington, D.C., and New York 1998–99: 28.
7. Cf. Morrall 1993: 212–14.
8. Cf. Boeckmann and Grüber 1994: 180, fig. 25 (drawing in Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. no. 4059).
9. As discovered and illustrated by Morrall; cf. Morrall 1993: 213–14.

83–90

Designed by Jörg Breu the Elder

The Cycle of Glass
Roundels with the Wars
and Hunts of Emperor
Maximilian I

c. 1516

83

Jörg Breu the Elder

Emperor Maximilian's
Hennegau War

c. 1516

Pen and black ink on cream laid paper; frame of
a separate sheet of cream laid paper

Inscribed in the frame in brown ink: *Kayser
Maximiliani Hönningaw Krieg*; inscribed in the
frame at the upper left in pen and brown ink
with the old inventory number 2863 and again
at the bottom of the image; dry stamp to the left
of this inventory number

DIAMETER

24.9 cm; 27.7 × 26.8 with inscribed border

Munich, Staatliche Graphische Sammlung
München

Inv. no. 28

PROVENANCE

Mannheim collection; Elector Carl Theodor

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Schmid 1894: 23–24;
Dörnhöffer 1897: 1–55; Stiassny 1897–98:
296–98; Schmitz 1913, I: 131, note 1; Baldass
1923: 26, 41, pl. 40; Munich 1958: no. 26, 35–
36; Witzleben 1977: 48; Berlin and Regensburg
1988: 180, under no. 89; Morrall 1994: 129–
31, 139–40; Scholz 1998: 386, 392.

84

After Jörg Breu the Elder, Hans
Knoder (or Gumpolt Giltlinger?)

Emperor Maximilian's
Hennegau War

c. 1516

Clear glass, black vitreous paint, yellow stain,
sanguine

CONDITION

Cracked; triangular piece at the top a modern
replacement

DIAMETER

Including lead frame: 26.9 cm

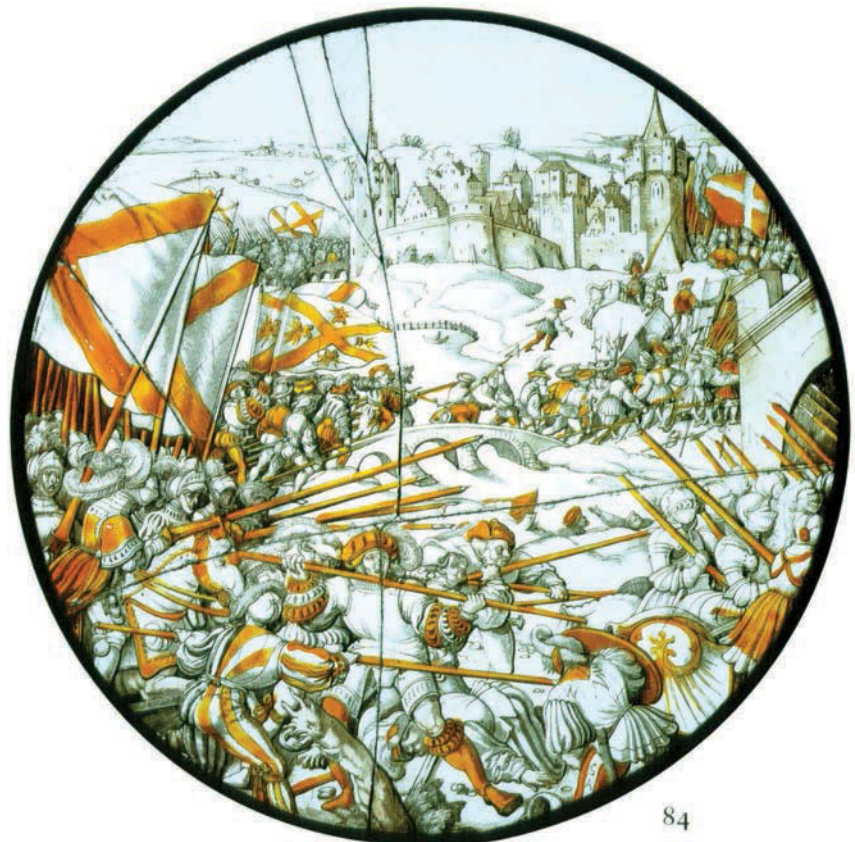
Eisenach, Wartburg-Stiftung Eisenach

Inv. no. KG 113

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Schmitz 1913, I: 257, fig. 36a;
Baldass 1923: 41, under no. 40; Kämpfer 1973–
76: 70, fig. 75; Corpus Vitrearum Checklist IV
1991: 163.



83



84



85

Jörg Breu the Elder

Emperor Maximilian's Burgundian War

c. 1516

Pen and black ink on cream laid paper; border on a separate piece of cream laid paper

Inscribed in the border in pen and brown ink: *Kayser Maximiliani Burgundisch Krieg*; inscribed in pen and brown ink 2860 at the lower left of the border and at the bottom of the image.

DIAMETER

24.7 cm; 28 × 26.2 cm with border

PROVENANCE

Mannheim Collection; Elector Carl Theodor

Munich, Staatliche Graphische Sammlung München

Inv. no. 25

BIBLIOGRAPHY: See cat. no. 83.



86

By or after Jörg Breu the Elder

Emperor Maximilian's Burgundian War

c. 1516

Pen and brown ink on cream laid paper; dry stamp in the lower right

DIAMETER

24.6 cm

Leipzig, Museum der bildenden Künste

Inv. no. NI.18

PROVENANCE

Stiftung Dörrien, Leipzig

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Dörnhöffer 1897: 3–4, note 4; Ihle and Mehnert 1972: no. 8, 40.

87–88

Jörg Breu the Elder

**Emperor Maximilian
Hunting Bear and
Emperor Maximilian
Hunting Stag**

c. 1516

Counterproofs in black ink with some parts
discolored to reddish brown, on cream laid paper

DIAMETER
25.2 cm

Munich, Staatliche Graphische Sammlung
München

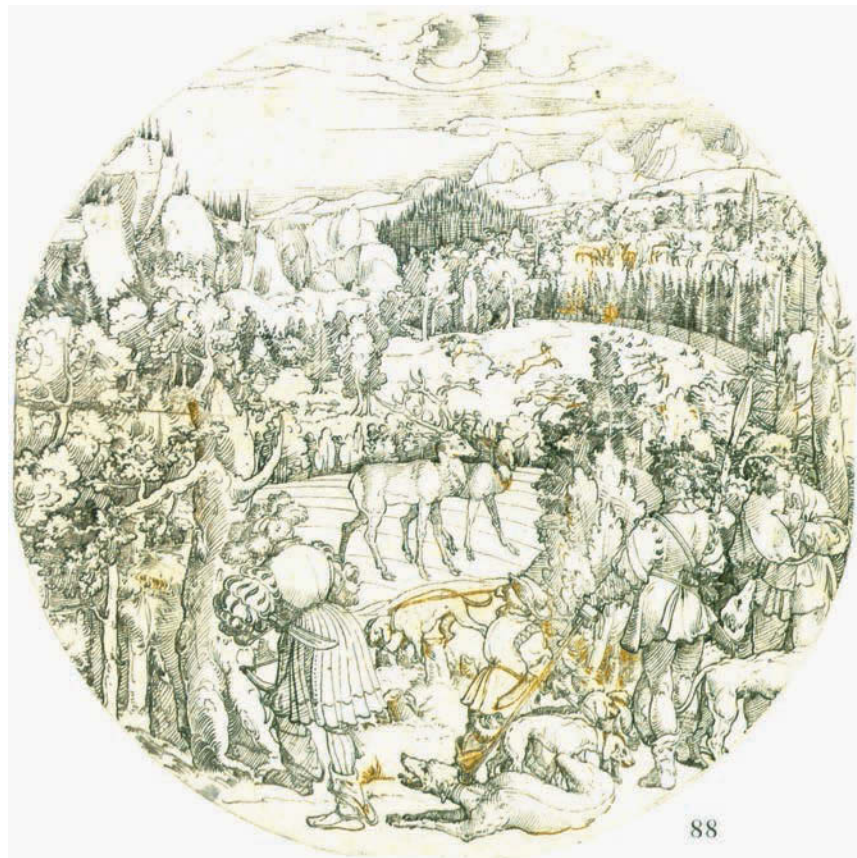
Inv. nos. 74 and 75

PROVENANCE
Mannheim Collection; Elector Carl Theodor

BIBLIOGRAPHY: See cat. no. 83.



87



88



89

89–90

Jörg Breu the Elder

**Emperor Maximilian
Hunting Bear and
Emperor Maximilian
Hunting Stag**

c. 1516

Pen and black ink over black chalk on beige laid paper

WATERMARK
Imperial orb (Briquet [1907] 1966: 3058)

26.7 and 26.5 cm

Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France

Inv. no. Cote B 13 rés

PROVENANCE
M. de Marolles; collection mark of the
Bibliothèque nationale (Lugt 1921: 253)

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Dörnhöffer 1897: 54; Lugt and
Vallery-Radot 1936: nos. 20 and 21, 11; Paris
1991–92: no. 16; Falk 1995: 166.



90

Besides his public commissions for monumental stained glass, such as the Emperor's Window in the church of Saint Sebald, Nuremberg, Emperor Maximilian issued at least one major private commission for a cycle of stained-glass roundels. In a letter of June 14, 1516, to his treasurer in Augsburg, Jakob Villingner, he ordered twenty glass panels to decorate the new tower of his hunting lodge in Lermoos (Tyrol), with the responsibility for their manufacture and shipment to Lermoos to be accorded to the Augsburg court artist Hans Knoder (fl. 1508–22).¹ The major scholarship on the series remains that of Dörnhöffer, who identified this commission with the series of eighteen roundel drawings by Jörg Breu the Elder in the Staatliche Graphische Sammlung, Munich, which comprise fourteen battle scenes and four hunting scenes: *Emperor Maximilian's Hennegau War* (cat. no. 83), *The Battle of Thérovanne*, *The Gelderland War*, *The Utrecht War*, *The Flemish War*, *The Second Flemish War*, *The Austrian War*, *The Hungarian War*, *Emperor Maximilian's Burgundian War* (cat. no. 85), *The Swiss War*, *The Naples War*, *The Bohemian Battle*, *The Conquest of Kufstein*, *The Venetian War*, *Emperor Maximilian Hunting Stag* (cat. no. 88), *Emperor Maximilian Hunting Boar*, *Emperor Maximilian Hunting*



FIGURE 67. After Jörg Breu the Elder; Hans Knoder (or Gumpoldt Giltlinger[?]). *The Swiss War*, c. 1516. Clear glass, yellow stain, sanguine, and vitreous paint. Formerly Salzburg, Museo Carolino Augusteum, Salzburger Museum für Kunst und Kulturgeschichte (inv. no. 166/22); destroyed during World War II. Photo: © Salzburger Museum C.A.

Bear (cat. no. 87), and *Emperor Maximilian Falcon Hunting*. Three connected glass roundels have been published subsequent to Dörnhöffer's article: *The Swiss War*, formerly in the Museo Carolino Augusteum, Salzburg (fig. 67); *The Second Flemish War*, in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; and *Emperor Maximilian's Hennegau War* (cat. no. 84) in the Wartburg.² Unfortunately, nothing further can be ascertained about the installation of the roundels, given the complete destruction of the hunting lodge during the sixteenth century.³ Since the commission was given to Knoder, it has been assumed that he executed the glass roundels. Recently, however, it has been suggested that as court painter he could have acted as coordinator for the commission, procuring the services of Breu to design it and those of Knoder's brother-in-law, Gumpolt Giltlinger (fl. Augsburg 1451–Augsburg 1522), a multifaceted artist who was also a glass painter, to execute it.⁴

As recognized by Dörnhöffer, the battle scenes from Breu's series of roundels are ultimately based upon some of the miniatures from *The Triumphal Procession*, one of Emperor Maximilian's great commissions, which comprised a monumental hand-painted album on vellum depicting a triumphal parade celebrating his military victories.⁵ It is largely the work of Albrecht Altdorfer, with the assistance of other artists, in-

cluding Georg Lemberger.⁶ The overall program of *The Triumphal Procession* was worked out by the court historian Johannes Stabius and dictated by the emperor to his secretary, Marx Treitzauerwein, toward the end of 1512. At that time, the Innsbruck court painter Jörg Kölderer made drawings for the series, which served as the basis for the miniatures carried out by Altdorfer and his assistants, which were probably completed in early 1516.⁷ The same text for the program and probably the no-longer-extant drawings also strongly influenced another imperial commission, the giant woodcut frieze of *The Triumphal Procession*, the designs for which were carried out largely by Hans Burgkmair and Albrecht Altdorfer, with lesser contributions from Hans Springinklee, Leonhard Beck, Hans Schäufelein, and Wolf Huber, and with the woodblocks apparently cut in Augsburg between 1516 and 1518.⁸ Breu probably consulted drawings either for or after the vellum *Triumphal Procession* when making the designs for his series of glass roundels.⁹

Augsburg was also the city in which the more than two hundred wood blocks, designed chiefly by Burgkmair and Leonhard Beck, were cut between 1514 and 1516 for the allegorical history of the reign of Maximilian and his father, Friedrich III, the *Weisskunig*.¹⁰ Its third part chronicles Maximilian's military exploits from 1477 to 1513, subject matter

that also forms part of the painted *Triumphal Procession*. It is thus within this cluster of Maximilian's great commissions celebrating his military prowess—the painted *Triumphal Procession* and the monumental publications carried out in Augsburg, the woodcut *Triumphal Procession* and the *Weisskunig*—that one must place Breu's series of designs for the Lermoos glass panels.

A comparison of the Munich drawing of *The Hennegau (Hainault) War* (cat. no. 83) and its related glass roundel from the Wartburg (cat. no. 84) with the miniature from *The Triumphal Procession of The War in Hennegau and in Picardy, and the Battle of Théroouanne in Artois* (fig. 68) shows the brilliance with which Breu adapted the compositions of the miniatures to the roundel format. The battle scenes in *The Triumphal Procession* miniatures appear as painted panels borne aloft in the procession by *Landsknechte*; the miniature in question, which Winzinger attributed to Georg Lemberger, displays the Hennegau War on the right-hand panel. From May to September 1478, then-Archduke Maximilian successfully countered the French invasion of Netherlandish territory acquired through his marriage to Mary of Burgundy. The miniature shows the attacking imperial troops on the left and the fleeing French troops at the right. In the right foreground, imperial troops storm a fortified bridge leading to a city; in the middle ground they combat French troops on an arched bridge; while in the background they invade a city from the left, driving the French out the other side.¹¹ Breu reconfigured the vast Altdorf-eresque panorama of the "panel," which relies chiefly on lateral motion, to exploit the telescopic potential of the roundel format. He brings the eye of the viewer into the midst of the foreground melee, in which imperial troops pursue the French through the fortified bridge. The river in the middle leads the eye into the far distance, with this effect driven dynamically by the serpentine motion of the armies and the strong cropping of the border, which heightens the tension along the central corridor of the composition. Breu's Danube School tendencies appear in the key role played by the landscape, whose pulsing energy is equal to and of a piece with that of the troops. As seen in the finished glass roundel, the arched bridge reinforces the convexity of the city wall in the distance, which in turn leads the eye to the vast watery landscape in the far distance. This delicately washed panorama, particularly when illuminated by sunlight, testifies to the technical brilliance of the glass painter and to the unique and magical qualities of the glass medium within the land-



FIGURE 68. Georg Lemberger. *The War in Hennegau and in Picardy, and the Battle of Théroouanne in Artois* (detail of right half), fol. 50 from *The Triumphal Procession of Emperor Maximilian*, c. 1516. Watercolor and gouache on vellum, 45 × 85 cm (entire fol.). Vienna, Graphische Sammlung Albertina (inv. no. 25.207).
Photo: Graphische Sammlung Albertina, Wien.

scape imagery of the German Renaissance (cf. Peter van Treeck's remarks on this panel, p. 61).

Breu's Munich drawings for the series of battles and hunts of Emperor Maximilian mark a high point in his production of stained-glass designs. Indeed, their teeming detail and dramatic spatiality caused Dörnhöffer, who did not know the related panels, to question whether they could be translated into the medium of glass.¹² The answer, according to Andrew Morrall's recent research, is probably that Breu made this type of drawing, intricately rendered in black ink with a fine nibbed pen, filled with dense hatching, and lacking wash modeling, in order to work out a fully developed compositional idea.¹³ This primary version, as exemplified by the Munich *Burgundian War* (cat. no. 85), could have been given to the patron. A close replica, such as the excellent, possibly autograph version in Leipzig (cat. no. 86), documents what was shown to the patron and agreed upon, the so-called *vidimus* (we have seen). The second version would have been kept in the studio as a permanent record of the composition and working drawing in the production of glass. As noted by Morrall, the

quality of this *vidimus* had to be quite high, as it served as the basis for further working drawings. In subsequent drawings, as exemplified by the Paris *October* for the Hoehstetter *Cycle of the Months* (cat. no. 93), Breu and his assistants simplified the intricate line work still more, turning it into washes and outlines that could be unambiguously translated into glass painting. In the Wartburg panel, almost all hatching has been transformed into matt wash modeling of the utmost delicacy. The thickened contours that form such a prominent part of Breu's drawing technique appear throughout the roundel as trace lines (for example, the right side of the tree stump), giving definition to forms. On the reverse of the panel, brilliant silver stain accents the movement of the troops through the landscape; sparing touches of sanguine, as seen in the faces of the foremost soldiers, the foreground tree stump, and the city in the background heighten three-dimensionality by providing a warm middle tone.

The four hunting scenes include some of the most beautiful landscapes of the series. Maximilian himself might be represented as the foremost pikeman in the bear hunt.¹⁴ As noted by Lugt

and Valery-Radot, however, the Munich versions (cat. nos. 87–88) are in fact counterproofs, with the two surviving originals, *The Bear Hunt* and *The Stag Hunt*, now in the Bibliothèque nationale, Paris (cat. nos. 89–90).¹⁵ Of all of Breu's primary versions for this series, these two in Paris seem to be the only ones not cut down to the circular border.¹⁶ It is curious that the counterproofs rather than the originals are part of the Munich group, which appears to comprise the primary compositional drawings for the battle roundels.

With their Alpine backdrops, the hunting scenes have a different look than the battle scenes and thus form their own group within the larger series. The suggestion that their landscape reflects the area around Cardinal Matthäus Lang's Wellenburg Castle near Augsburg, has been refuted, and indeed it seems more logical that their spectacular scenery, as well as hunting subject matter, was intended to reflect life at the Tyrolean hunting lodge for which they were commissioned.¹⁷

1. Dörnhöffer 1897: 9. For more on Knoder, see Morrall 1994, and Thieme and Becker 1907–50, XXI: 12–13.
2. For the Salzburg panel (destroyed in World War II), cf. Stiassny 1897–98: 296–98; Tietze 1919: 178, fig. 225; Baldass 1923: 41, under no. 40; Fischer 1914: opposite 166, pl. 89; for the Metropolitan panel (inv. no. 25.135.170, European Sculpture and Decorative Arts), cf. Corpus Vitrearum Checklist IV 1991: 163.
3. Dörnhöffer 1897: 10.
4. Morrall 1994: 139–40. For Giltlinger's activity as a glass painter, with further literature, see Hartmut Scholz's essay in this volume, pp. 33–37. For a summary of his activities as a painter and further literature, see Hans Georg Gmelin, "Gumpolt Giltlinger," in *DOA* (1996, XI: 648).
5. See Dörnhöffer 1897: 8. Of its original 109 folios, fols. 1 and 49–109 survive in the Graphische Sammlung Albertina, Vienna (inv. no. 25.262). Copies of the complete work are in Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. min. 77; Albertina D. 1196, 2. Garnitur nr. 23–39 and Madrid, Nat. Bibl. Res. 232; cf. Winzinger 1972–73, I: 58–59.
6. As established in Winzinger 1972–73; cf. Berlin and Regensburg 1988: 180, under no. 89.
7. Winzinger 1972–73, I: 39.
8. Stuttgart 1973: cat. nos. 204–16, n.p.; London 1995: no. 143.
9. Scholz 1998: 392. There are drawn copies of the miniatures in the British Museum (*The First War in Hennegau and Picardy*) and elsewhere; cf. Rowlands 1993, I: no. 54, 28.
10. Stuttgart 1973: nos. 178–203, n.p.; London 1995: no. 142.
11. Winzinger 1972–73, I: no. 4, 41, II: no. 4, 4.
12. Dörnhöffer 1897: 10.
13. Morrall 1994: 128–34.
14. Falk 1995: 166.
15. Lugt and Valery-Radot 1936: nos. 20–21, 11.
16. Falk 1995: 166.
17. For the contextual reference to Wellenburg Castle, see Paris 1991–92: no. 16. For the observation that this cannot be the case, based upon a comparison to Breu's 1516 woodcut of the site, see Falk 1995: 166.

91–94

Designed by Jörg Breu the Elder

**The Cycle of the
Months Made for
Georg Hoehstetter**

c. 1521



91

91

Jörg Breu the Elder

**Design for a Stained-Glass
Roundel with the Month
of July: Falcon Hunting
and Harvesting Wheat**

c. 1521

Pen and black ink, gray wash, on beige laid paper

DIAMETER

23.7 cm

Berlin, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin-Preussischer
Kulturbesitz, Kupferstichkabinett, (Max
Friedländer-Stiftungsfonds)

Inv. no. 12 839, 44—1928

PROVENANCE

Acquired in 1928

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Wegner 1959: 23; Rowlands
1993, I: 42, under no. 91, 43, under no. 93;
Morra! 1994: 134, fig. 6.

92

After Jörg Breu the Elder
(Hans Braun?)

**Stained-Glass Roundel
with the Month of July:
Falcon Hunting and
Harvesting Wheat**

c. 1521

Clear glass, black and brown vitreous paint,
yellow stain and sanguine

CONDITION

Triangular piece at the top a modern
replacement

DIAMETER

With lead frame: 24.7 cm

Kaiserslautern, Pfalzgalerie

Inv. no. K 572

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Augsburg 1955: 24, under no.
64; Wegner 1959: 23.



92



93

93

After Jörg Breu the Elder

**Design for a Glass Panel
with the Month of
October: Selling Fowl
in a Burgher's House**

c. 1521

Pen and brown ink and gray wash on cream laid paper

Inscribed *jb* in ligature in brown ink in the upper right

DIAMETER
24.2 cm

Paris, École nationale supérieure des Beaux-Arts,
Collection Masson

Inv. no. M46

PROVENANCE
Masson Collection

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Wegner 1959: 26; Rowlands
1993, 1: 42, under no. 92; Dormeier 1994b: 211,
214, fig. 55.



94

94

After Jörg Breu the Elder

**Stained-Glass Roundel
with the Month of
October: Selling Fowl
in a Burgher's House**

c. 1521

Clear glass with black and brown vitreous paint,
yellow stain, sanguine

CONDITION
Paint abraded

Inscribed *jb* in ligature (trimmed at top) in black
vitreous paint in the upper right

DIAMETER
24.5 cm with leading; 28.5 cm with frame and
leading

Augsburg, Stadt Augsburg Kunstsammlungen,
Maximilianmuseum

Inv. no. 3493

PROVENANCE
Together with *Roundel with a Tournament Scene*
(cat. no. 79), from a Fugger house in Augsburg



FIGURE 69. After Jörg Breu the Elder. *The Month of July: Falcon Hunting and Harvesting Wheat*, possibly middle of the sixteenth century. Pen and ink, 41.9 × 21.3 cm. Basel, Öffentliche Kunstsammlung Basel, Kupferstichkabinett (inv. no. U.VI.99). Photo: Öffentliche Kunstsammlung Basel, Martin Bühler



FIGURE 70. Mongrammist "LA"; after Jörg Breu the Elder. *The Month of July: Falcon Hunting and Harvesting Wheat*, 1545–55. Pen and brown ink, 29.4 × 30.5 cm; 29.8 cm (diam.). Bern, Historisches Museum (inv. no. 20036.71). Photo: Stefan Rebsamen, Bernisches Historisches Museum.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Baum 1923: 110, fig. 90; Augsburg 1955: 64; Augsburg 1980, II: no. 3; Rowlands 1993, I: 42, under no. 92; Morrall 1994: 140–41, fig. 7; Ulm 1995: 48, fig. 5; Hasler 1996–97, II: 285–5, under no. 689h.

Jörg Breu the Elder's mastery of the particular suitability of the roundel format to cycles of glass reaches one of its finest moments in the cycle of the months designed for the Hochstetter family of Augsburg. Even in the context of the frequent production in multiple versions of glass cycles after the Elder Breu, the Hochstetter series appears to have enjoyed particular popularity, with the twelve compositions of the series surviving in some sixty drawings disbursed among various museums. Compared with the drawings, the glass has suffered a far larger rate of attrition, with only two panels from the series surviving in Kaiserslautern and Augsburg: *The Month of July: Falcon Hunting and Harvesting Wheat* (cat. no. 92) and *The Month of October: Selling Fowl in a Burgher's House* (cat. no. 94).

The drawing for *The Month of July* in Berlin (cat. no. 91) is part of the group of drawings for the cycle that are accepted as autograph, which includes *January* in the Graphische Sammlung

Albertina, and *April, May, August, November, and December* in the Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin. The works of this group are drawn quite finely in pen, with some of the contour lines strengthened in darker ink and with selected passages modeled in gray wash. The quality of their execution is slightly below that of the Munich drawings for *The Wars of Emperor Maximilian* (cat. nos. 83, 85), which contain no wash. Intensively detailed line drawings of this type appear to have been made in order to work out a fully developed compositional idea, which Breu himself presumably simplified somewhat for the glass painter, adding wash to aid in modeling, in the Berlin *July*. The first version would either be kept as the valuable property of the Breu workshop or given to the patron, while this second high-quality working drawing could have been made as a *vidimus*, establishing what the patron had been shown and the glass painter was expected to carry out, and serving as the basis for further copies used in the glass-painting process.¹ Two groups of glass painters' tracings after the series in Bern and Basel show different framing devices, as seen in the Bern *July* tracing (fig. 70), which is framed by a circle inscribed *IULIUS* and showing the sun

over the constellation Leo, while that in Basel (fig. 69) is framed by the inscription *JULIUS. GODT. DIE. SON IN DEN LEUWEN* ([In] July the sun travels to [the house of] the lion).²

Breu's Berlin drawing of *July* centers upon a dismounted falconer luring back his bird, which has made a kill; at the left, a mounted huntsman supports a net to entrap birds. (The theme of the falconer retrieving his bird is common in this period, and figures in other glass roundels such as the one after Breu from the series of the Mechanical Arts in Dresden.)³ Beyond that, peasants reap wheat, while in the distance are visible more hunters and laboring peasants, set against a vast mountainous landscape. Typical of the Hoehstetter series, Breu depicts the months with a combination of peasant labors and aristocratic pastimes, with emphasis placed upon the latter. The entire panorama is alive with detail and energy. Taking a closer look at Breu's design for *July* and the roundel after it in Kaiserslautern, we see him exploiting the roundel format in a subtly different way than in the series of *The Wars of Emperor Maximilian*. In place of the Altdorfer-inspired legions of tiny figures of the *Wars*, he places larger, rounder, and more sculptural figures in the immediate foreground, which are strongly cropped, giving the impression that what we see is part of a larger composition that extends far beyond the bounds of the circular format. Simultaneously, the strong central convergence of the composition draws the eye inward, as if through an oculus. The rounded, sculptural quality of the foreground figures resonates with the macrocosmic associations of the circular form and solidifies their oneness with the vital, larger world that they inhabit. The cropping, indicating that we are seeing a slice of a larger whole, emphasizes the subject of time that is the focus of the series, both in the seasonal nature of labors and recreations and in the temporal flux in the sun's position in the firmament. In the glass panel there is a happy melding of pictorial evocations of the shifting sun—conveyed by the circular format and the depiction of the sun's rays at the top (colored with yellow stain)—with the actual shifting sunlight that shines through the glass.

The finest surviving design for the *October* roundel in Augsburg (cat. no. 94) is the drawing in Paris (cat. no. 93), which belongs to a group of presumed copies in the *École des Beaux-Arts*, which is of lesser quality than the Vienna/Berlin group and is characterized by the thick application of gray wash. This group is decidedly closer to Breu's manner than the other groups of copies located in Basel, Bern, Göttingen,



FIGURE 71. Augsburg painter. *Fall: July, August, September*, possibly middle to late sixteenth century. Oil on canvas, 225 × 348 cm. Berlin, Deutsches Historisches Museum (inv. no. 1990/185.3).

Photo: © Deutsches Historisches Museum.

Nuremberg, and Copenhagen, but at the same time the quality of the Augsburg panel exceeds that of the Paris *October* and underscores that it is a copy and not by Breu himself.⁴ The Paris drawing shows a rich man seated in the left foreground, whose wife places her hand on his shoulder while he buys foodstuffs from a group of peasants: a man supports a brace of birds and carries a hare on a stick; a maid with a basket extends her hand to receive coin for the chickens on the table, and a man in a fool's cap, perhaps not just costumed as a fool but a real simpleton, enters at the right with a basket of bread.⁵ In the background stands a woman with a distaff, flanked by a mirror on the left wall and a drinking fountain on the right, while at the left one sees the back of a woman sitting in a window sill looking out, and at the right, peasants lay up wood and hay for winter. At the top of the right-hand wall is Breu's monogram, a lower-case *b* with a cross, which also appears in the Augsburg roundel. The glass roundel has been cut all around, with the upper part of the monogram lost to the trimming. The autograph drawing for *November* in Berlin is the only other drawing or glass panel in the Hoehstetter series to be monogrammed and indicates that Breu himself was likely not the maker of the Augsburg panel, but rather that the glass painter of the Augsburg panel, like the copyist in the Paris *July* drawing, transcribed the initials of the inventor to his image.⁶

In the back windows of the room, clearly visible in the Paris *October* as well

as the related Augsburg glass panel, are two coats of arms which have been identified: on the left (repeated in the bench at the lower left in the Paris drawing) is that of the Augsburg Hoehstetter family and on the right is that of the Ehem family. Hoehstetter arms also appear in the design for *November*. As established by Wegner, the patron of the series must have been the Augsburg Georg II Hoehstetter (1479–1534), who was married to Ursula Ehem. Her death in 1521 establishes a terminus ante quem for the series.⁷ Breu's placement of the patron's arms in the back windows of the room makes pointed and effective use of the popular motif of the window within a window. Compared with the Paris drawing of the same subject, the Augsburg panel subordinates outline to tonal modeling, which works beautifully with actual light to illuminate the interior of the house.

One of the prominent glass painters on the Augsburg guild rolls during Breu's lifetime was Hans Braun. The initials *HB* appear on the copies of the cycle of the months in Göttingen, one of which is dated 1526, which indicates Braun produced an early series of glass paintings after Breu's designs for the Hoehstetter windows.⁸ The *January* scene in the Bern series of copies is monogrammed *LA*, pointing to still another glass painter who manufactured the cycle.⁹

Together with the series of *The Wars and Hunts of Emperor Maximilian I* and the *Twelve Roundels Depicting*

the Story of Joseph (cat. nos. 98–109), *The Cycle of the Months* for the Hoehstetter family constitutes Breu's finest contribution to the medium of stained glass and one of his greatest artistic achievements overall. It felicitously melds form, content, and medium, with the circular format underscoring the macrocosmic implications of the labors, pastimes, and seasons; in turn, this zodiacal subject matter is literally illuminated and brought to life by the light of the perpetually shifting sun. Breu eliminated all traces of the static to achieve a powerful and unified vision of temporal flux. Key to this is the pronounced cropping of the forms within the roundel format. It is probably from his activities as one of the major German designers of woodcut book illustrations that Breu introduced to the stained-glass medium the expert use of cropping to create transition and continuity within a cycle of images. As cropping was a common device in late medieval illuminated books of hours, with their calendar cycles, its prominence in Breu's designs could also indicate a conscious linkage of them to this venerable tradition. Indeed, the cropping in Breu's Hoehstetter designs is so clever that it makes one wonder whether Breu actually excerpted them from larger

images. Attesting to their powerful evocation of a greater whole is the series of four large paintings of the months and pastimes in the Deutsches Historisches Museum, Berlin, which probably date to the later sixteenth century and which are ultimately based upon Breu's Hoehstetter designs.¹⁰ They complete and knit together the individual drawings for the Hoehstetter glass roundels, as seen in *July-August-September* from the series (fig. 71).

Perhaps the most immediate appeal of the Hoehstetter cycle of the months, however, results from their brimming detail, which forms a vivid evocation of the life of the times. While some of the scenes refer to the countryside, such as *July* or *May* (which shows elegant ladies and gentlemen disporting in the open air), others, such as *October* or *January* (which shows a meal in a patrician house), depict the seasonal activities of city dwellers. Specific references to Augsburg, such as the appearance of the Wine Market and the church of Saints Ulrich and Afra in the background of *January* or the Perlach Tower and the old City Hall in the background of *November*, suggest that the series as a whole depicts the life of the city throughout the year, no doubt in reference to the patron, who was an Augsburg citizen. The city, and specifically Augsburg, thus becomes a key element within the natural order of life, in contrast, for example, to the great *Season* panels of Pieter Bruegel the Elder (Vienna and New York), which depict life in rural, agrarian terms. Breu's depiction of the months as in part illustrated by the life of his own city thus stands as one of the major artistic testaments to the growing importance of urban life and, by implication, to the efflorescence of Renaissance Augsburg.

95

Jörg Breu the Elder

Bridal Scene

c. 1520–25

Pen and black ink and brown and orange wash on cream laid paper

DIAMETER
19.8 cm

Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum

Inv. no. 89.GG.17

PROVENANCE
Rudolf P. Goldschmidt, Berlin (Lugt 1921: 2926) (sale, Prestel, Frankfurt-am-Main, October 4, 1917, lot 76); E. Czczowicka, Vienna (sale, C. G. Boerner and Paul Graupe, Berlin, May 12, 1930, lot 45); Lessing J. Rosenwald, Jenkintown, Pennsylvania; Mr. and Mrs. David Felix, Philadelphia (sale, Christie's, New York, January 12, 1988, lot 90); art market, Boston.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Schilling 1933: 29–30; Parker 1938, I: 120, under no. 280; Goldner and Hendrix 1992: no. 121; Rowlands 1993, I: 42, under no. 89

Among Breu's most charming designs for glass roundels is the series depicting the tale of the rise of a peasant lad who becomes an emperor. The story occurs in the late medieval compilation of moralizing legends, the *Gesta Romanorum*, which was widely popular during the Renaissance and was printed in numerous editions, including the first German edition published in Augsburg by Johann Schopser in 1489.¹ Unlike another tale from the *Gesta Romanorum* (Deeds of the Romans)—*Shooting at the Father's Corpse*, which was depicted in 1517 by Hans Baldung for a stained-glass roundel (Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. no. KdZ 571)—this story appears to have had no prior history of illustration before Breu.

Edmund Schilling first identified the subject matter of the series as deriving from the *Gesta Romanorum*, prompted by the drawing in Frankfurt (fig. 72), which has the following inscription on its frame recounting (in translation from the German): "The emperor is horrified that a peasant will be his son-in-law and orders the child killed. The servants brought him the heart of a hare for the child's heart and laid the child in a tree."² According to the tale, a nobleman and his wife fled the emperor's wrath to hide in a hut in the forest. One day the emperor went hunting and took overnight shelter

1. See the excellent discussion of the functions the various types of designs for glass roundels by and after Breu in Morrall 1994: 128–34.
2. Wegner 1959: 23 cites copies in Paris, École des Beaux-Arts, Collection Masson, inv. no. 44; Bern, Historisches Museum, Wyss Collection, Band 1, nr. 57; Basel, Kupferstichkabinett; and Göttingen, Kupferstichkabinett der Universität, which are monogrammed *HB*. For the series of copies in Bern monogrammed *LA* and dating to around 1545–55, cf. Hasler (for further literature) 1996–97, II: nos. a–k, and Bern 1996–97: nos. 153–62. There is an additional copy from the British Museum volume of drawings from the Wyss collection; cf. Rowlands 1993, I: no. 93 (inv. no. 1899-1-20-53).
3. Staatliche Kunstsammlungen, Historisches Museum; Boockmann and Grüber 1994: 155; cf. cat. nos. 96–97. See also Augustin Hirsvogel's round drawing of the same subject in Budapest, Szépművészeti Múzeum, inv. no. 106, which may also be preparatory to a glass panel; cf. Peters 1979: 375.
4. Wegner 1959: 17, 29; copies of the *October* are in Bern (Wyss collection, Band 1, nr. 59, inv. no. 20 036, 73); with further copies in Basel and Göttingen; Wegner 1959: 26.
5. Dormeier 1994b: 211.
6. For the suggestion of Breu's possible authorship of the Augsburg panel, see Baum 1923: 113; Augsburg 1980: no. 3. For a fine discussion of the Augsburg guild rules as support for the thesis that Breu did not actually execute glass painting, see Morrall 1994: 135–47).
7. Wegner 1959: 26.
8. Note Morrall 1994: 140. The authors are deeply grateful to Tilman Falk, who points out that the drawing *Venatio* monogrammed *HB* in Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett (inv. no. KdZ 17666), is so close in style to the "draftsmanship" of the *July* roundel at Kaiserslautern (cat. no. 92) as to indicate Braun's possible authorship of the latter.
9. Baum 1923: 113–14.
10. For a discussion of the attribution of the paintings, the copies in Augsburg, Maximilianmuseum, and the drawings of *October*, *November*, *December* (Wolfegg, Fürstlich zu Waldburg-Wolfeggisches Kupferstichkabinett) and *July*, *August*, *September* (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale) as probable variations of the Berlin paintings and preparatory to the Augsburg copies, see Krämer 1994.



at the same hut. That night, the wife gave birth to a son, a scene that may be represented in the drawing formerly in the Rodrigues Collection and now in a European private collection (fig. 73). While this happened, the emperor had a dream that the newborn would become his son-in-law. Fearing the prophesied usurper, the emperor ordered two of his squires to slay the baby and show him the heart as proof of death. Moved by the child's beauty, the squires placed him on the branch of a tree and presented the emperor with the heart of a hare instead. While riding through the forest, a duke discovered the baby and took him to raise. (Schilling has noted that the episode of the duke's discovery of the child in the forest is depicted in the drawing formerly in the Oppenheimer and Schilling collections and now in the British Museum [fig. 74].)³ The child became exceedingly handsome and intelligent and was taken to court by his father. Schilling recognized that another drawing formerly in the Rodrigues Collection and in a European private collection probably depicts a banquet scene in which the emperor recognized the youth and forced the nobleman to confess the truth (fig. 75).⁴

The extant series seems to be missing scenes of several decisive moments from the middle of the tale. The emperor wrote a letter to the queen, commanding her to have the young man killed upon its delivery, and gave the letter to the youth to deliver. The youth put the letter in his purse and went into a church, where he fell asleep. A curious priest opened the purse and found the letter and, filled with horror, erased the passage commanding the youth's death and wrote in its place that the queen should give the lad their daughter's hand in marriage. The last in the series of extant drawings is that in the Getty. Schilling believed the scene at the left, with the handsome youth on horseback, might refer back to his arrival at court, but it seems more likely that it shows his delivery of the letter to the queen. Schilling recognized that the scene to the right depicts the climax of the tale, in which the lad and the princess, now married, lie in a magnificent nuptial bed, which implies the fulfillment of the prophesy, whereby the lad's bloodline will be merged with that of the royal house. The story ends when the emperor, initially stunned when he heard the news, questioned the squires. Upon hearing the miraculous chain of events, he acknowl-

edged that it must be the will of God. He then sent for the youth, confirming his marriage and succession to the throne.

Pointing to their high quality, Schilling recognized that the Frankfurt, London, and Los Angeles sheets were by Breu himself. He noted two further drawings from the series, which he regarded as copies, depicting a lying-in chamber and a christening, which may show the child being christened after his birth (fig. 73), and the formerly mentioned banquet scene.⁵

It has been noted that the arms of a triple rampant lion (Baden-Württemberg), which occur above the bed in the lying-in scene and on the cloth covering the horse at the left of the London drawing, may indicate the patron who commissioned the series.⁶ Rowlands has proposed that the *Gesta Romanorum* drawings may form part of a larger series for glass paintings of heroes and heroines from antiquity and heroic saints, evidenced by a number of roundel designs of such subjects by Breu, including several in the British Museum.⁷ In the *Gesta Romanorum*, "Of Tribulation and Anguish" was accompanied by a christianized moral likening the child to Jesus Christ, and this moral may have appealed to the patron. The patron may also have found particular resonance in the story due to its association with the Holy Roman Emperor Henry III of Germany (1017–1056), whose reign marked a high point in the history of the medieval German monarchy.⁸ In some versions of the *Gesta Romanorum* the child is named Henry and the emperor is called Conrad, in reference to the father of Henry III, Emperor Conrad II. The historical reference to these emperors is still more explicit in another source for the above tale in *The History of the Lombards*, the penultimate chapter of Jacobus de Voragine's *Golden Legend*, which contains an historical account of the German emperors.⁹ Like the *Gesta Romanorum*, the *Golden Legend* was published in numerous editions in Breu's lifetime, and the stories in both so closely parallel each other that it is difficult to determine which source he used for his images.

As Schilling noted, the Getty drawing is among the most beautiful in the series. This is due in part to the splendid ornamental bed and classizing architecture of the bridal chamber, both of which indicate that Breu drew this after his presumed trip to Italy around 1514. Breu demonstrates mastery of the roundel format, seen in the way he rounds the architecture to suggest a domed rotunda, the sculptural form of the seated attendant at the right shown from the rear, and the queen's huge train that reinforces the flow of the roundel. This compositional



FIGURE 72. Jörg Breu the Elder. *The Emperor Orders the Child Killed*, c. 1520–25. Pen and black ink and yellowish brown wash, 23 cm (diam.), Frankfurt am Main, Graphische Sammlung im Städelschen Kunstinstitut (inv. no. 15418).
Photo: Ursula Edelmann.



FIGURE 73. After Jörg Breu the Elder. *The Lying-in Chamber and Christening*, c. 1520–25. Pen and black ink, 19.8 cm (diam.). Private collection.



FIGURE 74. Jörg Breu the Elder. *The Duke Discovers the Child in the Forest*, c. 1520–25. Pen and black ink, 19.7 cm (diam.). London, The British Museum (inv. no. 1997-7-12-20).
Photo: © The British Museum.



FIGURE 75. After Jörg Breu the Elder. *The Emperor and the Page*, c. 1520–25. Pen and black ink, 20 cm (diam.). Private collection.

1. See tale 20, "Of Tribulation and Anguish," in Swan 1905: 118–20.
2. Graphische Sammlung im Städelschen Kunstinstitut, inv. no. 15418; See also Schilling 1933: 29–30; Schilling and Schwarzweller 1973: no. 45.
3. Rowlands 1993, I: 42, under no. 89; London, Washington, D.C., and Nuremberg 1984: no. 31, 35; for the copy in Oxford, the Ashmolean Museum, see Parker 1938: no. 280, 120.
4. Sale, Frederik Muller & Cie (Amsterdam, April 12–13, 1921, lot 9, plix) from the E. Rodrigues Collection.
5. Not in the 1921 Rodrigues sale catalogue. Schilling and Schwarzweller 1973, I: 22, under no. 45. Both drawings were formerly in the E. Rodrigues collection and are now in a European private collection. Cf. Bolten and Folmer-von Oven 1989: nos. 20–21.
6. Cf. Bolten and Folmer-von Oven 1989: 6, note 1, under no. 20.
7. Rowlands 1993, I: 42, under no. 89, no. 90.
8. Trillitzsch 1973: 9.
9. Ryan 1993: 380–81.

sophistication, the relative largeness of the figures, and the reliance upon relatively thick outline suggest that Breu made the *Gesta Romanorum* series about the same time as the Hoechstetter cycle (cat. nos. 91–94). The attractiveness of the drawing also stems from the artist's modeling of the forms in orange with reddish brown wash in the faces. This feature was probably intended to guide the glass painter in the application of yellow stain and sanguine, with the latter being frequently used for flesh tones.



96

96–97

Designed by Jörg Breu the Elder

The Seven Mechanical Arts

96

After Jörg Breu the Elder

Coquinaria (The Art of Cooking)

c. 1520–30

Pen and brown ink, gray, green, and rose watercolor, black chalk around the contours of the figures, on cream laid paper

Inscribed *COQUINARIA* in the cartouche at the top; color notes on the figures in black chalk and black ink

DIAMETER
28.8 cm

Munich, Staatliche Graphische Sammlung
München

Inv. no. 19441

PROVENANCE

Acquired from von Meilinger in 1864/65

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Janitscheck 1890: 432; Schmitz 1913, I: 131; Augsburg 1955: no. 75; Baumeister 1957: 45, 48; Blankenhorn 1973: 57; Falk 1968: 79; Augsburg 1980, II: no. 606, 227; Schaal et al. 1990: no. 342, 108; Corpus Vitrearum Checklist IV 1991: 19 and fig. 20, 24.



97

97

After Jörg Breu the Elder

Coquinaria (The Art of Cooking)

c. 1520–30

Clear glass, black vitreous paint, yellow stain

CONDITION

Cracks and paint abrasion

Inscribed *COQUINARIA* in black vitreous paint in the cartouche above

DIAMETER
23.5 cm

London, Victoria and Albert Museum

Inv. no. 604-1872

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Schmitz 1913, I: 135; Rackham 1936: 87; Corpus Vitrearum Checklist IV 1991: 17, fig. 21, 24.

Breu's vivid and appealing series of roundels depicting *The Seven Mechanical Arts* enjoyed popularity into the second half of the sixteenth century and was carried out in various versions. Its subject matter originally comprised *Vestaria*

(weaving), *Milicia* (the military arts), *Metalaria* (metalwork), *Coquinaria* (the art of cooking), *Venatio* (the art of hunting), *Mercatura* (the merchant arts), and *Architectura*. The concept of the Seven Mechanical Arts as paralleling the Seven Liberal Arts originated in the ninth century, but it was not until Hugh of Saint Victor's twelfth-century *Didascalicon* that they were accorded legitimacy as a distinct category of human knowledge. Understanding the *artes mechanicae* as a generic term for all crafts, Hugh described seven categories of mechanical arts: fabric making, armament manufacturing (which included metalworking and architecture), commerce, agriculture, hunting (which included cooking and other crafts related to food), medicine, and theatrics.¹ Breu's rendering of the subject imbues it with a humanistic air, as conveyed by the roundel format, elaborate classicizing architectural settings, and the titles of each art appearing in Roman inscriptional capitals upon scrolled tablets at the top.

The subject of the mechanical arts enjoyed particular artistic currency in Augsburg, with its humanistic circles and thriving economy. As a backdrop to Breu's series of roundels, there was the woodcut after Burgkmair of c. 1507 made for the great humanist Conrad Celtis, glorifying the imperial eagle, the emblem of Emperor Maximilian, as the protector of the arts and sciences (including the mechanical arts), and Celtis's college of poets and mathematicians as the embodiment of this efflorescence.² Even more important were Burgkmair's now-covered over frescoes of 1514 on the facade of a house belonging to the wealthy Welser family (now the Maximilianmuseum), which—being on Augsburg's main street—would have been universally known in the city.³

Dörnhöffer first mentioned the suite of six colored roundels in the Rüst-kammer, Dresden, which, as discussed

below, postdate Breu's lifetime.⁴ Except for *Coquinaria* (fig. 76), they have recently been recovered after being lost and comprise *Vestaria* (fig. 77), *Milicia*, *Metalaria*, *Venatio*, and *Mercatura*. A drawing for *Coquinaria* (cat. no. 96) is in Munich, while a surviving roundel for *Coquinaria*, which is monochrome with yellow stain, is in the Victoria and Albert Museum (cat. no. 97). The Munich drawing, which contains exquisite touches of watercolor, shows six men in an arched kitchen. Two observe from the back left, while two at the right appear to turn meat on a spit. The foreground figures set up an inward/outward motion, with the left-hand figure tasting a dish and the portly man walking forward, having obviously indulged in the fruits of his labors. The figures appear to have been traced. The chalk marks for lead lines surrounding the figures, watercolor washes, and color notations on the figures indicate that the Munich drawing was intended as a design for one in a series of colored roundels, such as those in Dresden. It is indeed remarkably close to the lost Dresden *Coquinaria* (fig. 76).

Because of heavy restoration, it is difficult to establish the date of the Dresden roundels. Their colored glass frames decorated with tools of each art have been regarded as later additions due to the date of 1564 on that of *Mercatura*, and it is also worth noting in this respect that their grotesque cartouches suggest a form of ornament postdating Breu's lifetime.⁵ It is probable, as well, that the central images, while obviously copying his designs, may have been made after Breu's lifetime, as Morrall has recently noticed on the central image of the same panel what he reads as a date of 1562, accompanied by a glass painter's monogram JM.⁶ The Munich drawing is not a direct study for the Dresden roundel, as indicated among other elements by the background figures on the left, which are actually closer to those in the Victoria and Albert panel, and thus might be preparatory to another lost series of colored roundels.

As virtually all of the surviving roundels after Breu that date to his lifetime are unipartite with vitreous paint and yellow stain, one is inclined to believe that the series was produced first in this medium and later in color. The Victoria and Albert silver-stained panel (cat. no. 97), though somewhat awkwardly drawn, retains some of the fluidity of Breu's draftsmanship and possibly dates to his lifetime. The series was apparently produced as well in silver stained roundels long after Breu's death, as indicated by the group of copies in the Albertina of some of Breu's drawings for *The Mechanical Arts*, which contain



FIGURE 76. After Jörg Breu the Elder; late-sixteenth-century glass painter. *Coquinaria*, 1562–64. Pot-metal, flashed, and clear glass, yellow stain, and vitreous paint, 31.5 cm (diam.). Formerly in Dresden, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen-Rüst-kammer (inv. no. A 161); lost during World War II.

Photo: Sächsische Landesbibliothek, Staats und Universitätsbibliothek Dresden, Deutsche Fotothek, Photograph: R. Andrich, before 1945.



FIGURE 77. After Jörg Breu the Elder; late-sixteenth-century glass painter. *Vestaria*, 1562–64. Pot-metal, flashed, and clear glass, yellow stain, and vitreous paint, 31.5 cm (diam.). Dresden, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen-Rüst-kammer (inv. no. A 153).

Photo: Elke Estel/Hans-Peterklut, © Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden.

neither lead lines nor color notations and which include *Architectura*, dated 1563.⁷ A silver-stained roundel in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Cloisters Collection, showing *Architectura* has been connected with the Vienna drawings, but its fluid style of drawing is closer to that of Breu and to the Victoria and Albert panel, indicating that it probably dates to Breu's lifetime.⁸ The spaciousness of the architecture and the paring down of the compositions to relatively few large-scale figures suggest that Breu may have created the series later in his career, around the time of the *Joseph Series* (cat. nos. 98–109).⁹

1. Whitney 1990: esp. 82–127. For an excellent explication of Burgkmair's complex woodcut, cf. Silver 1998: 47–49.

2. Geisberg 1974: no. 518.

3. The authors are deeply grateful to Tilman Falk for pointing out Burgkmair's treatments of this subject. Cf. Falk 1968: 79.

4. Dörnhöffer 1897: 31–32; Schaal et al. 1990: no. 342, 107–9.

5. Schaal et al. 1990: no. 342, 109. Given the important role that frames play in roundels by or after Breu, it is a significant question whether Breu himself planned them as integral to the inner design. Although it would seem likely, there is no concrete evidence for this, as the extant drawings with frames, most notably the copies after the Hoechstetter *Months* in Bern and Basel, are glass painters' drawings, and the frames in the Dresden roundels are later additions.

6. Morrall 1994: 143.

7. The others comprise *Vestaria*, *Metalaria*, and *Mercatura*. Cf. Tietze et al. 1933, IV: 193, nos. 17–20. The date and a monogram SZ were noted by Andrew Morrall; cf. Morrall 1994: 142–43.

8. Morrall 1994: 142–43; Corpus Vitrearum Checklist IV 1991: 171.

9. Cf. Augsburg 1980, II: no. 606.

98–109

After Jörg Breu the Elder

Twelve Roundels Depicting the Story of Joseph

c. 1530

Clear glass with black vitreous paint, yellow stain and sanguine; border in blue glass

Inscribed throughout in black vitreous paint with the names of the protagonists (see below for individual panels)

DIAMETER

26.4 cm; 36.8 cm with border and frame

Munich, Bayerisches Nationalmuseum

Inv. nos. G723–734

PROVENANCE

From the Royal Residence at Landshut

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Meidinger 1805, I: 247; Schinnerer 1908: nos. 155–66, 38–40, pls. 26–27; Schmitz 1913, I: 135; Fischer 1914: 164, pl. 88; Didier-Lamboray 1965: 206, note 4; Witzleben 1977: 48–49; 132, fig. 155, 134, fig. 159, 135, fig. 162; Morrall 1994: 140–41.



98

Joseph Recounts His Dreams

In the left foreground sits the father *JACOB*, in front of whom stands the boy *JOSEPH*, who recounts his dreams. To the right, are the wives of Jacob, *BILHA* and *SILPA*. In the distance is a mountainous landscape in which Joseph recounts to his brothers a dream in which the sun and moon and stars, symbolizing his father and brothers, bow to him. The scene represents Genesis 37: 1–11.

Joseph, son of Jacob's favored wife Rachel, tells his envious brothers and his father a series of dreams predicting that they will pay obeisance to him. Bilha and Silpa were the handmaidens of Jacob's wives Rachel and her sister Leah, who at the behest of their mistresses bore him sons (Genesis 30: 1–11).

Inv. no. G733; Schinnerer, no. 155

98

Joseph Sold by His Brothers

Inscribed 2 at the bottom.

In the middle foreground, *JOSEPH* is taken by the arms by *RUBEN* and another brother. At the right is a cistern, from which one of the brothers is pulling a cord. In the middle ground the brothers have a meal, while at the right is the caravan of the Ishmaelite merchants. The scene represents Genesis 37:17–28.

The brothers plan to slay Joseph and throw his body in a pit, telling Jacob that he was killed by a beast. His brother Ruben convinces them to throw him into a pit, planning to rescue him later. They throw Jacob in a pit and sit down to a meal, during which the Ishmaelite merchants arrive. Another brother, Judah, decides that it is better at least to make a profit on their actions, so they pull Joseph up from the pit and sell him to the Ishmaelites for twenty pieces of silver. Later, the brothers tell Jacob that he was killed by a beast.

Inv. no. G725; Schinnerer, no. 156



99

Joseph Bought by Potiphar

Inscribed 3 at the bottom.

In the middle foreground, Pharaoh's officer Potiphar, inscribed *KING VARO HOFMAISTER*, pays money to a man whose hem is inscribed *ISMAHELITEN*. At the right, under a classicizing coffered pavilion, *JOSEPH* speaks with a turbaned figure counting money. In the mountainous landscape in the left background, Jehovah in clouds appears to Joseph. The scene represents Genesis 39:1–6.

Joseph is brought to Egypt and sold by the Ishmaelites to Potiphar, officer of Pharaoh and captain of the guard. The background scene probably refers to verses 2–3, which recount that the Lord was with Joseph and made all that he did prosper. When Potiphar observed this, he made him steward of his house, which the Lord in turn blessed for Joseph's sake. The scene at the right probably shows Potiphar in discussion with his steward, Joseph.

Inv. no. G724; Schinnerer, no. 157.



100



101

101

Joseph and Potiphar's Wife

Inscribed 4 at the bottom.

In a bedroom furnished with magnificent classicizing Renaissance furniture, the nude wife of Potiphar grasps Joseph's cloak as he tries to flee. At the left, two men enter the room through a door. In the middle ground, Potiphar's wife, accompanied by a servant, speaks with her husband. The scene represents Genesis 39:7–19.

Potiphar's wife pursues Joseph. On one occasion she invites him into her bed, and when he flees, she catches and retains his garment. She tells the men of the house (shown entering the room) and her husband that Joseph tried to force himself upon her.

Inv. no. G726; Schinnerer no. 158



102

102

Joseph in Prison

Inscribed 5 at the bottom.

At the right in a vaulted cell are the butler and the baker of Pharaoh with their feet in shackles. Joseph leans forward to listen to the baker tell his dream. At the left center, Joseph ascends a stairway with bread and water to distribute them to a crowd of prisoners. In the left background, the king drinks wine at a table while the baker is hanged. The scene represents Genesis 39:20–23 and 40:1–23.

Enraged, Potiphar sends Joseph to prison. Joseph gains the favor of the warden, who puts him in charge of the prison. This is probably the source for the middle vignette of Joseph distributing food and water to other prisoners. Joseph is put in charge of Pharaoh's chief baker and chief butler, who had offended Pharaoh and were sent to prison. They both have dreams that Joseph interprets: that of the butler means that he will be restored to service in three days and that of the baker means that he will be hanged in three days. The third day was Pharaoh's birthday, in which he held a feast, restored the butler to his position, and hanged the baker. This is depicted in the vignette in the upper left. Joseph tells the butler of his innocence and asks him to defend him to Pharaoh; the butler forgets.

Inv. no. G727; Schinnerer, no. 159

103

Joseph Interprets Pharaoh's Dream

Inscribed 6 at the bottom.

PHA/RAO lies in an ornate bed and listens to Joseph interpreting his dream of the seven fat and seven lean cows. In the background are the seven full and seven withered ears of corn. The scene represents Genesis 41.

Pharaoh has disturbing dreams of seven fat cows eaten by seven lean cows and seven fat ears of corn destroyed when seven lean ears of corn unleash winds against them. The butler remembers Joseph, who is called to interpret Pharaoh's dreams and reveals that they predict seven years of plenty followed by seven years of famine. He advises Pharaoh to prepare for the disaster, and Pharaoh puts him in charge of the government, second only to himself. Joseph saves Egypt, amassing such stores of corn that other countries come there to buy it.

Inv. no. G28; Schinnerer, no. 160.



103

104

Joseph's Brothers in Egypt

Inscribed 7 at the bottom.

At the right, in front of the door of his house, stands Joseph, richly dressed and accompanied by his wife. He speaks to his brothers, who bow reverently. A large sack of money is on the ground. In the background, one sees camels and servants laden with sacks of food. The scene represents Genesis 42:1-28.

Joseph's ten brothers come to Egypt to buy food. They leave at home the youngest brother, Benjamin, who with Joseph was the only other offspring of Jacob's beloved wife Rachael. They bow before Joseph, who conceals his identity and recognizes the fulfillment of his youthful dream as depicted in the first roundel. The brothers tell Joseph that they are sons of a man of Canaan and that their youngest brother is at home with their father. Anxious to see his beloved brother Benjamin, Joseph accuses the brothers of being spies and of lying and orders them to bring their youngest brother back to him to prove their innocence. He imprisons one brother and sends the others back laden with food. Unbeknownst to them, he returns their money to their sacks, represented in the roundel by the sack of money on the ground.

Inv. no. G730; Schinnerer, no. 161



104



105

105

Joseph's Brothers Come to Egypt a Second Time

Inscribed 8 at the bottom.

At the left stands *JOSEPH* surrounded by servants. In front of him is *BENEAMIN* with his hands raised in prayer, while a brother holds up a goblet. At the right are more of the brothers, three of whom kneel. The scene represents Genesis 44.

Joseph's brothers, in need of food, have come to Egypt with Benjamin. Joseph sends them back with food but has his goblet planted in Benjamin's sack. Joseph's servant pursues them and discovers the goblet. Benjamin is brought before Joseph, still in disguise, and the brothers beg for mercy. They say that to lose Benjamin will kill their aged father, who has already lost Benjamin's brother, and the only other living offspring of his mother.

Inv. no. G729; Schinnerer, no. 162



106

106

The Brothers Return Home with Gifts

Inscribed 9 at the bottom.

Joseph, moved to tears, revealed himself to his brothers. He recognized that God raised him up to ensure the survival of his father's progeny, the Israelites. There are five years of the famine yet, and he instructs his brothers to bring the family back to Egypt to live in Goshen. Pharaoh too is pleased. The brothers are sent, laden with goods, back to Jacob, whom God has now renamed Israel. The scene represents Genesis 45.

Inv. no. G731; Schinnerer, no. 163

Joseph and Jacob Reunite

Inscribed 10 at the bottom.

In the right foreground, the elderly *IACOB* puts his arms around *JOSEPH* as the Israelite tribe looks on. In the background is a city identified as Goshen (*DIE STAT GOSEN*) in the cartouche above. The scene represents Genesis 46.

Genesis 46 contains a listing of the wives and sons of Israel and their offspring, whom Israel brings to Egypt. The scene focuses on verse 29: "And Joseph made ready his chariot, and went up to meet Israel his father, to Goshen, and presented himself unto him; and he fell on his neck, and wept on his neck a good while."

Inv. no. G732; Schinnerer, no. 164



107

Joseph and Jacob Before Pharaoh

Inscribed 11 at the bottom.

At the left, *PHARAO* sits on a throne in a columned Renaissance palace. At the right, *IOSEPH* and *IACOB* raise their hands in greeting. The scene represents Genesis 47:1-10.

Joseph brings his aged father before Pharaoh, and Israel blesses Pharaoh.

Inv. no. G723; Schinnerer, no. 165



108

Jacob Blesses Joseph's Sons

Inscribed 12.



Sitting on a bed, the elderly Jacob blesses the sons of Joseph, *EPHRAIM* and *MANASSE*, while Joseph stands behind them. Over the bed hangs a cartouche inscribed *IACOB DIE. MAN. NEN. ISRAEL*. (Jacob the man named Israel). In the doorway at the right, the sons of Jacob kneel in reverence, inscribed below *DIE. SIN. IACUB. ZU HEREN* (The Sons Bow down to Jacob). On the chimney (as in cat. no. 94) in the background is inscribed Breu's monogram *jb* in ligature. The scene represents Genesis 48–49.

On his deathbed, Israel blesses Joseph's sons, Ephraim and Manasse, and bids them to grow into a multitude. He calls his sons together to bless them, the founders of the twelve tribes of Israel.

Inv. no. G734; Schinnerer, no. 166.

109



FIGURE 78. After Jörg Breu the Elder. *Joseph Greets His Father by Goshen in Egypt*, c. 1530. Clear glass, yellow stain, sanguine, and vitreous paint, 27.5 cm (diam.). Darmstadt, Hessisches Landesmuseum (inv. no. Kg 38:36).

Photo: Hessisches Landesmuseum Darmstadt.



FIGURE 79. After Jörg Breu the Elder. *Joseph Greets His Father by Goshen in Egypt*, c. 1530. Clear glass, yellow stain, sanguine, and vitreous paint. Formerly Salzburg, Carolino Augusteum, Salzburger Museum für Kunst und Kulturgeschichte (inv. no. 163/42); destroyed during World War II.

Photo: © Salzburger Museum C.A.

The Bayerisches Nationalmuseum is the home of this precious suite of roundels, the only one of Breu's glass cycles to have survived in toto. It depicts the story of Joseph and his brothers, a narrative that enjoyed a long and popular life in stained glass and prints of the northern Renaissance.¹ One of the most gripping and human figures of the Old Testament, Joseph was a paragon of virtue and the savior of the Israelite nation. The history of Joseph occupied an important role in Luther's sermons, as a prime example of salvation through faith alone.² Favored by God and his father, he was sold into slavery by his jealous half-brothers and transported to Egypt, where he became governor of the country; moved by his abiding love for his father Jacob, whom God renamed Israel, and for his full brother Benjamin, and willing to forgive the crime against him wrought by his half-brothers, he moved the clan to Egypt during a devastating famine and thus brought about its survival into posterity as the nation of Israel, consisting of twelve tribes founded by the twelve sons of Israel.

Together with the quite different series of battles and hunts for Emperor Maximilian, the Joseph series shows Breu at the pinnacle of his powers as a glass designer. Its survival as a whole allows one to appreciate to its fullest Breu's particular mastery of the serial potential of glass painting, as it unites his strengths of manipulating crowds in a simultaneous narrative, creating powerful landscape spaces and magnificent classicizing architectural interiors, and producing emotionally moving narrative among smaller groups of protagonists. While Joseph carries the narrative thread, he is always integrated into a larger context of characters, landscape, and architecture; as much as Joseph himself, it is this larger context, brimming with space, vitality, and detail, that brings the story to life and lends it a scope that far exceeds

the diminutive boundaries of the roundels themselves. Indeed, the only other Swiss or German artist to master the serial potential of glass so consummately was Holbein the Younger (cat. nos. 146–50).

Breu propels the viewer through the narrative not only by numerating each roundel but also by exploiting the compositional dynamic of the circular form. He tends to compose along the vertical and horizontal axes of the circle, achieving a delicate balance of simultaneously concentrating focus along these axes and thrusting it outward laterally beyond the bounds of the picture. A good example of this is *Joseph Sold by His Brothers* (cat. no. 99), in which Joseph forms the compositional focal point and yet is slightly off center. He looks backward, stressing the right-to-left flow of the left portion of the roundel, while the captor at his right steps forward, strengthening the left-to-right flow of the right half of the circle. This is still clearer in *Joseph and Potiphar's Wife* (cat. no. 101), in which the artist creates a lateral dynamic not only by Joseph's running to the left but also by leaving the gaping space between him and his seductress. As in other series of roundels, Breu is not only attentive to the circle's surface tensions but also to its concentrated spatial dynamism. In *Joseph and Potiphar's Wife* he uses architecture to create deep orthogonals that converge toward the center of the roundel; in *Jacob and Joseph Reunite* (cat. no. 107) he radiates the crowd and landscape around the center of the composition, thereby gradually leading the eye toward the distant city of Goshen.

The latter roundel is a particularly good example of the vivid way in which Breu characterizes the members of a crowd, such as the matron with braided hair at left of center, with her little charges, one of whom holds a hobbyhorse. This ability to compress and organize expansive crowds and vast space within a small format evidences Breu's translation of the Augsburg heritage of book illustration, led by Burgkmair in *Theuerdank* and the *Weisskunig*, into the medium of glass. He combines this with his own gift for infusing each figure with individual expressiveness, as seen, for example, in the blind Jacob blessing the young sons of Joseph (cat. no. 109).

The Joseph series is particularly reliant on fluid and detailed trace outlines, the exceptional quality and delicacy of which are highlighted by a comparison to the later versions of *Jacob and Joseph Reunite* in Darmstadt (fig. 78) and Salzburg (now destroyed; fig. 79) and *Jacob Blessing the Sons of Joseph*, formerly in Berlin.³ Contrasting the reliance upon line and closeness to Breu's manner of drawing in the Joseph series with the empha-

sis upon matt washes in the *October* (cat. no. 94) from the Hoehstetter cycle of the months, Morrall probably correctly attributes this divergence to their execution by two different glass painters contemporaneously active in Augsburg.⁴ The masterful way in which Breu unites all of his skills of manipulating figures, architectural space, and landscape suggests a dating to Breu's later career as a glass designer.

1. For prints, note in particular three scenes of Joseph and Potiphar's Wife by Sebald Beham (Bartsch 1803–21: nos. 13–15) and the *Cycle on the Story of Joseph* by Georg Pencz, dated 1544–46 (Bartsch 1803–21: nos. 9–12). For Netherlandish and German roundels with the story of Joseph in American collections, see *Corpus Vitrearum Checklist IV 1991*: 47–48, 50, 122, 155–56, 170–71, 212, 251, 253; cf. the scene of *Jacob Receiving Joseph's Bloody Coat*, probably after Pencz in Schmitz 1923: pl. 34. For further references on this subject, see Bemden 1976: 85–100 and Didier-Lamboray 1965: 202–22.

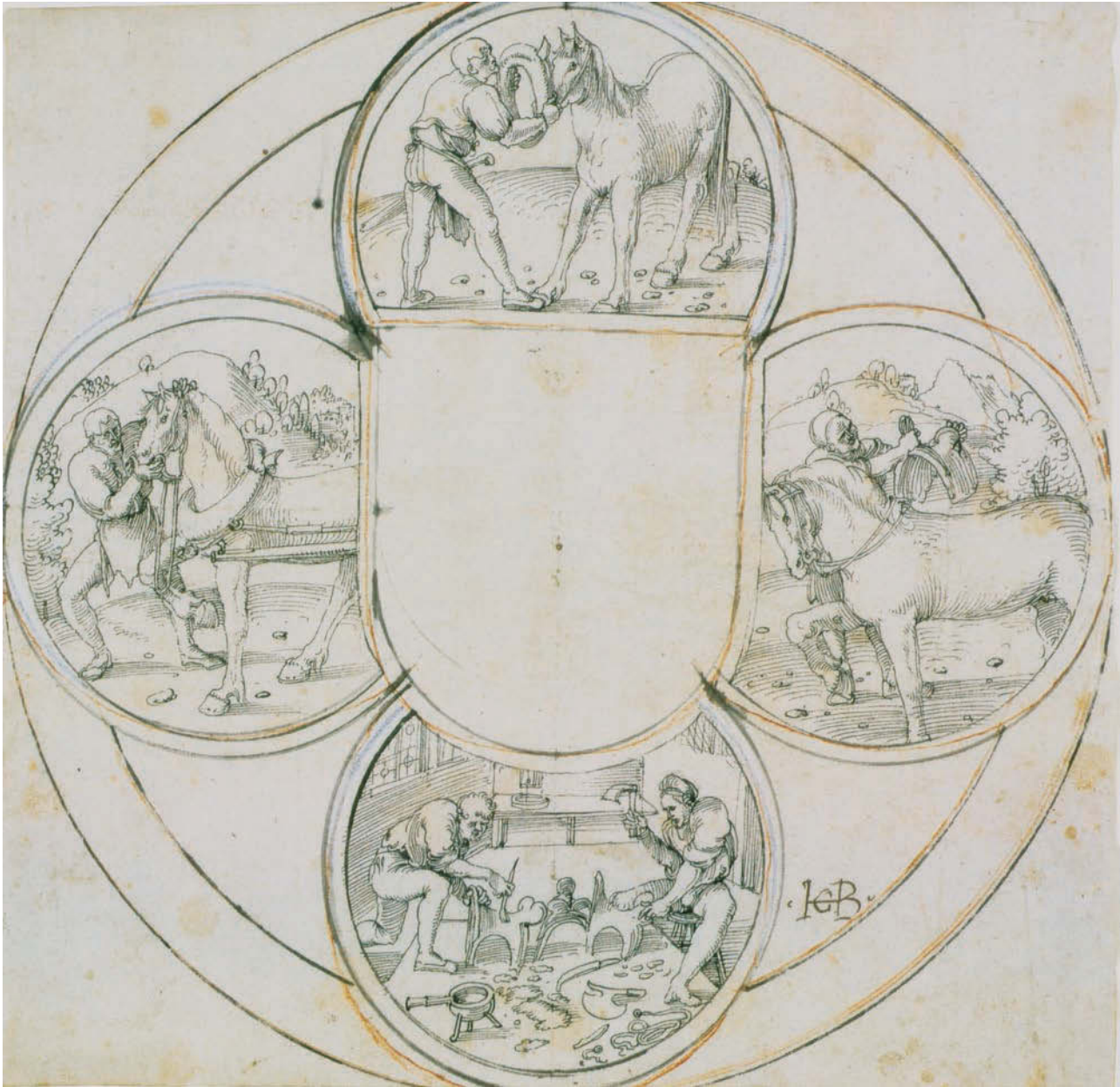
2. Gibson 1989: 16 (for further literature).

3. Cf. Witzleben 1977: 49, who also mentions a copy of *Jacob and Joseph Reunite* in Stift Muri-Gries Sarnen, Switzerland. For the Darmstadt panel, cf. Beech-Lustenberger 1967, I: pl. 189; for that in Salzburg, cf. Tietze 1919: fig. 224, 177. For the Berlin panel, cf. Schmitz 1913, I: 135, II, pl. 35, no. 220.

4. Morrall 1994: 140–43.

STRASBOURG AND
FREIBURG





110

110

Hans Baldung Grien*

Stained-Glass Design for a Saddler

c. 1510

Pen and black ink and red chalk with white gouache corrections, on cream laid paper

WATERMARK

Bull's head with serpent and cross (Saint Anthony's Cross) (similar to Briquet [1907] 1966: no. 15445 and Piccard 1961-, III: sect. 16, no. 75)

Inscribed *HBG* in ligature by Sebald Büheler in brown ink in the lower right

27.1 × 27.8 cm

Coburg, Kunstsammlungen der Veste Coburg, Kupferstichkabinett

Inv. no. Z 14

PROVENANCE

Sebald Büheler (1529–1595), Strasbourg; Duke Franz Friedrich Anton von Sachsen-Coburg-Saalfeld (1750–1806)

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Téry 1894–96: no. 142; Stiassny 1896: 36, no. 24; Schmitz 1913, I: 156, fig. 259; Koch 1941: no. 73; Winkler 1941: 245–46; Munich 1947: no. 187; Washington, D.C., et al. 1955–56: no. 30; Karlsruhe 1959: no. 223, fig. 40; Maedebach 1970: no. 9, fig. 7; Witzleben 1977: 42, fig. 13; Detroit, Ottawa, and Coburg 1983: no. 1.

Compared to the tight, dense, hatching and relatively thick pen strokes in brown ink encountered in *Saint Vincent Ferrer Preaching* (cat. no. 28), the pen work of the present sheet is freer and more expansive, executed in sharp strokes of black ink. On stylistic grounds, it is generally thought that Baldung made the drawing around 1510, by which date he had acquired citizenship in Strasbourg and established his workshop there.¹ This relatively early dating within the Strasbourg period is supported on stylistic grounds by the artist's use of the quatrefoil format, which was popular in Nuremberg among Dürer and his followers and among the previous generation of the Housebook Master (cat. nos. 2–3, 7–8, 25–26, 30–31, 55–58, 71–76) but which does not recur in any other of the numerous surviving drawings for stained glass that Baldung produced after his move to Strasbourg. The free, dashing pen work would presumably have been translated by the glass painter into line work in vitreous paint on clear glass. One notes a parallel em-

phasis on expansive pen work within the diminutive lobes of the quatrefoil in Schäufelein's drawings and connected panels (cat. nos. 71–76).

The drawing's four lively scenes show saddlers at work in their shop and their products being put to use. It is presumed that Baldung made this for an individual, rather than a guild, since the saddlers of Strasbourg and most other German-speaking cities of the time did not have their own guild but rather belonged to the guild of the tanners.² The patron's coat of arms would have been added to the empty shield later by the glass painter. The series of four vignettes begins at the bottom with a scene that, as elucidated by Christiane Andersson, shows saddlers at work in their shop, with the one on the right hammering the leather over a wooden armature while the man on the left applies a coat of glue or paint; bits of wool for stuffing, tools, and pieces of leather are scattered on their work platform.³ Moving counterclockwise: grooms place a finished saddle on a horse, a collar on another, and bridle a harnessed horse, fitting the bit into its mouth. Baldung cleverly balances the horizontal and vertical scenes spatially: the former, distinguished by profile views of horses and set into landscapes, accentuate a planar and right-to-left dynamic, while the latter, extending into depth, lead the eye from bottom to top, with the rising, convex frame of the upper vignette reinforced by the horse's round rump. The dashing, shorthand pen work, which is relatively unimpeded by cross-hatching, imbues the scenes with heightened energy.

Artist and subject could not have been better matched: this drawing, together with the engraving of around the same time, *Groom Bridling a Horse* (fig. 80), constitutes Baldung's first extended essay on a subject that was to fascinate him for the remainder of his career, that of the horse as the embodiment of powerful natural forces.⁴ Baldung's horses can be out of control, as in the famous series of three woodcuts of 1534, *Wild Horses in a Wood*, or barely held in check by man, as in his aforementioned engraving, in which a groom attempts to bridle a wild-eyed horse, holding him back by digging in his heels and grasping the horse's nasal passages.⁵ In the Coburg drawing, there is a similar albeit lighthearted underlying theme of man's efforts to control the horse, with some tension introduced in the topmost scene, in which the horse casts a wily look at the groom advancing with a collar. The equine theme might even carry through to the witty and fortuitous correspondence of the lobes to the shape of horseshoes.



FIGURE 80. Hans Baldung. *Groom Bridling a Horse*, c. 1510–12. Engraving, 33.6 × 21.1 cm. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, S. P. Avery and Special Print Funds (inv. no. 33.553). Photo: Courtesy, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

The present drawing, as well as three others in the exhibition, comes from the collection at Coburg, which houses the largest and most important extant group of Baldung's designs for stained glass. These once belonged to the Strasbourg collector Sebald Büheler (1529–1595), who inherited Baldung's estate and who supplied the four Coburg drawings in this exhibition with spurious Baldung monograms.⁶

1. Koch (1941: 54, 109) compares it with other drawings of around this date, such as *Abbess Veronica von Andlau with the Nuns of Cloister Hohenburg* (London, Victoria and Albert Museum, inv. no., Koch no. 71; fig. 10, p. 11) and *Stained-Glass Design with the Arms of Wilhelm von Honstein, Bishop of Strasbourg* (Coburg, Kunstsammlungen der Veste, inv. no. Z 25; Koch 1941: no. 76).

2. Stiassny 1896: 36, no. 24.

3. Detroit, Ottawa, and Coburg 1983: no. 1, 56.

4. Mende 1978: no. 548; cf. Washington, D.C., and New Haven 1981: no. 34; London 1995: no. 57.

5. Cf. Washington, D.C., and New Haven 1981: nos. 83–85; Detroit, Ottawa, and Coburg 1983: no. 107; London 1995: nos. 65–67.

6. Christiane Andersson, "Early German Drawings at Coburg," in Detroit, Ottawa, and Coburg 1983: 49–55.

*Biography on p. 128.



III

III

Hans Baldung Grien

Stained-Glass Design with the Prechter Arms

c. 1512

Cut into two sheets and rejoined on one mount. Central image: Pen and dark gray ink (by Baldung) for the figure of the woman; pen and brown ink with red chalk lead lines (by the glass painter); archway and column capitals: pen and gray and black ink (by Baldung).

Inscribed by Sebald Büheler in pen and brown ink: *HBG* in ligature in the lower left and in dark brown ink; *Brechter* at the center. Inscribed by the glass painter at the bottom in brown ink: *In dyss eyn wybly mit einem büsch und eyn frenckyschen rock an haben/In das gehuss etwas von bülschafft . . . hierauss sehen* (In this a woman wearing a beret and a Franconian dress/ In the frame something with lovemaking . . . facing outward), followed by a sketch of the heraldic figure's head. Pen experiments by Baldung in gray ink at the bottom.

Color notations by the glass painter in red chalk: under the word *Brechter* ♣ (green); left above mantling of shield, *b[lo]* (*blau*, blue); on the woman's skirt *r [ot]*(?) (red)

Blind collection stamp of the Coburg Kupferstichkabinett of the 1840s below the heraldic woman's foot

25.8 × 15.1 cm (largest dimensions of central image); 16.2 × 22 cm (archway and capitals)

Coburg, Kunstsammlungen der Veste Coburg, Kupferstichkabinett

Inv. nos. Z 49 (central image) and Z 32 (archway)

PROVENANCE

Sebald Büheler (1529–1595), Strasbourg; Duke Franz Friedrich Anton von Sachsen-Coburg-Saalfeld (1750–1806)

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Térey 1894–96: no. 113; Stiassny 1896: no. 25, pl. 8; Koch 1941: 55–56, no. 79; Möhle 1941–42: 217; Munich 1947: no. 189; Karlsruhe 1959: no. 230; Maedebach 1970: no. 11, fig. 9; Witzleben 1977: 46; Detroit, Ottawa, and Coburg 1983: no. 5; Hasler 1996–97, 11, 297, under no. 699.

The courtly theme of a maiden supporting a shield proliferated in engravings and heraldic stained glass of late-fifteenth-century south Germany, as in, for example, the glass design by an artist in the orbit of Master E. S. (fig. 9, p. 10). Baldung here introduced to the subject a note of bourgeois realism as well as his own subtle irony by portraying the shield holder as a staid young woman in middle-class dress. This naturalism was to some degree dictated by the glass painter's instructions at the bottom of the sheet, which stipulate that Baldung was to show a woman in a feathered beret wearing a Franconian dress and that in the arch above should appear scenes of lovemaking. The glass painter who drew the coat of arms also wrote the words “facing outward” (*hieraus sehen*) and drew a sketch of how the woman's head should be turned. Baldung deviated from the

glass painter's instructions by substituting a matron's bonnet for the more flirtatious and maidenly feathered beret, which, as Christiane Andersson noted, achieves a more coherent effect next to the abundance of feathers and foliage of the coat of arms.¹ It might also have played into Baldung's humorous juxtaposition of the heraldic figure with the scene of lovemaking.

Here, a counterpart to the modest, slightly self-satisfied young woman below appears in the upper left of the archway, where she strays from virtue. Seated and wearing a matron's bonnet, she converses with an amorous swain, who places his arm around her waist. Their embarkation down the road to adultery is indicated by a fool, who encourages them by pushing their heads together.² Upon closer investigation, this figure is discernible as a monk who wears a fool's cap; he thus combines the comic notion of the fool, as popularized by Sebastian Brant's satirical treatise *Ship of Fools* (first published in Basel in 1494), with the anticlerical portrayal of the priesthood as morally corrupt, with its most flagrant sins including that of concupiscence.³ This image of the adulterous couple was echoed some years later in Baldung's woodcut illustration *Thou Shalt Not Commit Adultery* in Markus von Lindau's *The Ten Commandments* (fig. 81). In the groups on both the left and the right, wine drinking and amorous behavior go hand in hand. At the right, a seated woman takes a sip; a reclining man looks up dreamily, while another woman touches his hair; behind them, a man appears to pull his partner into his lap. With deft pen strokes, Baldung compresses all of these intricate subtleties into the modest confines of the archway spandrel.

The archway and heraldic image originally formed one drawing before they were cut apart, presumably by the glass painter.⁴ Drawings such as this one indicate Baldung's role in developing the archway into an extensive pictorial component of South German heraldic windows, which finds its Swiss counterpart in the designs of Niklaus Manuel Deutsch (cat. nos. 120–21, 123). In the present example, the scene above has evolved into a field in which Baldung displays his genial imagination and virtuosic penmanship with freer rein than in the heraldic section below, in which he had to append his figure to the coat of arms already drawn by the glass painter.

Carl Koch dated this drawing to around 1512, comparing it to a sheet of freely invented head studies formerly in the von Hirsch collection.⁵ Both the Coburg and the ex-von Hirsch drawings mark the emergence of the mature virtu-



FIGURE 81. Hans Baldung Grien. *Du sollst nicht unkeusch sein* (Thou shalt not commit adultery). Woodcut illustration in *Den Zehn Geboten* (The Ten Commandments), Strasbourg, Johann Grüninger, 1516. 13.5 × 10.4 cm. Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek (inv. no. 13a).

Photo: Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich.

osity of Baldung's pen work, which is characterized by extravagant freedom, inventiveness and thinness of line, and often somewhat diluted, luminous gray ink in its freest passages. In contrast to the heraldic section, which has color notes and thus would have been executed in vitreous paint on colored glass with leading, there are no such notes in the spandrel scene, suggesting that its free pen work would have been translated into vitreous paint and yellow stain on clear glass. Both Baldung and Manuel exploited the potential of the monochromatic spandrel to accommodate calligraphic, intricate line work, with accompanying witty thematic by-play between the spandrel imagery and the heraldic scene below.

Sebald Büheler inscribed the name of the patron, *Brechtler*, at the bottom of the drawing. The Prechtlers were a family of merchants from Hagenau in Alsace, who resided in Strasbourg during the last quarter of the fifteenth century. The patron may have been Friedrich Prechter the Younger (d. 1528), whose name is inscribed on an unfinished drawing by a Strasbourg glass painter in the Graphische Sammlung Albertina, Vienna.⁶

1. Detroit, Ottawa, and Coburg 1983: no. 5.
2. The adulterous theme was noted by Christiane Andersson in Detroit, Ottawa, and Coburg 1983: no. 5.
3. See, for example, Erhard Schön's woodcut *The Monk and Cleric Hunt* of c. 1525, with accompanying verses by Hans Sachs; Geisberg 1974: no. 1143; Detroit, Ottawa, and Coburg 1983: no. 188.
4. Cf. Detroit, Ottawa, and Coburg 1983: no. 5.
5. Koch 1941: 56, no. 33; which in turn is closely related to the then-unknown sheet of head studies in the Getty Museum; cf. Goldner 1988: no. 127 (acc. no. 84.GA.81).
6. Térey 1894–96: no. 235; Detroit, Ottawa, and Coburg 1983: no. 5.

112

Hans Baldung Grien

Design for a Stained-Glass Panel with the Coat of Arms of Nikolaus Ziegler, Head of the Imperial Court Chancery

1515

Pen and brown and gray ink with brown and gray wash and red chalk over black chalk, with white gouache heightening

WATERMARK

High crown (similar to Briquet 4924)

Monogrammed by Sebald Büheler in dark brown ink in the lower left: *HBG* in ligature. Inscribed by the glass painter in brown ink at the bottom: *Niclaus Ziegeler herr zū Barr 1515 Jor. Item eyr rjngens von Bossen und j Landts Knecht mit eynem/ wapen rock*. Color notations by the glass painter in light brown ink: on the large lion, *s[schwarz]* (black); to the right of the lion's paw, *gel[b]* (yellow); in the background left of the lion, *blo [blau, blue]*; on the helmet, *gel[b]*; on the shield, *s[schwarz]* and *g[old]*; on the small lion in the shield's upper right quadrant, *s[schwarz]*; next to the lion, *g[old]*; on the lansquenet's bodice, *r[ot]* (red); to the left of the monogram, *♣* (green).

Blind collection stamp of the Coburg Kupferstichkabinett of the 1840s in the lower right corner.

40.2 × 29.8 cm

Coburg, Kunstsammlungen der Veste Coburg, Kupferstichkabinett

Inv. no. Z 69

PROVENANCE

Sebald Büheler (1529–1595), Strasbourg;
Duke Franz Friedrich Anton von Sachsen-Coburg-Saalfeld (1750–1806), Coburg

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Térey 1894–96: no. 137; Stiassny 1896: no. 19, pl. 7; Winkler 1939: 22, no. 29; Koch 1941: 56, 115, no. 82; Perseke 1941: 107, no. 1, fig. 20; Munich 1947: no. 190; Martin 1950: 69; Karlsruhe 1959: no. 233; Oehler 1959: 100; Maedebach 1978: 117; Detroit, Ottawa, and Coburg 1983: no. 7.



112



FIGURE 82. Hans Weiditz. *Stained-Glass Design with the Arms of Bernhard IV von Eberstein*, 1525. Central image: pen and light brown ink, brown and red wash, red chalk over black chalk, 28.9 × 25.5 cm; frame: pen and brown ink, gray wash, red chalk, 45.5 × 34 cm. Coburg, Kunstsammlungen der Veste, Kupferstichkabinett (inv.-nos. Z 55/Z 56). Photo: © Kunstsammlungen der Veste Coburg.



FIGURE 83. Hans Baldung Grien. *Wrestlers*, 1515. Pen and black ink and white heightening on red brown prepared paper, 28.5 × 17.5 cm. Venice, Galleria dell'Accademia (inv. no. 477). Photo: With the permission of the Soprintendenza ai Beni Artistici e Storici di Venezia.



FIGURE 84. Albrecht Dürer. Fol. 59 from *Instructional Manuscript for Wrestling and Fencing*, 1512. Pen and ink and watercolor on paper, 31 × 22 cm. Vienna, Graphische Sammlung Albertina (inv. no. 26.232). Photo: Graphische Sammlung Albertina, Vienna.

The glass painter drew the coat of arms and wrote instructions at the bottom of the sheet identifying the arms as those of Nikolaus Ziegler and including the year 1515; in May of 1515, Emperor Maximilian I had made Ziegler Lord of Barr, in Lower Alsace. The instructions go on to stipulate that Baldung was to draw wrestlers in the archway and (below) a *Landsknecht* (a German foot soldier) wearing a *Waffenrock*, or skirted uniform, emblazoned with a coat of arms.¹ One of only two surviving dated stained-glass designs by Baldung (the other being *Shooting at the Father's Corpse*, dated 1517, Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. no. kdz 571), this was made in 1515, during the period of Baldung's residence in Freiburg im Breisgau (1512–17). In these years, he executed his masterpiece, *The Coronation of the Virgin* (the high altarpiece of the Freiburg minster), and was also active in the design of stained glass for the city.²

Carrying out his instructions to place a *Landsknecht* in a *Waffenrock* in the lower register, Baldung drew him as a monumental halberdier. As the heraldic protector of the shield, the *Landsknecht* was a popular figure in South German stained glass, finding his Swiss counterpart in the confederate

soldier, or *Reisläufer*, who was equally ubiquitous in this capacity in Swiss heraldic stained glass.³ Christiane Andersson has commented on the pikeman's powerful presence, which exceeds that of a generic heraldic figure and which is conveyed in part by placing his massive, cropped form within the cramped space to the right of the coat of arms.⁴ His huge halberd accentuates his monumentality and becomes a powerful, unifying element within the composition, extending in front of the archway at the top and to the bottom margin. (Baldung first set the base of the halberd at the soldier's foot level and later lengthened it.) The expressive head, with its furrowed brow, deep-set eyes, and full, curling beard, is critical to conveying an impression of strength.

The drawing for the Ziegler panel is a prime example of Baldung's ability to coordinate his designs for the upper and lower registers of a glass composition. The impression of physical strength, implicit in the stationary pikeman below, becomes explicit in the wrestlers, where inventive cropping is used as below to accentuate the effect of size and physical power. Here, Baldung devises a dynamic composition formed by an openly drawn landscape in the middle that separates

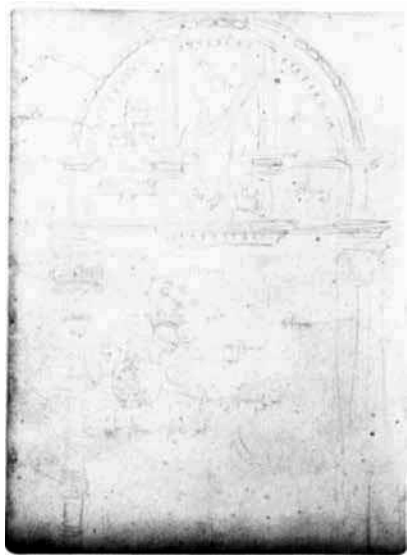


FIGURE 85. Hans Baldung Grien. *Design for a Stained-Glass Window for Nikolaus Ziegler*, fol. 56 verso in *The Karlsruhe Sketchbook*, c. 1522. Silverpoint, 20.5 × 14.8 cm. Karlsruhe, Staatliche Kunsthalle, Kupferstichkabinett.
Photo: © Staatliche Kunsthalle Karlsruhe.

the large forms of the two pairs of wrestlers, whose struggles promise to take them beyond the lateral confines of the archway, an impression heightened by the cropping of the figures.⁵ This effect of bounding strength is reinforced by the sculptural modeling of the wrestlers in wash combined with pen hatching. Athletic games were popular subjects in the archways of heraldic windows made in Strasbourg, as seen in examples by both Baldung and Hans Weiditz (fig. 82).⁶ The scene in the Ziegler window, however, is distinguished by the way in which it eschews depicting a panoramic multifigured game with players and bystanders for the more inventively conceived, intense confrontation between two pairs of combatants, with those on the left poised to engage each other and those on the right locked together. This same intensity of confrontation appears in Baldung's drawing of wrestlers, also of 1515, in Venice in the Accademia (fig. 83). Both the Venice and Coburg drawings meld the contemporary interest in the science of wrestling manifested in Dürer's *Wrestling and Fencing Book* (fig. 84) with Baldung's broader fascination with physical conflict, seen, for example, in the contemporary scene of wild horses fighting in the margins of the *Prayer Book of Emperor Maximilian I*, his woodcut illustration of a sword fight between two soldiers in *The Ten Commandments* of 1516, and his later painted and drawn depictions of Hercules and Antaeus.⁷

Nikolaus Ziegler, a powerful and influential figure within the Holy Roman Empire, was senior secretary of the imperial chancery under Emperor Maximilian, vice-chancellor under Emperor Charles V, and was made head of the imperial chancery in 1520–21.⁸ In 1522, the emperor raised Ziegler's rank to that of hereditary aristocrat, which probably provided the occasion for him to commission another, this time monumental, stained-glass window from Baldung, whose silverpoint compositional sketch for it is in his *Karlsruhe Sketchbook* (fig. 85).⁹ Ziegler was an important figure in the artistic world of his day, whom Dürer knew, whom Altdorfer painted (Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum), and who commissioned from Schäufelein an altarpiece with *The Lamentation* for the church of Saint George in Nördlingen.¹⁰

1. For the *Waffenrock*, or emblazoned uniform worn over armor, reaching from the neck to the knees, belted at the waist, see Reitzenstein 1972: 52.
2. See the essay by Hartmut Scholz in this volume (pp. 23–27).
3. In the wars of the period, in which Swiss and Imperial German troops were pitted against one another, the *Reislauffer* and *Landsknecht* were mortal enemies, distinguished by their appearance and costume. Essential traits included the normally clean-shaven *Reislauffer*, whose costume bore the Swiss cross, and the often bearded and mustachioed *Landsknecht*, who displayed on his uniform and banner the diagonal cross of Saint Andrew (cf. cat. nos. 71–72). Cf. Bächtiger 1971–72 for the fundamental article on the subject in art.
4. Detroit, Ottawa, and Coburg 1983: no. 7.
5. As observed by Christiane Andersson, the contestants here do not show any of the standard positions recommended in the wrestling manuals of the period; cf. Detroit, Ottawa, and Coburg 1983: nos. 7, 215.
6. See Baldung's *Design for a Glass Panel with the Arms of Wolfgang von Landsberg and a Game of Stone Throwing Above* (Vienna, Graphische Sammlung Albertina, inv. no. 3224).
7. For the woodcut illustration from *The Ten Commandments*, see Mendé 1978: no. 425; cf. Koch 1941: nos. 137, 66; and Osten 1983: nos. 70a, 72.
8. For further information and literature, see Christiane Andersson in Detroit, Ottawa, and Coburg 1983: no. 7.
9. Koch 1941: 151–52, no. 144.
10. Martin 1950: 69. Cf. Schäufelein biography in this volume, p. 193.

113–14

After Hans Baldung Grien,
workshop of Hans Gitschmann,
called von Ropstein

*Two Panels from the Charterhouse,
Freiburg*

113

Christ as the Man
of Sorrows

1515–16

Pot-metal, flashed, and clear glass, yellow stain,
and vitreous paint

CONDITION

Corners above pointed arch are modern
additions

72.9 × 54.1 cm (upper part, with leading);
75.3 × 54.1 cm (lower part, with leading).

Karlsruhe, Badisches Landesmuseum

Inv. no. C8524

PROVENANCE

See below, cat. no. 114

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Mone 1897: 13; Balcke-Wodarg 1926–27: 173, pl. 83, fig. 3; Perseke 1941: 124, 134, fig. 23; Schneider 1950: 30, 32, cat. no. 32, pls. 29, 30; Hermans 1953: 123 ff., cat. no. 56; Lyman 1982: 217, fig. 137a; Scholz 1998: 400.

114

Mater Dolorosa

c. 1515–16

Pot-metal, flashed and clear glass, yellow stain,
and vitreous paint

CONDITION

Corners above pointed arch are modern
additions

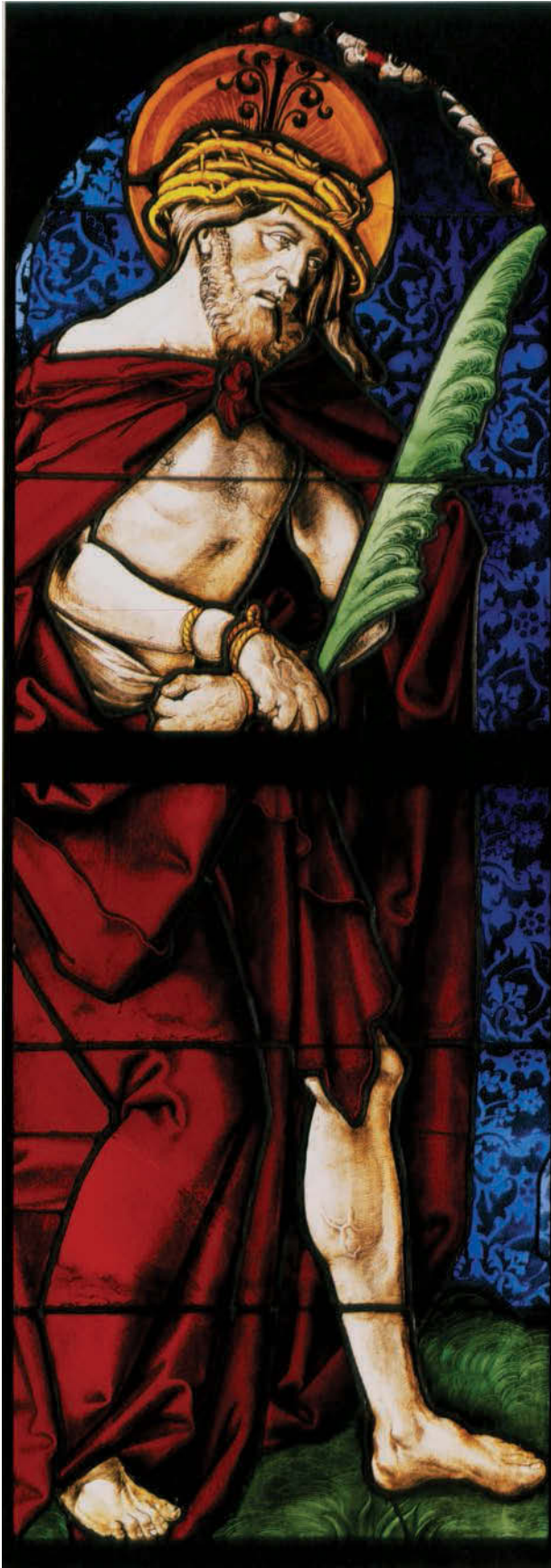
70.4 × 54.1 cm (upper part, with leading);
78.7 × 54.2 cm (lower part, with leading).

Karlsruhe, Badisches Landesmuseum

Inv. no. C8525

PROVENANCE

Charterhouse, Freiburg (secularized in 1782);
reinstalled in the Benedictine Cloister of Saint
Blasius, Freiburg (dedicated in 1783); acquired
by Grand Duke Ludwig von Baden, Schloss
Langenstein, in 1820; by descent to Axel Graf
Douglas, Schloss Langenstein (Cologne,
J. M. Heberle [H. Lempertz' Söhne],
November 25, 1897).



II3



II4

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Mone 1897: 12, fig. 14; Balcke-Wodarg 1926–27: 173, pl. 83, fig. 4; Perseke 1941: 83, 124, 134, pl. 24; Schneider 1950: 30, 32, cat. no. S.59, no. 33, pls. 31, 32; Hermans 1953: 125, cat. no. 55; Becksmann 1979: 66–67; Lymant 1982: 217, fig. 137b; Scholz 1998: 400.

While in Strasbourg, Baldung appears to have made designs principally for small-scale heraldic glass panels, but when he moved to Freiburg in 1512, he began to receive commissions for designing monumental glass for the Freiburg minster and other sites in and around the city.¹ Among the most beautiful and well preserved of these is the series made for Freiburg's Carthusian cloister, or charterhouse, probably as an imperial commission for Maximilian I.² These consist of single figures standing against a damask ground, a type of glass painting popular in Alsace and in Freiburg in particular, as seen in the windows in the main choir of the minster, made by the workshop of the Freiburg glass painter Hans Gitschmann von Ropstein (1480/85–1564) between 1511 and 1513. The subject enjoyed still older currency in stained glass from the Strasbourg and Freiburg area, as seen in cat. no. 4. In the earlier literature, there was confusion about whether the panels in question were originally in the charterhouses of Basel or Freiburg, but this was resolved by the discovery of a passage in the travel notes of 1784 by the tourist Abbé Philippe-André Grandidier, who reported seeing the stained glass from the Freiburg charterhouse (secularized in 1782) installed in the newly built Benedictine church of Saint Blasius in Freiburg, which was dedicated in 1783.³ While no documents for the commission survive, eight panels with over-life-size figures—out of the thirty-one surviving panels from the charterhouse, including *Christ as the Man of Sorrows* and *Mater Dolorosa* (the others are distributed among museums in Karlsruhe, Nuremberg, and the collection of Graf Douglas, Gondelsheim)—show the direct, unmistakable influence of Baldung.⁴ The damask background patterns of some of the panels and the manner of execution indicate that the series was manufactured in the workshop of Hans von Ropstein, which carried out other Freiburg commissions for glass after designs by Baldung, most notably *The Virgin and Child with Saint Anne* in the Anne Chapel of the Freiburg minster, signed by von Ropstein's assistant Jakob Wechtlin and dated 1515.⁵ The charterhouse panels, including *Saint John the Baptist* in Karlsruhe (fig. 86), so closely reflect Baldung's style that they are thought to have been made during Baldung's resi-

dence in Freiburg after autograph cartoons. Other panels in the series seem less original than derivative of him, particularly of his masterpiece, the high altarpiece in the Freiburg minster completed in 1517, and are thus thought to date from after his return to Strasbourg in 1517 and to be a product principally of the Ropstein workshop, which by that time had thoroughly absorbed Baldung's manner.⁶

Christ as the Man of Sorrows and *Mater Dolorosa* make a pair in which the two panels would have faced each other, following the precedent of the panels with the same subjects in the second window of the previously mentioned series in the main choir of the minster by the Ropstein workshop.⁷ Amidst the accompanying panels of saints, they would have formed an emotionally charged devotional image, analogous to devotional paintings combining the sorrowing Virgin and her crucified son, such as the one of 1513 by Baldung in the Augustinermuseum, Freiburg.⁸ *Christ as the Man of Sorrows* and *Mater Dolorosa* are among the most masterful and moving glass paintings of their period, with their wonderfully preserved surfaces allowing one to appreciate the glass painter's art at its consummate level. The profound extent to which they reflect Baldung's manner has prompted the hypothesis that he was directly involved in their execution. Although the stringent division between the work of the designer and glass painter casts doubt upon this, it does seem likely that he closely supervised their execution in glass and probably made the cartoons for them; the extent of his involvement would thus seem to parallel that assumed for the finest windows in the series for the Carmelite cloister of Nuremberg (cf. cat. no. 29 and the essay by Hartmut Scholz in this volume [p. 29]).

Among the salient technical features of *Mater Dolorosa* and *Christ as Man of Sorrows* is the manner of modeling that suggests a grasp of Baldung's chiaroscuro drawings.⁹ The freely scratched-out highlights in the Virgin's kerchief vividly call to mind Baldung's drawing method of applying liquid white heightening to dark prepared paper. The modeling of flesh tones is exceptionally nuanced, as is apparent in the Virgin's face, which is shaded in gray wash, hatched in three shades of paint—light and dark gray and black—and, finally, has highlights scratched away. This system of modeling enhances the pictorial emphasis upon the tragic face and the clenched hands, whose fingers press into the flesh. This method of modeling is also seen to moving effect in the figure of Christ (fig. 88), with the bulging veins



FIGURE 86. After Hans Baldung Grien; Hans von Ropstein. *Saint John the Baptist*, 1515–16. Pot-metal, flashed, and clear glass, yellow stain, and vitreous paint, 147 × 55 cm. Karlsruhe, Badisches Landesmuseum (inv. no. C 7885).

Photo: Badisches Landesmuseum Karlsruhe.

of the hands and feet, and in the eyes, in which the scratched-out highlights through which light shines unabated underscore both the pathos of his gaze and its directional focus upon the sorrowing Virgin. The figures are silhouetted against boldly patterned pomegranate patterns typical of the Ropstein workshop, with the delicacy of the flesh tones and the brilliance of the robes—blue and purple in the case of the Virgin and red and white in the case of Christ—making the figures advance forward into space. The sophisticated sense of color suggests that Baldung selected the glass palette, as he is thought to have done for the finest panels for the Nuremberg Carmelite cloister.¹⁰

Mater Dolorosa has long been associated with the panel painting of the same subject in Budapest (fig. 87), whose luminous halo, face, and robes and deep



FIGURE 87. Hans Baldung Grien. *Mater Dolorosa*, c. 1516–17. Oil on linden wood, 152.2 × 46.2 cm. Budapest, Szépművészeti Múzeum (inv. no. 3822).
Photo: Szépművészeti Múzeum, Budapest.

emotionality evidence the influence of Matthias Grünewald.¹¹ A similar profound sense of grief appears in the Karlsruhe panel: the Virgin appears older and turns inward in grief rather than looking outward, while her clenched hands play a somewhat larger role due to their being silhouetted against the patterned ground. The slightly less sculptural effect of the Karlsruhe panel has been taken to indicate that it shortly predates the Budapest painting, which is



FIGURE 88. After Hans Baldung Grien; Hans von Ropstein. Detail of cat. no. 113.

generally dated around 1516–17. *The Man of Sorrows* was one of Baldung's central religious subjects, occurring often in the paintings and prints of his Freiburg period.¹² In general type—with the soft beard, large crown of thorns, the bulging veins of his tightly bound hands—the Karlsruhe Christ figure most closely recalls Baldung's woodcut *The Man of Sorrows* of 1511.¹³ The figure has been criticized for its less penetrating depth of emotion compared to the Virgin and slightly weak anatomical handling of the legs, but these shortcomings are insignificant in light of its overall technical beauty.¹⁴ Christ gazes at and advances toward his mother, who is absorbed in sorrow, with her head turned down, eyes closed, and mouth open. The pair forms an emotional crescendo within the Charterhouse panels and stands alongside Baldung's paintings and prints as a testament to the powerful depth of feeling that characterizes much of the art of his Freiburg period.

1. See essay in this volume by Hartmut Scholz (pp. 23–27) and his discussion in Freiburg 1998.
2. Perseke 1941: 121–23; Balcke-Wodarg 1926–27: 167–68. For Ropstein and further literature, see the essay by Hartmut Scholz in this volume, and his extensive discussion of the project in Scholz 1998: 399–403; and Rowlands 1993, 1: 209, 11, pl. 444.
3. Granddier 1897: 162; cf. Balcke-Wodarg 1926–27: 165.
4. *Saint John the Baptist*, Karlsruhe, Badisches Landesmuseum; *Saint Hugo of Grenoble* and *Saint Hugo of Lincoln*, Nuremberg, Germanisches Nationalmuseum; *Saint Elizabeth*, Graf Douglas Collection, Gondelsheim, Schloss Langenstein; *Saint Ludwig* and *Saint George*, formerly in Berlin, Kaiser-Friedrich-Museum, destroyed in 1945; for further literature, see Scholz 1998: 399–403.
5. Cf. Scholz essay in this volume (pp. 23–25).
6. Karlsruhe 1959: nos. 272–79, 114–17; Balcke-Wodarg 1926–27: 169–76.
7. Schneider 1950: 29; Balcke-Wodarg 1926–27: pl. 80, nos. 1, 2.
8. Osten 1983: no. 22.
9. Schneider 1950: 29.
10. *Ibid.*: 32.
11. See Osten 1983: no. 41, 138–39 for further literature.
12. For paintings in Freiburg and Stuttgart, cf. Osten 1983: nos. 22, 34; for the prints, Bartsch 1803–21: nos. 41–42, and Washington, D.C., and New Haven 1981: nos. 29, 51.
13. Bartsch 1803–21: no. 41.
14. Balcke-Wodarg 1926–27: 175; Schneider 1950: 30.

115

Hans Baldung Grien

**Stained-Glass Design
with the Arms of Jörg
von Wittelshausen**

c. 1530

Pen and brush and grayish brown ink and grayish brown wash, red chalk over black chalk, on cream laid paper; shield in dark brown ink added later within the larger shield

Monogrammed *HBG* in ligature by Sebald Büheler in dark brown ink in the lower right. Inscribed by the glass painter in brown ink at the bottom: *Die lyst Jörg von wytoltzhussen R[ömisch] K[aiserlicher] M[ajestät] thür hûter*

32.8 × 24.1 cm

Coburg, Kunstsammlungen der Veste Coburg, Kupferstichkabinett

Inv. no. Z 45

PROVENANCE

Sebald Büheler (1529–1595), Strasbourg;
Duke Franz Friedrich Anton von Sachsen-
Coburg-Saalfeld (1750–1806)

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Térey 1894–96: no. 136;
Striassny 1896: no. 47, pl. 12; Schmitz 1922: 41,
fig. 46; Winkler 1939: 22, fig. 28; Koch 1941:
no. 147; Möhle 1941–42: 217; Munich 1947:
no. 191; Karlsruhe 1959: no. 244; Maedebach
1970: no. 14, fig. 2; Detroit, Ottawa, and
Coburg 1983: no. 12, 78.



115



FIGURE 89. Hans Baldung Grien. *Design for a Stained-Glass Panel with the Uttenheim Arms*, c. 1511. Pen and brown ink, red chalk, 26.4 × 18.5 cm. Coburg, Kunstsammlungen der Veste, Kupferstichkabinett (inv. no. Z 60).

Photo: © Kunstsammlungen der Veste Coburg.



FIGURE 90. Strasbourg glass painter, after Hans Baldung Grien. *Design for a Stained-Glass Panel with the Arms of Jakob von Salm*, c. 1550. Pen and brown ink, red chalk, 34.2 × 27.2 cm. Staatliche Museen zu Berlin-Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Kupferstichkabinett (inv. no. KdZ 306).

Photo: Jörg P. Anders.

In most of Baldung's designs for small-scale heraldic windows, the coat of arms of the patron takes center stage, with the shield-holding figure, however wonderfully rendered, acting as an attendant to it. Within Baldung's oeuvre, the glass painter normally first sketched the coat of arms, leaving a residual strip in which Baldung then drew a figure supporting the shield (cat. nos. 111–12). Glass painters generally provided extraordinarily animated and sometimes crudely drawn coats of arms, with extravagant scrolling mantling and a lively decoration, often a human or animal head, surmounting the helmet. The design for a window with the arms of Jörg von Wittelshausen is unique, being the only surviving drawing for a heraldic glass panel complete with its frame that was executed essentially by Baldung himself. It is among his most sensitively and beautifully rendered designs for heraldic panels. Its soft and yielding style complements and accompanies what within Baldung's designs for heraldic panels is a new sense of balance and restraint between the coat of arms and the figure that sup-

ports it, which he as the sole author of the drawing was free to determine.

A ravishing figure with flowing hair and ostrich plume hat, the damsel who supports the coat of arms is also virginally modest as she casts her eyes downward and holds the shield at a polite distance. The coat of arms is restrained and dignified, positioned almost vertically in its section of the archway and contained within its space, not encroaching upon that of the maiden. This formality between the female shield holder and escutcheon contrasts with their playful, coquettish relationship seen in some of Baldung's other heraldic designs. The design with the Uttenheim arms (fig. 89), for example, pokes fun at an overscale and grotesquely incongruous coat of arms by showing a beautiful maiden encircling her arm about a helmet and looking sweetly at the frightful male head that bites its top. In the Wittelshausen design, however, the maiden respectfully demurs to the coat of arms surmounted by an elderly head in profile, possibly a jester, whose motionless form stares ahead, seemingly unaware of her.

The coat of arms thus possesses an aloof dignity, which is balanced by the placement of visual emphasis upon the more animated and sensuously drawn maiden and the landscape above. The self-consciously sought balance between the maiden and coat of arms is underscored by a comparison with a glass painter's later traced copy in outline of the maiden (fig. 90) that reverts to the configuration of showing her alongside a larger, extroverted coat of arms inclining toward her.

The style of drawing is open and airy, with the forms rendered in wash modeling, outline, and with much of the blank paper showing through, with a minimum of hatching. The damsel's billowing hair and ostrich plumes form a transition to the landscape above and reinforce its flow from left to right. There is a unified sweep across the expanse of the arch, with a huntsman walking forth from a castle and his hounds pursuing a stag that is soon to bound into the forest at the right. Baldung's achievement of an exceptionally grand mountainous panorama within the confines of the archway owes a great deal to his luminous,

atmospheric, and open manner of drawing. This manner of drawing takes its point of departure from that of the dated roundel of 1517, *Shooting at the Father's Corpse* (Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. no. kdz 571), with particularly good comparisons in the landscapes, but the Coburg drawing is still softer and more atmospheric. The hunting scene finds its closest parallel in Baldung's pen-and-wash panorama *Procession Before a Castle in a Lake* of around 1530.¹ The melting loveliness of the maiden also warrants comparison to Baldung's softly modeled chalk study of an ideal beauty, *Bust of a Maiden Turned Left with Downturned Eyes*, dated 1527.² Almost nothing is known about the patron, Jörg von Wittelshausen (old German: Wytolzhausen), who as the glass painter's inscription reports, was gatekeeper ("thür hüter") to the Holy Roman Emperor Charles V (r. 1520–58).³

HANS WEIDITZ

Freiburg im Breisgau before 1500–Strasbourg 1536

Painter and designer of woodcuts and glass paintings, Weiditz was probably the son of the sculptor of the same name active in Freiburg im Breisgau. He first trained in Strasbourg about 1515 and in 1518 was a journeyman with Hans Burgkmair in Augsburg. He returned to Strasbourg in 1522–23, where he probably spent the rest of his career, largely as a designer of woodcuts. Weiditz fell into obscurity owing to the fact that only two of his woodcuts are signed, but today he is generally believed to be identical with the artist called the Petrarch Master, after the brilliantly witty and inventive illustrations to the German translation of Petrarch's dialogue *On the Remedies of Good and Bad Fortune* (*Von der Artzney bayder Glück*), first published in Augsburg in 1532. He produced landmarks in the history of scientific illustration in the watercolor drawings (Bern, Botanisches Institut und Botanischer Garten) for the woodcuts to Otto Brunfels's herbal *Herbarum vivae eicones* (Strasbourg,

1530–36). Another of his important print projects was his design for the large view of Augsburg dated 1521, which was printed from eight blocks and is the first German panorama of its kind.

A small group of drawings—including examples in Coburg, Kunstsammlung der Veste; Munich, Staatliche Graphische Sammlung; Bern, Historisches Museum; and Göttingen, Kunstsammlung der Universität (cat. no. 116)—attests to his activity in Strasbourg as a designer of stained glass, principally of heraldic panels. Their depiction of dynamic athletic and combat scenes in the upper spandrels shows the influence of Baldung, while their style, which includes prominent wash modeling, also has a strong Augsburg element, especially reminiscent of Hans Burgkmair.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Christiane Andersson in Detroit, Ottawa, and Coburg 1983: 158–67 (for further literature); Heinrich Geissler in Heidelberg 1986: 303–4, 323–25; London 1995: 160–63; Kristin Lohse Belkin in *DOA* 1996, XXXIII: 32–33 (for further literature).

1. Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, kdz 801; Koch: no. 132; cf. Detroit, Ottawa, and Coburg 1983: no. 12, 78.
2. Frankfurt, Graphische Sammlung im Städtischen Kunstinstitut, inv. no. 15700.
3. Detroit, Ottawa, and Coburg 1983: no. 12, 78.



116

116

Hans Weiditz (c. 1500–1536)

Samson Sets the Fields of the Philistines on Fire

c. 1530

Pen and dark brown ink, brush and gray wash, on cream laid paper

DIAMETER
19 cm

Göttingen, Kunstsammlung der Universität
Göttingen

Inv. no. 11585

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Buchner 1925: 224; Parker 1928: no. 58, ill.

Weiditz's fame as one of the most ingenious graphic artists of the German Renaissance is affirmed by this extraordinary design for a stained-glass roundel that illustrates one of the exploits of Samson, the Old Testament hero whose battles against the Israelites' oppressors, the Philistines, were viewed as prefiguring Christ's struggle against Satan and Death. Samson appears in Augsburg art of the Renaissance, as, for example, Jörg Breu the Elder's painting *Samson Killing One Thousand Philistines with the Jawbone of an Ass* in the Öffentliche Kunstsammlung, Basel, or his stained-glass panel *Samson Pulling Down the Pillars of the Palace of the Philistines* in Nuremberg, Germanisches Nationalmuseum.¹ Weiditz, who was active in Augsburg as an illustrator before permanently returning to Strasbourg in 1522–23, here illustrates a rarely depicted deed of Samson, in which he set fire to the cornfields

of the Philistines by unleashing three hundred foxes tied tail-to-tail with a torch fastened to each pair of tails (Judges 15:4–5).

The Göttingen drawing probably dates to Weiditz's mature period as a designer of stained glass in Strasbourg. It shows his typical technique of drawing in pen and ink with wash modeling, which lends a painterly effect to the whole, as well as sculptural plasticity to the forms.² With his pinwheel posture and masterly foreshortening, the figure of Samson is the culmination of Weiditz's love of athletes in dynamic poses that appears in the upper frames of a number of his drawings for stained glass, such as *Stained-Glass Design with the Arms of Bernhard IV von Eberstein* of 1525 in Coburg (fig. 82), and which has its origin in Baldung's Strasbourg period drawings for stained glass, such as *Stained-Glass Design with the Arms of Nikolaus Ziegler* of 1515 with wrestlers filling the upper part of the frame (cat. no. 112).³ Indeed, the Göttingen drawing is a prime example of the way in which Weiditz translated the graphic dynamism of Baldung, which is lodged principally in calligraphic line work, into a more three-dimensional formal vocabulary with tenebrist handling that harkens back to his period of training in Augsburg with Hans Burgkmair in 1518–22. The Göttingen drawing evidences this Augsburg heritage in other respects, including the use of the roundel format. The fascination with using the roundel to dynamic effect is a salient component of Breu's stained-glass designs (cat. nos. 91–94; 98–109), as it is here. Like Breu, Weiditz emphasizes the vertical and horizontal diameters of the circular form, as seen in the cliff bisected by the mountainous landscape on the horizon line. In contrast to Breu's love of cropping and implicit extension of the composition beyond the bounds of the circle, however, Weiditz creates a vortex that spirals inward and consists of the running figure of Samson, the blazing foxes, billowing smoke, and curving form of the cliff; in the eye of the vortex is the landscape beyond. The tenebristic style of modeling, which lends further drama to the

scene, the varied and dynamic vegetation imbued with Danube School stylistic undertones, and background landscape evoke Burgkmair's influence, as seen in works such as his etching of c. 1520, *Venus and Mercury*.⁴

The spiraling vortex, of which Samson is a major component, forms a powerful and original evocation of the apocalyptic fury of Samson's exploits as recited in the biblical narrative. Weiditz's ingenious creation of dynamic graphic designs evidenced in this drawing for stained glass parallels that found in woodcuts after him, such as *The Wheel of Fortune* of c. 1519–20, which appears as the title page of the first volume of *On the Remedies of Good and Bad Fortune (Von der Artzney bayder Glück, des guten und/widerwärtigen)* by Petrarch, published in Augsburg in 1532.⁵ Unfortunately, no glass connected to the Göttingen drawing survives, and it is unknown whether the drawing was intended to stand alone or as part of a series. Its lack of color notations would seem to indicate that it was intended for a monochrome roundel, again reflecting Weiditz's Augsburg heritage. The late date of the drawing is indicated by its stylistic similarity to his *Stained-Glass Design with the Arms of the Holy Roman Empire*, dated 1533, which shows a shield supported by two soldiers whose deep eye sockets, luxuriant beards, and strong modeling in wash parallel the handling of Samson in the Göttingen roundel.⁶

1. Buchner 1928b: 370–75, figs. 275–76.

2. For an excellent discussion of Weiditz's style as a draftsman, see Christiane Andersson in Detroit, Ottawa, and Coburg 1983: 158–67.

3. For *Stained-Glass Design with the Arms of Bernhard IV von Eberstein*, see Andersson in Detroit, Ottawa, and Coburg 1983: no. 52. For a further glass design by Weiditz with athletic competition (swordplay), see *Stained-Glass Design with the Uttenheim Arms* of 1531, Bern, Historisches Museum, inv. no. 20036.17 (Wyss I.16), as cited in Bern 1996–97: no. 66.

4. Bartsch 1803–21: no. 1.

5. Dodgson 1903–11, IV: 144.

6. Munich, Staatliche Graphische Sammlung; cf. Parker 1928: no. 59, ill.

REGENSBURG



ALBRECHT ALTDORFER

Regensburg(?) c. 1482/85–Regensburg 1538

Altdorfer was a painter, draftsman, architect, engraver, etcher, and—as evidenced by a single drawing—a designer of stained glass. Together with Wolf Huber (c. 1480/85–1553), he was the principal figure in the Danube School, the group of artists working around the Danube River in Regensburg, Passau, and Vienna, known for their emphasis upon nature imagery (often mountains and pine forests) and for their dramatic, emotionally charged artistic approach, which included startling effects of perspective, dynamism, and illumination.

Altdorfer was the son and probably pupil of Ulrich Altdorfer, a miniaturist and print illuminator active in Regensburg. In 1505, he became a citizen of Regensburg, where he remained for the rest of his career. His earliest works reveal the influence of Lucas Cranach the Elder (1472–1553), whom he could have met in Vienna during his years as a journeyman, and Albrecht Dürer. The *Allegory of Pax and Minerva* of 1506 (Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett) is among the earliest of his many miniaturistic drawings on color-grounded paper made as finished works of art. It and other drawings and prints from this period evidence a knowledge of Italian engravings, particularly those of Andrea Mantegna (1431–1506) and Jacopo de' Barbari (c. 1450–1515/16). Early paintings such as *The Nativity* of 1507 (Bremen, Kunsthalle) display dramatic architectural perspective evidencing the influence of Michael Pacher (c. 1435–1498), whose great altarpiece in the church of Saint Wolfgang near Salzburg Altdorfer could have seen during his travels as a journeyman.

Among his most important paintings to have survived is the large altarpiece with scenes from the Passion of Christ and the life of Saint Sebastian for Saint Florian Abbey, Austria (fourteen panels in situ; two in Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum), which occupied him from 1509 to 1516. During this period he probably executed his single surviving design for stained glass (cat. no. 117), for a cycle of Passion roundels, which brings to the glass medium the monumentality and wrenching pathos of the *Saint Florian Altarpiece* as well as Altdorfer's dynamic, sweeping draftsmanship.

Among the artists of his time, Altdorfer was second only to Dürer in his activity for Emperor Maximilian I, exe-

cuting (with assistants) the presentation copy in watercolor on vellum of *The Triumph of Emperor Maximilian* around 1513–16, which survives in partial form in the Graphische Sammlung Albertina, Vienna; designs for the giant woodcut *The Triumphal Arch of Maximilian I* of c. 1515; drawings for *The Prayer Book of Emperor Maximilian I* (Besançon, Bibliothèque Municipale) of c. 1515; and designs for the giant woodcut frieze *The Triumphal Procession of Maximilian I* of 1516–18. Probably between 1518 and 1522, Altdorfer made his milestone landscape etchings that are the earliest landscape prints that do not depend on the presence of a figural subject. In 1529, he completed his most famous painting, *The Battle of Alexander at Issos* (Munich, Alte Pinakothek). The cosmic landscape with myriad tiny battling figures formed his contribution to the cycle of at least sixteen history paintings of biblical and ancient heroes and heroines (including works by other artists such as Jörg Breu the Elder and Hans Burgkmair the Elder), which was commissioned by Duke Wilhelm IV of Bavaria for the ducal residence in Munich. Altdorfer also made monumental illusionistic mural paintings, as evidenced by the fragments from the now-destroyed bathhouse of the Bishop of Regensburg (Regensburg, Stadtmuseum; Budapest, Szépművészeti Múzeum). Altdorfer was employed by the city of Regensburg as an architect; made a member of the city council in 1517; and was offered the position of mayor in 1528, which he refused, possibly due to his commitments to Duke Wilhelm.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Franz Winzinger in *AKL* 1992, II: 671–75 (for further literature); Charles Talbot in *DOA* 1996, I: 714–20 (for further literature).



117

117

Albrecht Altdorfer

Christ Carrying the Cross

c. 1513

Pen and black ink, gray wash, over black chalk,
on cream laid paper

DIAMETER
30.4 cm

Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum

Inv. no. 86.GG.465

PROVENANCE
Gösta Stenman, Stockholm (sale, Christie's,
London, December 12, 1985, lot 341); art
market, Boston

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Goldner and Hendrix 1987:
383–87; Berlin and Regensburg 1988: no. 97;
London 1988: 158; Andersson 1988: 487; Butts
1988: 279–80; Goldner and Hendrix 1992:
no. 113.

Of the major South German artistic currents, the Danube School played a curiously minor role in the medium of stained-glass design. There are no surviving stained-glass designs by Wolf Huber, and the present drawing is the sole surviving evidence of Albrecht Altdorfer's activity as a designer of stained glass.¹ One assumes that it formed part of a larger series of roundels illustrating the Passion of Christ, although no connected panels survive. Interestingly, it eschews the miniaturistic quality of his acclaimed pen drawings with white heightening on prepared paper, in favor of the powerful monumentality of paintings such as the scene of Christ carrying the cross from the *Saint Florian Altarpiece* (c. 1513; Austria, Augustiner-Chorherrenstift Sankt Florian). Both the present drawing and the aforementioned scene in the *Saint Florian Altarpiece* present Altdorfer's answer to the monumental pathos of Dürer's woodcut of Christ carrying the cross from *The Large Passion*, published 1498.²

The present drawing brings Altdorfer's jarring sense of perspective and physical suffering to the stained-glass medium. He adopts the unusual vantage point of showing Christ carrying the cross from the rear, seen in his probably contemporary drawing in Erlangen (Graphische Sammlung der Universität, inv. no. B. 810), which affords a glimpse of Christ's haggard profile, as well as showing the bare soles of his feet as he crawls over the rocky ground. This perspective enables the artist to emphasize oppressive features, such as the huge cross that Christ bears; the muscular soldier at the left, shown from the rear, who grabs Christ's robe to drag him forward; and the helmeted soldier to the right, who has a halberd poised to prod him in the back.

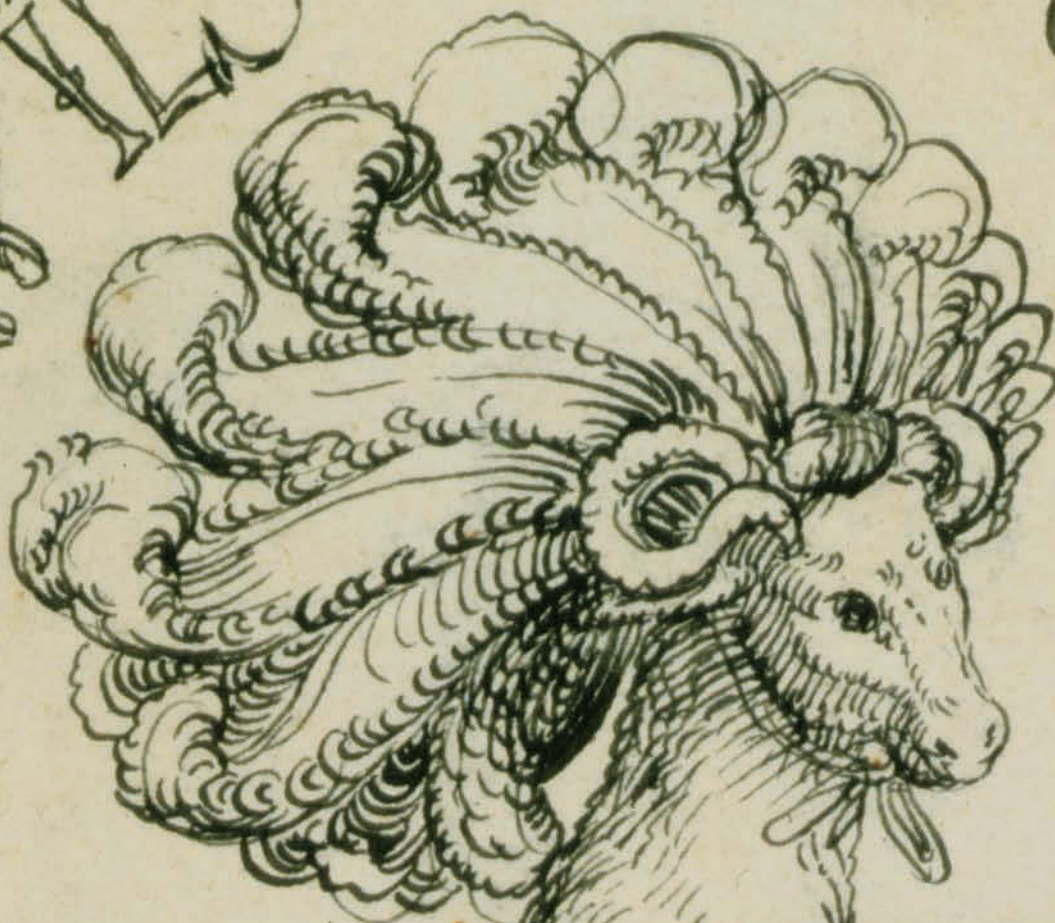
In the present drawing, Altdorfer is at his most forceful and expansive as a draftsman, with the swift application of thick black line and bold washes heightening the drama of the scene. One can only imagine the powerful effect of this drawing when translated into the glass medium.

1. Other activity in the production of glass in the Regensburg region around the time of the drawing under discussion includes the pair of glass paintings from the charterhouse at Prüll near Regensburg (Munich, Bayerisches Nationalmuseum), possibly designed by the Landshut painter and glass painter Hans Wertinger (1465/70–1533). The pair depicts Duke Albrecht IV of Bavaria with Saint John the Evangelist, and his son Duke Wilhelm IV with Saint Bartholomew. They certainly post-date the death of Albrecht in 1508 and probably were finished in time for the rededication of the new monastery church at Prüll in 1513. Cf. the essay by Hartmut Scholz in this volume (pp. 39–40); Rowlands in London 1988: no. 126 (for further literature).

2. Bartsch 1803–21: no. 10.

BERN

WOLSO



ESC

HANS FUNK

Zurich before 1470–Zurich c. 1540

Hans Funk was—alongside Lukas Schwarz, whose oeuvre remains disputed—the most important glass painter active in Bern during the first third of the sixteenth century. He was born into a Zurich family of glass painters and moved to Bern around 1499–1500. Beginning in 1504, he made a cycle of twelve *Standesscheiben*, or canton panels (destroyed) for the town hall in Freiburg (Switzerland). An echo of this destroyed cycle may be found in another early signed panel by Funk (questionably dated 1501), the canton panel of Bremgarten (Bernisches Historisches Museum, inv. no. 20274), which shows the fully developed pyramidal coat of arms surmounted by the imperial crown, established by Lukas Zeiner as the canonical format of a *Standesscheibe* in his pathbreaking cycle for the city hall of Baden of only three years before (see the essay by Giesicke and Ruoss in this volume, pp. 46–48). Shortly after he moved to Bern, Funk came into contact with the fledgling Niklaus Manuel Deutsch, who after he reached artistic maturity profoundly influenced Funk's later style and after whose designs Funk often carried out stained-glass panels (cat. no. 127). Funk was a highly competent draftsman, much in the style of Manuel, as in, for example, Funk's *Design for a Stained-Glass Panel for Jakob May* of 1532 (Zurich, Kunsthhaus, inv. no. 1938–39). Funk's most famous glass painting and a key document of the visual culture of Renaissance Switzerland is *The Old and Young Confederates* of 1539–40 (Bern, Historisches Museum, inv. no. 21643). From 1509, Funk owned a house in the Kirchgasse (today Münsterergasse). From 1519 he was a member of the Great Council of Bern. He received steady commissions from Bern and Freiburg as well as other cantons. In 1539, after attempting to murder another glazier, he was banned from Bern and died in Zurich soon thereafter.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Lehmann 1912–16, XVIII: 54–74, 135–38; Matile in Bern 1979: 420 (for further literature); Paul Ganz in *SKL* 1982, I: 532; Anderes in Anderes and Hoegger 1988: 59–60 (for further literature). See also the essay by Giesicke and Ruoss in this volume, pp. 50–51.

118

Bernese glass painter
(Hans Funk?)

Stained-Glass Panel with a Flagbearer from Bern

c. 1508–9

Por-metal, flashed, and clear glass, black vitreous paint and yellow stain

59 × 43.4 cm

Bern, Bernisches Historisches Museum

Inv. no. 366

PROVENANCE

Together with the panel of *Saint Vincent* also in the Bernisches Historisches Museum, commissioned by the Bern City Council in 1508 for the church in Lenk in Simmental; sold to Friedrich Bürki, Bern on June 27, 1880; after his death in 1880 donated to the Bernisches Historisches Museum.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Lehmann 1912–16, XV: 219–21; Ganz 1927: 190, pl. 6; Schmitz 1913, I: 179–80, fig. 305; Schneider 1954: 51, note 2 on 95, note 1 on 129; Boesch 1955: 84, pl. 24; Bern 1979: no. 262, 425, under no. 263; Hasler 1996–97, I: 137–38, under no. 144, fig. 144.1; Bern 1996–97: no. 15a.

119

Unknown (Bernese?) master

Design for a Stained- Glass Panel with a Flagbearer from Aeschi, Büren, or Nidau

c. 1509–10

Pen and black ink on cream laid paper toned light brown; traces of underdrawing in black chalk; corrections to the banner in red chalk; verso: a tracing of the legs of the flagbearer in black chalk

WATERMARK

Bern bear (Piccard 1961–: 15, 2/187, no. 1 637)

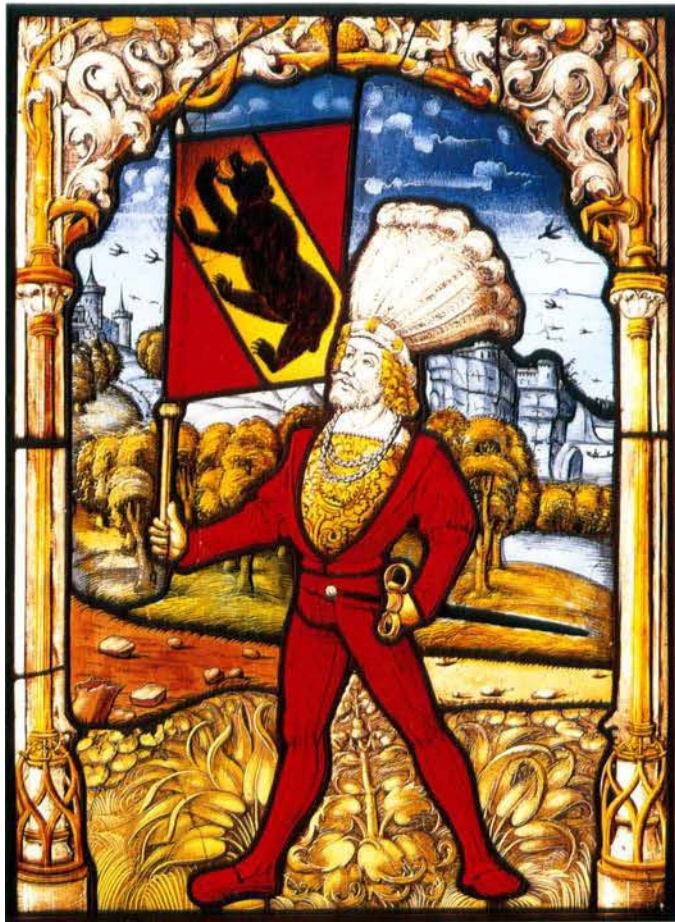
43.3 × 31.8 cm

Bern, Bernisches Historisches Museum

Inv. no. 20036.1 (W.I.I)

PROVENANCE

Johann Emmanuel Wyss (1782–1837), Bern.



118



119

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Ganz 1904–8, II: pl. 46; Lehmann 1913: 220, pl. 9; Schmitz 1913, I: 179–80, fig. 304; Baur 1920: no. 2; Aeschbacher 1930: ill. after 274; Scheidegger 1947: 18; Mandach 1948: 8; Schneider 1954: 51, note 2, 129ff., pl. 18; Boesch 1955: 84; Matile 1965–66: 62ff., note 92; Bern 1979: no. 263, 422–23, under no. 262; Saurma-Jeltsch 1990: 64ff., pl. 32; Hasler 1996–97, I: no. 144; Bern 1996–97, no. 15.

Among the earliest Swiss Renaissance designs for stained glass for which a related panel survives is the drawing in Bern with a confederate soldier holding a banner decorated with a bear paw and leg, which, because of its lack of tinctures (i.e., any of the metals, colors, or furs used in armorial devices) could represent one of three cities: Aeschi, Büren, or Nidau (cat. no. 119).¹ It is drawn in the crisp black carbonic ink beloved of Swiss artists of the Dürer-Holbein period. The related panel showing a confederate holding a banner decorated with the Bern bear (cat. no. 118) comes originally from the church at Lenk (Canton Bern), built in 1504–5, and certainly corresponds to the commission of glass for this church issued by the Bern city council in 1508.²

The drawing was generally believed to be of the late fifteenth century until its conservation in 1978 revealed a watermark of a Bern bear, thus dating the paper to the end of the first decade of the sixteenth century.³ This closeness in date substantiates the long-recognized connection between the drawing and the glass panel with the Bern flagbearer. Lehmann believed both the drawing and panel to be by the Bern glass painter Lukas Schwarz, but given the still cloudy knowledge of Schwarz's oeuvre, this remains speculative.⁴ More recently, Matile has plausibly proposed that the panel could be by the better-documented Bern glass painter Hans Funk, on the basis of comparisons with works such as the *Glass Panel with the Arms of the City of Bremgarten* (Bern, Historisches

Museum, inv. no. 20274), signed by Funk, which contains the arms of Bremgarten supported by two halberdiers, with the one on the left having the same proportions of rather stocky legs, thin waist, and broad chest and shoulders found in the Bern flagbearer in the panel under discussion.⁵ Although the drawing is somewhat more subtly modeled than the panel, it remains in the area of speculation whether the drawing was made by a glass painter or whether it reflects the division of labor that was then becoming widespread, whereby the glass design was made by an artist/draftsman and then given over to a glass painter for execution.⁶

The drawing, or perhaps an earlier variant of it, appears to have provided the general model followed by the glass painter of the Bern flagbearer, who nonetheless deviated from it in a number of details. Both drawing and panel show a confederate soldier holding a vertically rectangular banner and planting his muscular legs firmly and widely apart in a pose descended from illustrated military chronicles such as the third and last volume of Diebold Schilling's *Lucerne Chronicle* (1481–83), which contains the history of the Burgundian War (cf. cat. nos. 85–86), in which Swiss mercenaries distinguished themselves gloriously against the imperial troops of Maximilian I.⁷ Both soldiers wear an ostrich feather headdress tilted backwards, which had been a symbol of Swiss soldiers since the battle of Saint Jacob in 1444.⁸ There are differences in costume insofar as the soldier in the drawing wears an armored breastplate decorated by the Swiss cross, while the one in the glass panel wears a sumptuous doublet of red and gold damask, which complements the leafy scrolls of the spandrel as well as the ornate vegetation on which he stands. In the drawing, the artist gave shorthand indications of elements that are fully developed in the glass panel. These include the broad plant at the right that is developed into the leafy ground in the panel and the rocky pathway that in the panel is fully worked out into a mountainous landscape. While there is greater subtlety of modeling in the drawing, there is more compositional unity achieved in the glass panel, in which the taut, muscular flagbearer appears to be at one with his natural world—from the bold, exuberant foliage that grows upward to the rocky cliffs of the landscape beyond. Indeed, there seems to be an implicit parallel drawn between the natural forces of this raw yet fertile landscape and the energy and might of the confederate flagbearer who traverses it. This prominent mountainous landscape behind a shield-holding or, in this case,

flag-bearing figure was to play a central role in Swiss stained glass of the Renaissance, reaching its apex in the designs of the younger Holbein.

As an emblem of Swiss nationalistic self-consciousness and pride in indigenous military prowess, the flagbearer remained one of the enduring characters in Swiss stained glass and graphic art of the sixteenth century and was especially popular in Bernese stained glass (see the essay in this volume by Giesicke and Ruoss, pp. 47–48). Under the influence of Baldung, both Manuel and Graf would transform the stalwart type of confederate soldier encountered in the drawing and glass panel under discussion into an attenuated being whose long limbs and body gave expression to these artists' more calligraphic drawing styles and, with this, their mastery of complex, expressive, and dynamic poses (cf. cat. no. 121).

1. Cf. Hasler 1996–97: no. 144 for further literature.
 2. Matile in Bern (1979: no. 262, 423, note 8, 424) quotes the document of November 1508 authorizing this payment (Staatsarchiv des Kantons Bern, Ratsmanuale 140, 54; B. Haller, *Bern in seinen Ratsmanualen 1465–1565*, vol. 1, Bern 1900, 6 bzw. 1, 120).
 3. For the fullest discussion of its attribution, see Hasler 1996–97, I: no. 144. For the Bern watermark of 1510, see Piccard 1961–, XV, 2/1987, no. 1637.
 4. Cf. Lehmann 1913: 219ff.
 5. Cf. Matile in Bern 1979: 423, note 2, with further comparisons from Funk's work, and no. 261, 420–21, pl. 154.
 6. Schneider 1954: 129.
 7. Burgerbibliothek Bern, Mss. Hist. Helv. I, 3./ fol. 41; cf. Bern 1979, no. 6; cf. Bächtiger 1971–72: 205–70.
 8. For the feathered headdress, its symbolism and origin in Roman gladiator costume, see Schneider 1954: 53–54.

NIKLAUS MANUEL DEUTSCH

Bern 1484–Bern 1530

Painter, draftsman, designer of woodcuts and stained glass, writer, and statesman, Niklaus Manuel was one of the Swiss Renaissance's greatest artists, whose imagery trenchantly captured the Swiss political, religious, and cultural climate of his time. He came from a learned family and was the son of an apothecary, Emanuel de Allemanis, whose surname translates as *Deutsch* (German) in reference to his own father's origin from Chieri, near Turin. His earliest works comprise designs for stained glass, such as the drawing of around 1508 of a pair of Swiss confederate soldiers supporting his own coat of arms (cat. no. 121), which suggests that he may have trained in a glass painter's atelier. The command of space and anatomy and the fluency of draftsmanship of these early works evidence knowledge of the work of Albrecht Dürer and Hans Baldung and raise the question of whether he had direct contact with either of them, possibly on a journeyman's visit to Germany. Like Urs Graf, he served as a mercenary soldier in Italy on various campaigns and signed his works with a monogram accompanied by a dagger. His device refers to this military activity, as does his tendency to feature images of battles and fighting infantry, which were to proliferate in Swiss stained glass of the sixteenth century. Manuel married in 1509, was a member of the Bern city council from 1510 until his death, and joined the local guild in 1512. Around 1513, his art comes close to that of Graf, which indicates some contact.

As a painter, Manuel appears to have been self-taught. He was attracted to classical themes, as in his painting *Pyramus and Thisbe* (c. 1513–14; Basel, Kunstmuseum), with its powerful landscape imagery akin to that of Danube

School artists such as Altdorfer. From 1517 to 1519, he executed his masterpiece, the life-sized murals of *The Dance of Death*, painted on the outer wall of Bern's Dominican church, destroyed in 1660 and known only through copies such as the drawings of 1649 by Alfred Kauw (Bern, Historisches Museum). His print-designing activities were limited but included the masterly series of woodcuts of *The Wise and Foolish Virgins* of 1518.

During the 1520s, Manuel's political activities increased and artistic activities declined due to the influx of the Reformation. He was governor of Erlach from 1523 to 1528 and during this time wrote several anticlerical plays. Manuel played a major role in bringing the Reformation to Bern in 1528. He captured the Reformational spirit of this moment in two late stained-glass designs of 1527, *Christ and the Woman Taken in Adultery* (cat. no. 126) and *King Josiah Has the Idols Destroyed* (cat. no. 128).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Stumm in Thieme and Becker 1907–50, IX: 175–77; Stumm 1925; Koegler 1930; Bern 1979 (esp. Hans Christoph von Tavel, 42–50; Walter Hugelshofer, 51–66; Heinz Matile, 67–74); Konrad Escher in *SKL* 1982, II: 309–19; Rowlands 1993, I: 52–53; London 1995: 209; Rosemarie Bergmann in *DOA* 1996, VIII: 822–23.

120

Niklaus Manuel Deutsch

Design for a Stained-Glass Panel with a Maiden Holding the Arms of Hattstatt and Wild Men Fighting Above

c. 1506

Pen and black ink over traces of black chalk underdrawing, on beige laid paper

WATERMARK

Bull's head (Hasler 1996–97, II: no. 145)

COAT OF ARMS

The Hattstatt family (shield with the cross of Saint Andrew helmed and crested with a male torso wearing a capuchin with the cross of Saint Andrew on his breast)

44.0 × 31.9 cm

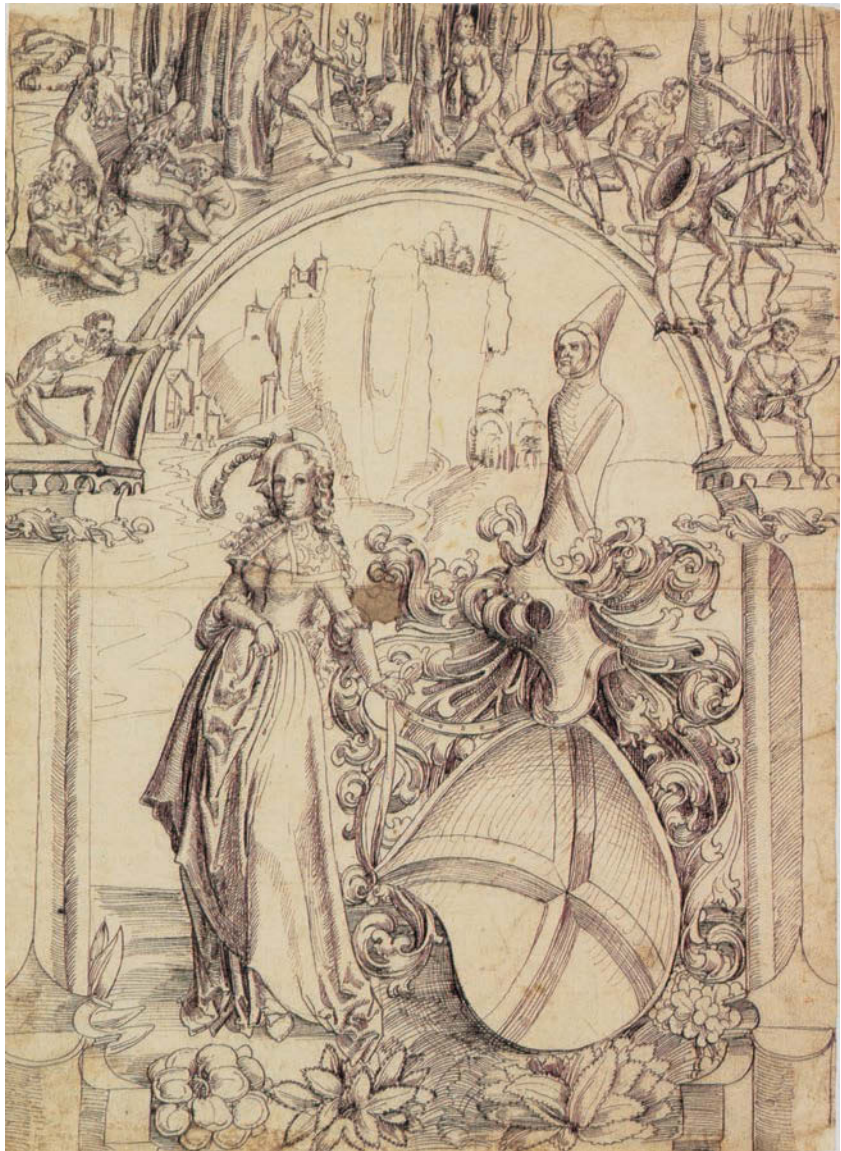
Bern, Bernisches Historisches Museum

Inv. no. 20036.7 (w.I.1)

PROVENANCE

Johann Emmanuel Wyss (1782–1837), Bern

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Ganz 1904–8, II: pl. 33; Stumm in Thieme and Becker 1907–50 (1913), IX: 177; Koegler 1930: 89, no. 90; Bern 1930: no. 1, 5; Basel 1974–76, II: no. 496, 597–98; Koeplin 1974: 173 f., fig. 1; Bern 1979: 69–70; no. 136, 299–302; New York 1980: no. 57, 191–93, fig. 128; Hasler 1996–97, I: no. 145, 138–41; Bern 1996–97: no. 76.



120

Among the earliest works ascribed to Niklaus Manuel is this design for a heraldic glass panel. It shows a fashionably dressed maiden who gazes out of the picture as she daintily supports a large crested shield and stands before a soaring cliff in the background. In the spandrel above are scenes of wild people in a sylvan environment: women nurture babies on the left, a man clubs a stag to death above, and at the right, a wild woman flees as her male counterparts fend off an attack from a marauding wild man. On the imposts are two seminude warriors with sabers, the one on the right looking upward, leading the eye into the arched composition in the spandrel, and the one on the left conveying attention outward by looking at, and possibly addressing, the maiden as he points toward the landscape in the central space. The drawing as a whole brims with raw vitality, conveyed through the forcefulness of the black ink, a favored medium of Swiss draftsmen, as well as the dynamics of the composition. These attributes are dominated by a strong verticality beginning with the large plant forms at the bottom, leading to the elongated maiden and crested shield, with its mass of swirling mantling, to the sheer cliff, and finally to the archway with the wild folk in their forest, whose towering tree trunks are cropped by the top of the sheet. The unity and tightness of the composition owe something to Manuel's freedom to design the entire image, a general trait of Swiss glass design of this period, as contrasted, for example, with Baldung's frequent role of filling in the shield holder and spandrel figures with the coat of arms previously drawn by the glass painter. The witty play of the wild men stepping over the bounds of the frame, a favorite Manuel device (see cat. no. 121), further binds the spandrel and the central image.

Stumm added the drawing to the Manuel literature in 1913, and it has been generally accepted ever since, especially following von Tavel's thorough and convincing argument for its attribution.¹ The overall brilliance of the composition, with its spandrel of wild folk, combined with certain weaknesses, such as the maiden's anatomically awkward right arm, bespeak an immature artist of great imagination and potential. Its formal vocabulary—with its dryly rendered Gothic architecture, large plant forms at the bottom, and rocky landscape background—are strongly lodged in the glass painter's repertoire (see cat. nos. 118–19) and thus raise the question of Manuel's possibly having had his first training in a glass painter's atelier. Hard evidence for this, however, does not exist, and one can probably more rea-

sonably infer that the young artist made money by selling glass designs prior to gaining the recognition that would bring him painting commissions.² He is still, however, at a huge remove from his fully developed artistic personality, as seen in *Design for a Glass Panel with the Manuel Coat of Arms* (cat. no. 121) and probably produced this drawing either before he had fully digested the work of Dürer and Baldung or before the transformative influence of direct contact with Dürer and especially with Baldung—contact that could have occurred just prior to the beginning of his documented artistic activity in Bern in 1507.³ In 1506, a new church was built in the town of Schöfland in Canton Aargau, the seat of the Hattstatt family, and although no documentary evidence survives, the drawing may have been intended for a panel donated to the church by the lords of Hattstatt.⁴

As pointed out by von Tavel, Manuel here combines various elements of earlier glass painting in an entirely new synthesis.⁵ While retaining much of the unfettered vigor of earlier Swiss glass painting (see cat. nos. 118–19), he infuses it with more deeply understood aspects of Renaissance art, bringing tension to its strong planar emphasis by adding a deeply receding landscape and imbuing the figures with greater three-dimensionality and athletic motion. This likely reflects his study of Italian engravings such as Antonio Pollaiuolo's *Battle of the Nudes*, as well as the prints of Dürer.⁶ The motif of the coy maiden with a bent right arm and with her left hand grasping a large shield by its leather strap, which Manuel repeated in later drawings such as *Woman Holding a Shield with a Coat of Arms with a Ram* (cat. no. 123), harks back to Dürer's engraving *Coat of Arms with a Skull* (fig. 91).

The byplay between the shield holder and spandrel imagery, which forms a salient component of Manuel's stained-glass designs, emerges here at the earliest moment of his career. As with Baldung, his imagination was particularly fertile when he applied this compositional device to the theme of the Power of Women, in this case combining the popular heraldic figures of the maiden with that of wild folk. As has been pointed out, the maiden who wears a low-cut dress and raffish plumed beret, may in fact be a soldier's consort, attending to his shield. In heraldry, wild folk bore twin associations of elemental physical strength and fertility. The maiden's protective custody of the shield alludes, on the one hand, to her power to control her soldier's passions and aggressions, as reflected in the battling wild men, and,



FIGURE 91. Albrecht Dürer. *Coat of Arms with a Skull*, 1503. Engraving, 22 × 15.6 cm. Washington, D.C., The National Gallery of Art, Rosenwald Collection (inv. no. 1943.3.3489).

Photo: © Board of Trustees, The National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.

on the other, to the female role of perpetuating the family line, as indicated by the wild women and their children.⁷ In the end, the maiden stands in the landscape, as dominant and implacable as the rocky cliff behind her, calmly in possession of the coat of arms and of the elemental forces embodied by the tiny figures above.

1. Bern 1979: no. 136.
2. For a wider discussion of the difficulties of determining whether Manuel might have trained in a glass painter's atelier, cf. Heinz Matile in Bern 1979: 69–71.
3. Tavel in Bern 1979: 47.
4. Cf. Tavel in Bern 1979: 301.
5. *Ibid.*
6. *Ibid.*
7. Cf. Koepplin in Basel 1974–76, II: no. 496; New York 1980: no. 57; Hasler 1996–97, I: no. 145.

I 2 I

Niklaus Manuel Deutsch

**Stained-Glass Design
with Two Confederate
Soldiers Supporting a
Shield with the Coat of
Arms of the Artist**

c. 1508

Pen and black ink with traces of black chalk
(only in the profile lightly drawn within the
shield), on cream laid paper

39.3 × 24.2 cm (irregular borders)

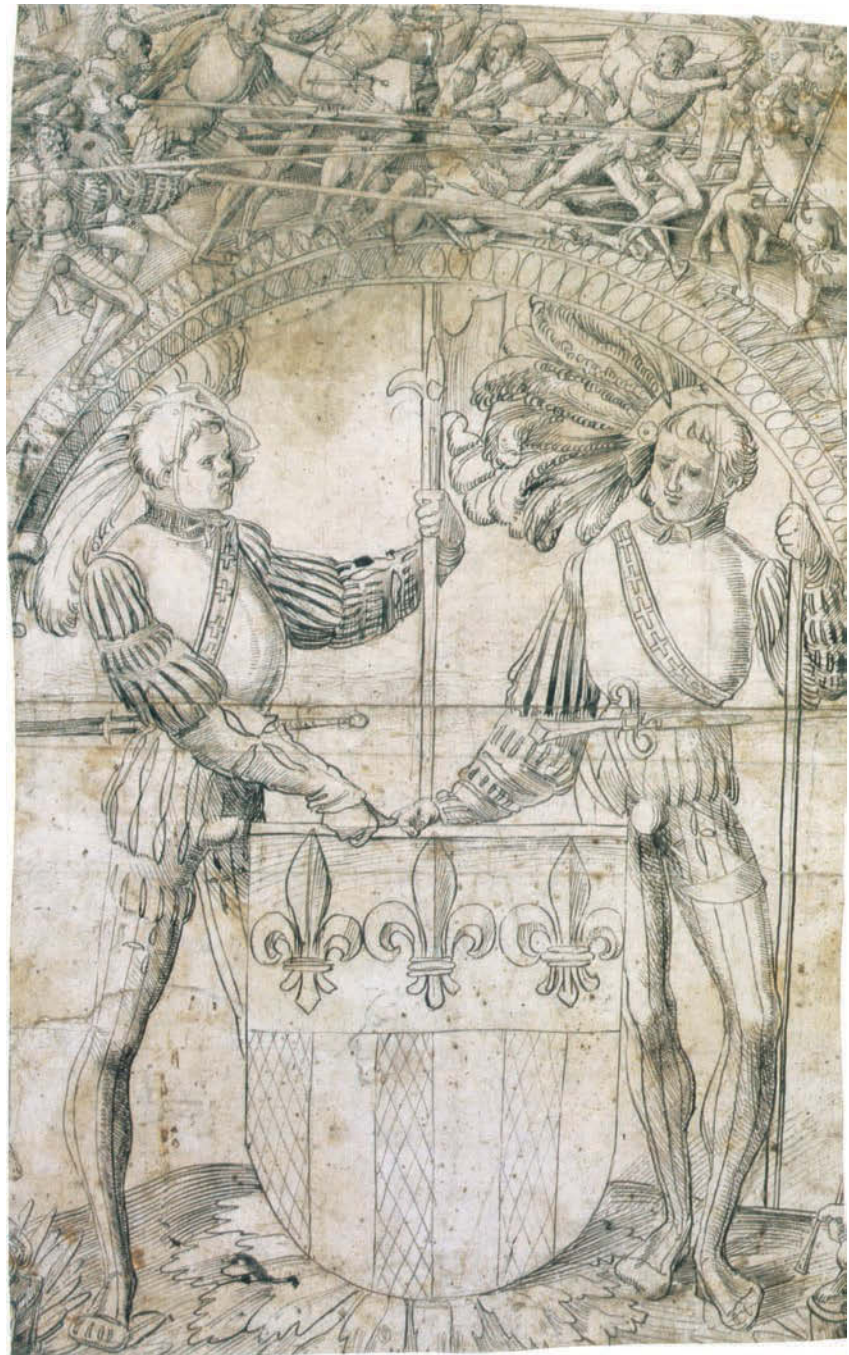
Paris, Musée du Louvre, Département des
Arts Graphiques

Inv. no. 18924

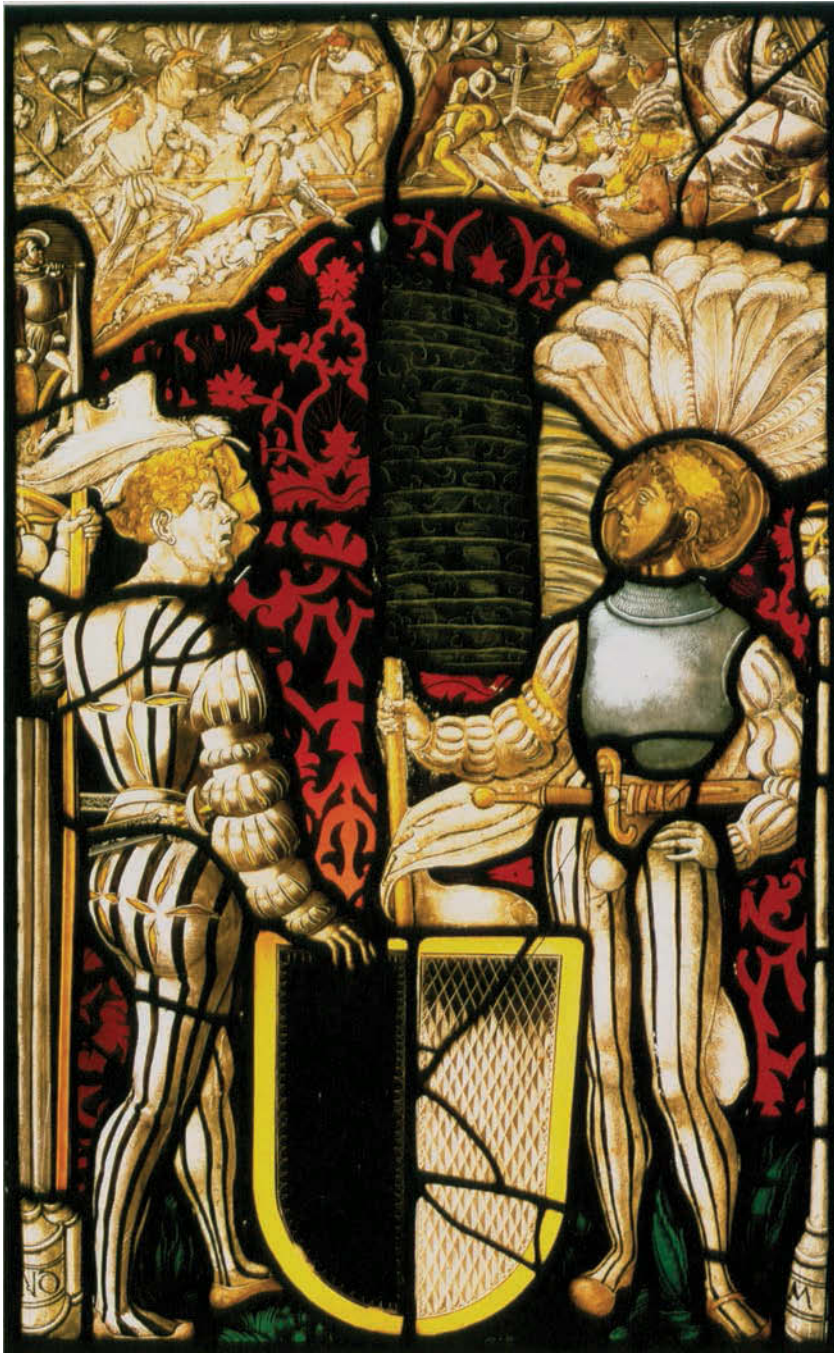
PROVENANCE

Hans Rudolf Lando, Bern (1584-1646) (trace of
his collection mark at the bottom left); old inven-
tory of the collection, Musée du Louvre (collec-
tion mark, Lugt 1921: 1955, at bottom center)

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Ganz 1909: 13; Stumm in
Thieme and Becker 1907-50 (1913), IX: 177;
Stumm 1925: 17, no. 5 on 102, pl. 2; Ganz
1924: 131, note 279; Koegler 1930: no. 118;
Fischer 1936: 48; Démonts 1937-38, I: no. 277,
pl. 98; Bächtiger 1971-72: 216-18, fig. 3; Bern
1979: no. 140, pl. 158; Paris 1991-92: no. 136,
ill. on 149; Rosemarie Bergmann in *DOA* 1996,
VIII: 823.



I 2 I



I 22

I 22

After Niklaus Manuel Deutsch

**Stained-Glass Panel
with the Arms of the
City of Burgdorf**

c. 1508

Pot-metal, flashed, and clear glass, black vitreous paint and yellow stain

86.5 × 53.5 cm

Kirchgemeinde Kirchberg (Schweiz/Switzerland)

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Kasser 1890: 54; Ganz 1909: 14; Lehmann 1912–16, xv: 113, pl. 15, 326; Stumm 1925: 16, 99; Koegler 1930: 12, 90; Tavel 1978: 224 ff., pl. 1, 224; Bern 1979: no. 264; Rosemarie Bergmann in *DOA* 1996, VIII: 823.

The Louvre drawing (cat. no. 121) and the two panels with the arms of the city of Burgdorf from the church at Kirchberg, one of which is exhibited here (cat. no. 122), form a distinct group of images in Manuel's oeuvre, in which two confederate soldiers support a shield, with a battle scene shown in the spandrel above.¹ They shed light upon three key areas of Manuel's art: his involvement with the art of glass painting from the inception of his career; his evolving artistic self-consciousness; and his exposure to the art of Baldung.

In the Louvre drawing, the coat of arms of the Manuel family comes to the foreground for the first time.² It consists of divisions of silver and red below, with the upper shield in blue decorated with three golden fleurs-de-lis.³ The shield holders wear cordons over their breasts, whose perpendicular crosses identify them as confederate soldiers. In the spandrel above, confederates on the left attack imperial soldiers (*Landsknechte*), driving them back with their long lances.⁴ The composition is divided in half, marked by the halberd of the left-hand confederate and above by the fallen *Landsknecht* with the cropped tree trunk behind him.⁵ Most of the architectural frame has been trimmed away, save for the fragment of a little bear playing a bagpipe at the base of the right-hand column. This type of composition, with two confederates supporting a shield, finds precedents in, among others, Lucas Zeiner's *Standesscheiben* (canton panels) of around 1500–1501 for the city hall of Baden.⁶

The Louvre drawing corresponds in compositional type to the Kirchberg panel, which shows a halberdier on the left and flagbearer on the right supporting a shield with the arms of the city of Burgdorf (Canton Bern), with a battle scene above between confederates and *Landsknechte*. This compositional correspondence, the closeness of poses and facial types of the shield holders, and the initials *ND* (Niklaus Deutsch?) and *M* (Manuel?) on the bases of the columns of the panel all point to Manuel's involvement in the creation of it and its pendant, either as glass painter or, more likely, as the author of designs for them.⁷ The Kirchberg panels are key to an understanding of Manuel's early career, as they are among the first of his works that can be dated precisely. The new church at Kirchberg was completed in 1507, with the glass panels donated for its decoration probably carried out around 1508.⁸

What the Louvre drawing and Kirchberg panels demonstrate is the thorough knowledge of the art of Hans Baldung that had impregnated Manuel's art by around 1508. The Louvre drawing exhibits Manuel's mastery of Baldung's calligraphic manner of drawing, whose graphic dynamism seemed to foster a parallel mastery of the human form in complex motion. Baldung's love of drawn-out line and attenuated forms finds its reflection in Manuel's slender, leggy shield bearers, while his calligraphically interwoven spandrel compositions, as seen in Baldung's stained-glass design with the Prechter coat of arms (cat. no. 111), for example, appear to have influenced Manuel's battle scene. This scene departs from earlier dollhouse figures—as in Manuel's design for a stained-glass panel with the arms of Hattstatt (cat. no. 120)—to flow across the arch in a continuous sweep of interwoven bodies. Manuel's familiarity with the art of Baldung could have been gained in one of

several contexts. During his journeyman period around 1505–6, he could have traveled to Nuremberg and met the young Baldung while he was still in Dürer's studio. Baldung also appears to have delivered designs for some of the Kirchberg windows, in particular for the splendid *Madonna in a Mandorla*, which could have occasioned a meeting between the two artists, or at least the arrival in Bern of some of Baldung's drawings.⁹

Baldung's influence, however, is but one component of Manuel's fully realized style and artistic self-consciousness—the latter manifested by the centrality of his coat of arms—that come to the fore in the Louvre drawing. However calligraphic his style, he still attends to three-dimensional modeling, as seen in the shield holders as well as the tiny fighting figures at the top. The entire picture plane is enlivened by a vital, decorative ebullience inherited from earlier Swiss glass painting, from the flamelike plants below (which seem to be displaced by the Manuel shield), to the flashy costumes of the soldiers with their feather headdresses, to the mesmerizing fighting soldiers of the spandrel. There is also a preference for a cleanness of line that distinguishes his calligraphy from that of Baldung and finds kinship with that of Graf. As ever, Manuel attends to the subtleties of unifying the central image and spandrel: the left-hand halberdier resolutely looks forward and stands firmly underneath the conquering confederates, while his right-hand counterpart underneath the embattled *Landsknechte* has a pensive, downcast gaze and strikes a relaxed pose. Manuel brings a new naturalism to the imagery of the Swiss soldier that not only includes anatomical mastery and three-dimensional modeling but also new psychological depth, as seen in the distinctive facial expressions of the two shield holders.

These strides appear in the Burgdorf panel as well, as reliance upon flat, damask-patterned costumes, seen in the *Bern Flagbearer* (cat. no. 118), gives way to modeled figures whose striped clothing fluidly defines the muscular contours of the forms. Manuel's tendency to develop distinctive physiognomic types appears in the profile of the left-hand halberdier, whose open mouth and somewhat angry expression are akin to those of the fighting soldiers in the spandrel of the Louvre drawing. The Burgdorf panel inaugurates Manuel's stylistic dominance over Bernese stained glass until after mid-century, which would encompass the work of Hans Funk (cat. nos. 118, 127), as well as followers such as Antoni Glaser (cat. no. 138) and his own son, Hans Rudolf Manuel (1525–1571).

1. For the second panel from Burgdorf, cf. Bern 1979: no. 265.

2. It is preceded only by a tiny version in the little flag in the spandrel of the drawing in Basel, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. no. U VI 28, *Confederate Soldier Under an Arch with the Conquest of Castellazzo Above* (1507); cf. Bern 1979: no. 139.

3. Cf. Zinsli 1963: 215ff.

4. Bächtiger 1971–72: 216–18.

5. For the tree trunk motif, see cat. no. 120.

6. See essay by Giesicke and Ruoss in this volume (pp. 47–51).

7. Conclusions that can be drawn are, however, mitigated by the extensive repairs made to both panels. These are discussed in detail by Matile in Bern 1979: nos. 264–65. As there noted, repairs to cat. no. 122 include the upper body, arms, buttocks, and right leg of the halberdier, the head of the flagbearer, and the right half of the spandrel. Concerning the initials, the *M* appears less trustworthy than the *ND*.

8. Cf. Tavel 1978: 224 ff.

9. For the fullest account of the relationship between Manuel and Baldung, see Tavel 1978. For the Kirchberg panel *Madonna in a Mandorla*, cf. Bern 1979: no. 266.



I23

Niklaus Manuel Deutsch

Woman Holding a Shield with a Coat of Arms with a Ram

c. 1513–14

Pen and black ink on cream laid paper

WATERMARK

Running bear (similar to Briquet 12263)

Inscribed by the artist in black ink above the crest of the helmet the motto: *WILS. WOL. SO.* *GRATZ* (Fate [circumstances] willing, it will come to pass); on the stone below monogrammed in pen and black ink: *N.M.D. V.B.* (Niklaus Manuel Deutsch von Bern) with the dagger; later inscription in brown ink 21 in the lower left corner.

32.3 × 22.3 cm

Basel, Öffentliche Kunstsammlung Basel

Inv. no. U.X.16

PROVENANCE

Amerbach-Kabinett

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Haendecke 1889: 62; Bächtold 1917: 116, no. 31; Stumm 1925: 31, no. 41 on 100, pl. 7; Kogler 1930: no. 3, pl. 2; Mandach and Kogler 1940: 39, pl. 70; Bächtiger 1971–72: 221, fig. 5; Bern 1979: no. 169, pl. 96, 335–36, under no. 173; Escher in *SKL* 1982, II: 313–14; Basel 1984b: no. 289; Basel 1991: no. 72, pl. 72.

I23

Manuel elevated the stained-glass design, the so-called *Scheibenriss*, to a new level of allegorical complexity and artistic autonomy as exemplified in this drawing. It elaborates the Power of Women imagery that appears in Manuel's earliest stained-glass design (cat. no. 120) and centers upon a maiden who holds an enormous crested shield by its leather strap; she stands under a vegetal archway whose spandrel is filled with tiny figures engaged in violent combat. Von Tavel has argued for the drawing as an allegory, pointing out that it does not refer to the Bern Steiger family, as previously assumed, as their heraldic animal was a mountain goat (*Steinbock*) rather than the mountain ram in Manuel's drawing, and thus the coat of arms in the drawing would be symbolic rather than referring to an actual family.¹ He further supports this contention by pointing to the derivation of the maiden's pose, grasping a shield by its leather strap, from Dürer's allegorical heraldic engraving *Coat of Arms with a Skull* (fig. 91), a format that inspired a number of Manuel's heraldic drawings.² Von Tavel explicates the ram as the collective symbol of the lust for combat; the astrological symbol of spring, Aries, which represents the generative forces of nature; and the biblical animal of sacrifice. The ram points back to the maiden, whose costume with its slit crosses identifies her as a camp follower of Swiss confederate soldiers; she holds the male symbol of the huge scrolling coat of arms with the ram, seemingly on a tight leash.³ The ram as the symbol of war wears a large feathered headdress tied daintily at the throat, which thematically calls to mind the Renaissance interpretation of the classical myth of Venus and Mars as both creative pacification and enervating feminization. Over this and reinforcing the form of the archway is the motto *WILS WOL SO GRATZ* (Wolle es nur, so gerät es), which translates: Fate (or

Circumstances) willing, it will come to pass (Will es [das Schicksal, die Umstände] wohl, so gerät es).⁴

Within the triumphal archway, architectural substance is replaced by a panoply of vegetal forms that make the archway appear as if it is sprouting upward as a living thing. Indeed, the bold plant forms at the bottom that hark back to the formal vocabulary of the glass painter (see cat. no. 120), and the scrolling coat of arms lend an exuberant ornamental character to the whole, which pulsates with elemental energy. Manuel creates an ornamental vocabulary that intermingles forces of creation and destruction. For example, the plant forms of the left column rest on a base decorated by Swiss daggers. As extensions of this tumult of ornament appear the tiny soldiers at the top, who fight to the death in hand-to-hand combat. With extraordinary anatomical command, Manuel brilliantly interweaves them, as human analogues to the bound-together segments of the swag archway, and in so doing once again juxtaposes ornamental forms evoking life and death. Tiny as the figures are, the force of their violence is unmitigated and is reminiscent of his larger scenes of shattering brutality, such as the drawing of *The Mocking of Christ* (Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum, inv. no. 84.GG.663), also of around 1513, which repeats some of the same facial types. Although it has been proposed that the vignette depicts a satanically motivated combat of Swiss against Swiss, von Tavel points to the banner at the right as bearing the cross of Saint Andrew and thus signifying the combat of Swiss confederates against imperial troops.⁵ Among the soldiers' most curious aspects is the way in which, violent as they are, they become absorbed into the overall ornamental ebullience of the drawing, underscoring the entirety of the design as a microcosmic evocation of the fecund and violent forces of life held in tow by feminine power. Manuel's eschewal of spatial referents and the planarity of the composition further heighten the overall unity of the design. Although he may not have intended this drawing as a stained-glass design, but rather as an independent work of art—as was almost certainly the case with the similar *Seated Maiden Holding a Shield Emblazoned with a Lion*, mentioned above (and in note 2)—he used the format of the *Scheibenriss* (stained-glass design) with its byplay between central image and spandrel and its ornamental vocabulary, to formulate a richly symbolic pictorial commentary on the profoundly unstable, unsettling forces that dominate human life.

I 24

Niklaus Manuel Deutsch

Allegory of a Warrior Who Becomes a Beggar

c. 1514–15

Pen and grayish black ink with red, blue and gray washes on vellum

Monogrammed below in pen and grayish black ink *NMD* (in ligature), with the pointed Swiss dagger and flourish; erased inscriptions in pen and brown ink at the bottom left and beside each of the three arrows; color notations *w* (?) and *p* (?) on the stripes of the legging at the left calf; (verso) poem in a sixteenth-century hand (see below)

31 × 21.3 cm

Berlin, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin-Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Kupferstichkabinett

Inv. no. kdZ 4287

PROVENANCE

Acquired in 1903

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Bock 1921, I: no. 4287, II, pl. 95; Stumm 1925: 30–31; no. 40 on 102; Koegler 1930: no. 98; Mandach and Koegler 1940: pl. 78; Andersson 1978: 47, pl. 33; Bern 1979: no. 175, pl. 114; Escher in *SKL* 1982, II: 316.

1. Bern 1979: no. 169; cf. Koegler 1930: no. 3; Mandach and Koegler 1949: pl. 70.

2. Cf. cat. no. 120, as well as *Seated Maiden Holding a Shield Emblazoned with a Lion* of ca. 1514 (Basel, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. no. U.XVI.45); Bern 1979: no. 173.

3. Bern 1979: no. 169.

4. Ibid.

5. Ibid. On the banner with the cross of Saint Andrew, see cat. nos. 71–72.



mit güten farnis sein
im 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28. 29. 30. 31. 32. 33. 34. 35. 36. 37. 38. 39. 40. 41. 42. 43. 44. 45. 46. 47. 48. 49. 50. 51. 52. 53. 54. 55. 56. 57. 58. 59. 60. 61. 62. 63. 64. 65. 66. 67. 68. 69. 70. 71. 72. 73. 74. 75. 76. 77. 78. 79. 80. 81. 82. 83. 84. 85. 86. 87. 88. 89. 90. 91. 92. 93. 94. 95. 96. 97. 98. 99. 100. 101. 102. 103. 104. 105. 106. 107. 108. 109. 110. 111. 112. 113. 114. 115. 116. 117. 118. 119. 120. 121. 122. 123. 124. 125. 126. 127. 128. 129. 130. 131. 132. 133. 134. 135. 136. 137. 138. 139. 140. 141. 142. 143. 144. 145. 146. 147. 148. 149. 150. 151. 152. 153. 154. 155. 156. 157. 158. 159. 160. 161. 162. 163. 164. 165. 166. 167. 168. 169. 170. 171. 172. 173. 174. 175. 176. 177. 178. 179. 180. 181. 182. 183. 184. 185. 186. 187. 188. 189. 190. 191. 192. 193. 194. 195. 196. 197. 198. 199. 200. 201. 202. 203. 204. 205. 206. 207. 208. 209. 210. 211. 212. 213. 214. 215. 216. 217. 218. 219. 220. 221. 222. 223. 224. 225. 226. 227. 228. 229. 230. 231. 232. 233. 234. 235. 236. 237. 238. 239. 240. 241. 242. 243. 244. 245. 246. 247. 248. 249. 250. 251. 252. 253. 254. 255. 256. 257. 258. 259. 260. 261. 262. 263. 264. 265. 266. 267. 268. 269. 270. 271. 272. 273. 274. 275. 276. 277. 278. 279. 280. 281. 282. 283. 284. 285. 286. 287. 288. 289. 290. 291. 292. 293. 294. 295. 296. 297. 298. 299. 300. 301. 302. 303. 304. 305. 306. 307. 308. 309. 310. 311. 312. 313. 314. 315. 316. 317. 318. 319. 320. 321. 322. 323. 324. 325. 326. 327. 328. 329. 330. 331. 332. 333. 334. 335. 336. 337. 338. 339. 340. 341. 342. 343. 344. 345. 346. 347. 348. 349. 350. 351. 352. 353. 354. 355. 356. 357. 358. 359. 360. 361. 362. 363. 364. 365. 366. 367. 368. 369. 370. 371. 372. 373. 374. 375. 376. 377. 378. 379. 380. 381. 382. 383. 384. 385. 386. 387. 388. 389. 390. 391. 392. 393. 394. 395. 396. 397. 398. 399. 400. 401. 402. 403. 404. 405. 406. 407. 408. 409. 410. 411. 412. 413. 414. 415. 416. 417. 418. 419. 420. 421. 422. 423. 424. 425. 426. 427. 428. 429. 430. 431. 432. 433. 434. 435. 436. 437. 438. 439. 440. 441. 442. 443. 444. 445. 446. 447. 448. 449. 450. 451. 452. 453. 454. 455. 456. 457. 458. 459. 460. 461. 462. 463. 464. 465. 466. 467. 468. 469. 470. 471. 472. 473. 474. 475. 476. 477. 478. 479. 480. 481. 482. 483. 484. 485. 486. 487. 488. 489. 490. 491. 492. 493. 494. 495. 496. 497. 498. 499. 500. 501. 502. 503. 504. 505. 506. 507. 508. 509. 510. 511. 512. 513. 514. 515. 516. 517. 518. 519. 520. 521. 522. 523. 524. 525. 526. 527. 528. 529. 530. 531. 532. 533. 534. 535. 536. 537. 538. 539. 540. 541. 542. 543. 544. 545. 546. 547. 548. 549. 550. 551. 552. 553. 554. 555. 556. 557. 558. 559. 560. 561. 562. 563. 564. 565. 566. 567. 568. 569. 570. 571. 572. 573. 574. 575. 576. 577. 578. 579. 580. 581. 582. 583. 584. 585. 586. 587. 588. 589. 590. 591. 592. 593. 594. 595. 596. 597. 598. 599. 600. 601. 602. 603. 604. 605. 606. 607. 608. 609. 610. 611. 612. 613. 614. 615. 616. 617. 618. 619. 620. 621. 622. 623. 624. 625. 626. 627. 628. 629. 630. 631. 632. 633. 634. 635. 636. 637. 638. 639. 640. 641. 642. 643. 644. 645. 646. 647. 648. 649. 650. 651. 652. 653. 654. 655. 656. 657. 658. 659. 660. 661. 662. 663. 664. 665. 666. 667. 668. 669. 670. 671. 672. 673. 674. 675. 676. 677. 678. 679. 680. 681. 682. 683. 684. 685. 686. 687. 688. 689. 690. 691. 692. 693. 694. 695. 696. 697. 698. 699. 700. 701. 702. 703. 704. 705. 706. 707. 708. 709. 710. 711. 712. 713. 714. 715. 716. 717. 718. 719. 720. 721. 722. 723. 724. 725. 726. 727. 728. 729. 730. 731. 732. 733. 734. 735. 736. 737. 738. 739. 740. 741. 742. 743. 744. 745. 746. 747. 748. 749. 750. 751. 752. 753. 754. 755. 756. 757. 758. 759. 760. 761. 762. 763. 764. 765. 766. 767. 768. 769. 770. 771. 772. 773. 774. 775. 776. 777. 778. 779. 780. 781. 782. 783. 784. 785. 786. 787. 788. 789. 790. 791. 792. 793. 794. 795. 796. 797. 798. 799. 800. 801. 802. 803. 804. 805. 806. 807. 808. 809. 810. 811. 812. 813. 814. 815. 816. 817. 818. 819. 820. 821. 822. 823. 824. 825. 826. 827. 828. 829. 830. 831. 832. 833. 834. 835. 836. 837. 838. 839. 840. 841. 842. 843. 844. 845. 846. 847. 848. 849. 850. 851. 852. 853. 854. 855. 856. 857. 858. 859. 860. 861. 862. 863. 864. 865. 866. 867. 868. 869. 870. 871. 872. 873. 874. 875. 876. 877. 878. 879. 880. 881. 882. 883. 884. 885. 886. 887. 888. 889. 890. 891. 892. 893. 894. 895. 896. 897. 898. 899. 900. 901. 902. 903. 904. 905. 906. 907. 908. 909. 910. 911. 912. 913. 914. 915. 916. 917. 918. 919. 920. 921. 922. 923. 924. 925. 926. 927. 928. 929. 930. 931. 932. 933. 934. 935. 936. 937. 938. 939. 940. 941. 942. 943. 944. 945. 946. 947. 948. 949. 950. 951. 952. 953. 954. 955. 956. 957. 958. 959. 960. 961. 962. 963. 964. 965. 966. 967. 968. 969. 970. 971. 972. 973. 974. 975. 976. 977. 978. 979. 980. 981. 982. 983. 984. 985. 986. 987. 988. 989. 990. 991. 992. 993. 994. 995. 996. 997. 998. 999. 1000.

NMD
ST
S

Manuel's humanistic tendency to elevate the format of the stained-glass design into a vehicle for the allegorical exploration of profound subjects finds perhaps its strongest and most personal expression in this image. It is singular among Manuel's surviving drawings for being made on vellum, a more expensive and permanent medium than paper, and has been finished in watercolor. The drawing centers upon the monumental form of the soldier, a figure then so closely tied to the Swiss Confederacy's indigenous pride and faith in military might, as well as to Manuel's own closely intertwined personal and artistic identity. His activity as a confederate soldier

(*Reisläufer*), starting with the Lombard campaigns in 1507 and lasting through most of the rest of his life, finds thematic expression throughout his oeuvre, beginning with his earliest works, such as *Design for a Stained-Glass Panel with the Arms of the Artist* (cat. no. 121) of around 1508, and in his own insignia, which appears in his work from this time on: the ubiquitous weapon of the confederate soldier, the Swiss dagger (*Schweizerdolch*).

This drawing presents the soldier, often shown as a vital, swaggering figure, now vanquished by the larger uncontrollable forces of fortune and death. On the left he is dressed in a feathered beret and splendid slashed costume, which on the right are transformed into wild, unkempt hair and beard and frayed rags. His left side is pierced by three arrows, which have been interpreted as battle wounds that form an analogue to the sores that constitute the wounds of the beggar, and which Christiane Andersson has connected to the theme of changing fortune, whose "slings and arrows" assault the soldier even before he is reduced to beggary.¹ The violence of the theme is most vividly conveyed in the soldier's pained face, pierced by an arrow that enters his cheek and exits his neck. In the column capitals above there is figural commentary upon the main warrior, with the tiny soldier at the upper right, dressed like his larger counterpart in good times below, looking across the spandrel to his female protectress, a camp follower who extends a canteen with refreshments; above is his counterpart in suffering, Saint Sebastian, dead and pierced with arrows, who appears opposite his heavenly protectress, the Virgin, whose child offers him an apple.²

Opposite the three arrows and at the bottom left are (possibly original?) inscriptions that have been erased and are illegible save the phrase *on müet* (*ohne Mut* or "without courage"), visible by the arrow in the upper thigh. On the back is a verse that, while not in Manuel's hand, might well have been written by him. It expands upon the subject matter of the recto imagery:

*Ein kriegsman mag wol werden rich
ouch wirt er dik ein bedler glich
wen einer schon ver schlempet sin hab
so bliß im doch der bettel stab
in kriegè hab jch vil erliten.
vil mengen strus hab ich erstrittè
darzû gewonnen mengi pût
wen vnuol kumpt so hilfz als nût
ist er schon rich vnd müttes vol
er mag ein bettler werden wol
die wil er noch hat gelt vñ goold
so sind im hübschi fröwli hold
vnd mag mit iñ in fröiden leben*

*die wil er gelt hat uss zûgeben
so bald im aber pfening brist
von menklich er uar lassen ist
dazu jch iedem raten wil
er buw vff kriegem nit zû vil
ob es schon etwan grätet eim
so gratz den vnder vierzgen keim³*

Von Tavel has questioned whether this drawing, like cat. no. 123, was actually made as a design for a stained-glass panel or whether it was intended as an independent work of art.⁴ He dates the drawing to 1514–15 on stylistic grounds, as well as Manuel's dagger and flourish insignia, with the dagger making its earliest appearance here in pointed (as opposed to rounded) form.

1. Koegler 1930: 9, under no. 98; Andersson 1978: 47, in reference to Shakespeare's *Hamlet*, act 3, scene 1.
2. Bern 1979: 339, under no. 175.
3. Bern 1979: 339. Transcribed into modern German and translated into English by Barbara Butts and Scott Wolf, with the generous assistance of Hartmut Scholz, the poem reads as follows:

Ein Krieger mag wohl reich werden
A warrior may well become rich

Auch wird er dick einem Bettler gleich
He also often becomes like a beggar.

Wenn einer schon sein Hab und Gut verprasst
If one has already squandered his property,

So bleibt ihm doch der Bettelstab
There still remains the beggar's staff.

In Kriege habe ich erstritten
I have fought in wars

Darzu eine Menge Beute gewonnen
And won lots of booty for this.

Wenn ein Unglück kommt hilft nichts.
In misfortune it is no help.

Ist er schon reich und voller Mut
If he is already rich and full of courage,

Er mag wohl ein Bettler werden
He may well become a beggar.

Die weil er noch Geld und Gold hat
So long as he still has money and gold

So sind ihm hübsche Frauli hold
Beautiful young women smile upon him

Und mag mit ihm in Freude leben
And may live with him in joy

Die weil er Geld hat auszugeben
So long as he has money to give out.

So bald ihm aber ein Pfennig fehlt
But as soon as he lacks a penny,

Ist er von allen verlassen
He is abandoned by everyone.

Dazu ich jedem raten wil
Thus I want to advise everyone

Er bau auf kriegem nicht zu viel
Not to rely too much on fighting wars

Wenn es nur irgendwem gelingt
If there is anybody who succeeds,

So gelingt es doch keinem unter vierzig
It doesn't happen to anyone younger than forty.

4. Bern 1979: 339–40, under no. 175.

125

Niklaus Manuel Deutsch

Design for a Stained-Glass Panel with the Madonna and Child Enthroned

1520

Pen and brown ink with brown and gray wash, and blue gouache over traces of black chalk, on cream laid paper. Some outlines indented.

Inscribed by the artist along the lower edge, in dark gray wash, with his monogram, his insignia of a Swiss dagger, and the date 1520; and on the Virgin's dress, in black chalk, *blau*; and by a different, later hand, underneath the figure of the Virgin, in black chalk, *Niclaus Manuel Deutsch/Bern*.

42.1 × 30.4 cm

London, The British Museum

Inv. no. 1899-1-20-26

PROVENANCE

Johann Emmanuel Wyss, Bern; G. Fairholme (from an album, inscribed on the title-page by G. Fairholme: *This collection of old drawings of Swiss and German artists of the 16th and 17th centuries was purchased from Monsr. J. E. Wyss, heraldic painter in Bern, in 1829*).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Lehmann 1912-16, XVII: 342, fig. 8; Stumm 1925: 96, no. 114; Koegler 1930: no. 121; Bern 1979: no. 213; Escher in *SKL* 1982, II: 316; London 1988: no. 180; Rowlands 1993, I: no. 133; II: pl. 69.



125

During his later career, Manuel began to draw in a broader manner, turning away from a linear style with intricate hatching and toward drawing and modeling with brush and wash, a technique that he as well as Leu might have adopted due to the influence of Holbein the Younger. In this example, he uses it to create his most Italianate stained-glass design. A monumental image of the Virgin and Child enthroned, seated in an apse-like space and surrounded by an arched frame, it assumes the format of an Italianate altarpiece. The loose drawing of the grotesque ornament in brush, and the broad, sculptural modeling in wash and use of the white paper for luminous highlights lend the composition grandeur and weight. The spaciousness of the architecture is enhanced by the open blue sky behind the apse, painted in brilliant blue gouache.

The emblem of the head of an Eastern figure, seen in the shield in the lower right of the drawing, could be that of the Bern merchant's guild.¹ The presence of the scale, seen in the lower center, which became this guild's official emblem in 1540, strengthens the hypothesis that the guild of merchants commissioned the no-longer-extant window for which Manuel's drawing is preparatory.²

The Italianate character of the Madonna may reflect Manuel's knowledge of Italian prints.³ He could have had direct contact with Italian paintings during his probable trip to northern Italy as a mercenary soldier in 1516. As has been recognized, the grotesque border, with its boldness and flatness, is derived from woodcut borders in book illustration.⁴ While a few such borders are attributed to Manuel, a closer stylistic connection exists with those designed by Urs Graf, whose work also contains the striated nimbus similar to that of Manuel's Christ Child.⁵

Most notable is the particular synthesis that Manuel wrought out of these various influences. He achieves clarity of composition with the triangular form of the Virgin and Child and the constellation of circular forms at the top,

consisting of their interlocking halos, the arches of the apse and the frame above, and finally the formal echo of the Christ Child's nimbus in the fanned striations in the top corners. The stable, luminous forms of the Virgin and Child in the center contrast with the surrounding frame and shields, with their extroverted, dynamic imagery. This relationship between the main figures and ornament constitutes one of the drawing's most unusual and effective features and one that is so typical of Manuel's talent, as seen from his earliest works (cat. no. 120).

126

Niklaus Manuel Deutsch

Christ and the Woman Taken in Adultery

1527

Pen and medium and dark brown ink and gray wash, on cream laid paper

Inscribed by the artist in brown ink on the pillar on the left, with his monogram NMD in ligature, 1527 and his emblem, the dagger in its sheath. Above center, the cartouche is inscribed by another hand with the biblical quotation relating to the scene below: *Wer under ouch an (ohne) sund ist, der/ werff den Ersten Stein vff sy and Johani am viij Cap* (He among you who is without sin, let him cast the first stone at her/ John:8)

34.2 × 30.9 cm

Oxford, Ashmolean Museum

Inv. no. PI 330

PROVENANCE

Francis Douce bequest, 1834

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Colvin 1903-7, III: pl. 15; Stumm in Thieme and Becker 1907-50 (1913), IX: 117; Stumm 1925: 82-83, no. 124 on 102, pl. 32; Parker 1938: no. 330, pl. 63; Mandach and Koegler 1940: pl. 115; Stettler 1951: 144-46, pl. 12; Bern 1979: no. 292; New Brunswick and Cleveland 1982-83: 12, no. 9, ill.; London 1988: no. 181, pl. 181.

1. Bern 1979: no. 213; Rowlands 1993, I: no. 133.

2. Bern 1979: no. 213.

3. Ibid.

4. Ibid.: 409, under no. 253.

5. Rowlands 1993, I: cat. no. 133.



126

I 27

After Niklaus Manuel Deutsch,
Bernese glass painter
(Hans Funk?)

Christ and the Woman Taken in Adultery

c. 1527

Pot-metal, flashed, and clear glass, with black vitreous paint and yellow stain

Inscribed in the cartouche above in black vitreous paint: *wer inder uch an[ohne] sind ist der werf den ersten stein uff sy johanni am viij capitel*. (He among you who is without sin, let him cast the first stone at her/ John 8); at the bottom the original coat of arms replaced in 1697 by that of Samuel Jenner and the inscription in black vitreous paint: *Herr Samuel Jenner des grossen Rahtss der Statt Werckmeister der grossen Kirchen bau meister zu Berni Entrepreneur des so genannten Schinzacher Bads Anno: 1697* (Mr. Samuel Jenner; member of the city council, chief of works of the great church, master builder of Bern, entrepreneur of the so-called Schinzach Bath, year: 1697).

42.8 × 31.9 cm

Bad Schinzach (Canton Aargau), Bad Schinzach Thermalquelle

PROVENANCE

Original patron and place of installation unknown. Samuel Jenner (1653–1720), Master Builder of the Bern minster 1688–1703, possibly brought the panel from the minster to Bad Schinzach, which he began to build in 1696, and where he died in 1720.¹

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Stumm 1925: 83, note 1; Stettler 1951: 144–46, pl. 12; Stettler and Maurer 1953, II: 398ff., pl. 374; Bern 1979: no. 293.



I 27

Manuel portrays subjects of a strongly Reformational character in the Bad Schinznach panel and the closely related one from the church at Jegenstorf, *King Josiah Has the Idols Destroyed* (cat. no. 129). In 1528, the year after the Oxford drawing for the Schinznach panel (cat. no. 126) was made, Bern would officially accept the Reformation, with Manuel becoming one of its leading advocates in the city. From a Reformation standpoint, the story of Christ and the Adulteress (John 8:1–11) encapsulated the hypocrisy of the established Church. It takes place in the Temple, where Christ was teaching. Bringing him a woman taken in the act of adultery, the scribes and Pharisees quoted the Old Testament law as commanding that an adulterous woman be stoned to death. Attempting to trick him into contesting the law, the scribes and Pharisees asked Christ what he thought should be done. As if he did not hear them, Christ leaned down and began writing with his finger on the ground. He then rose and told them, “He who is without sin among you, let him cast the first stone at her,” and began to write on the ground again. Convicted by their own consciences, the scribes and Pharisees “went out one by one.” Finally left alone with the woman, Christ told her to “go and sin no more.” The drawing and related panel show the moment Christ resumed writing and the scribes and Pharisees exited the Temple. The text in the cartouche above repeats Luther’s translation of the New Testament of 1522, which was printed in Basel the same year.²

A late work by Manuel (his last dated drawing is from 1529), the Oxford drawing shows his tendency after around 1520 (see cat. no. 125) to model his figures in sculptural gradations of wash, as influenced by the manner of Hans Holbein the Younger. The washes in this drawing are particularly nuanced, ranging from light gray to almost black in the shadows, with highlights formed by the blank paper. This is combined with calligraphic penwork in the outlines, with outstanding passages occurring in the wheat-shaft headdress of the adulteress and the range of grotesque faces of the scribes and Pharisees. Facial and hand gestures play an important role, as in the Christ figure, who pulls up his sleeve as he writes on the ground.

Manuel chose to portray the adulteress amidst a vast crowd of scribes and Pharisees, whose large numbers imply, in a Reformation vein, the universal guilt of humankind under God. Manuel arranged the figures in an isocephalic manner, which creates strong compositional tension. The light-filled architectural space above seems to press down

on the crowd, emphasizing their flow outward to the left and the right. The woman stands at the center of the crowd, which moves away from her laterally, almost like parting waters. The adulteress, a robust figure whose calf-length skirt reveals large bare feet, is a descendant of the “Foolish Virgins” of Manuel’s great series of woodcuts of 1518.³

The glass panel from Bad Schinznach is one of only two known examples after Manuel that correspond almost entirely to the related drawing by him.⁴ It is a glass painting of such outstanding quality that it seems likely that Manuel supervised the glass painter (Hans Funk?) in its manufacture.⁵ It is notable for its bold choice of colored glass, as seen in the purple robe of Christ and the brilliant red dress of the adulteress. The bottle-glass “windows” above the figures (the middle segment is a repair) flood the space of the Temple with daylight, whose openness and brilliance contrast with the throng of scribes and Pharisees below, with the device of isocephaly making it seem all the more dense. The glass painter has translated the subtlety of the drawing with great finesse, even capturing the effect of falling stones that are dropped by the man to the right of the adulteress, as he is stricken by the pangs of conscience. The exuberant ornamental frame above is integrated into the architecture of the Temple, with the twin columns in the back wall supporting the cartouche that simultaneously forms the front plane of the image.

Manuel depicted the subject of Christ and the Woman Taken in Adultery in his *Dance of Death* wall paintings (destroyed), formerly in the Dominican priory, Bern, of 1516/17–1519/20, on the side of the papal litter in the scene of the pope and the cardinal, as recorded in the seventeenth-century copies after *The Dance of Death* in the Bernisches Historisches Museum.⁶ Although *The Dance of Death* predates the Oxford drawing, it cannot be excluded that this scene was added to *The Dance of Death* during a repainting and that the Oxford drawing served as the basis.⁷ The scene occurs with Reformation overtones in the work of Cranach the Elder.⁸ It also may have been intended for inclusion in the final phase (c. 1530) of Holbein the Younger’s decoration of the council chamber of the Basel Town Hall.⁹ A striking rendering of this scene, also dynamically composed around the adulterous woman, is found in one of the panels from the cycle made for the Nuremberg Carmelite cloister after designs by Hans Baldung, and now in the Evangelical Lutheran Church, Grossgründlach, outside Nuremberg (fig. 7 on p. 7).

1. For further discussion and literature, see Bern 1979: 460, under no. 293, notes 3–5.

2. Bern 1979: 458–59, note 2, under no. 292.

3. There are copies of the Oxford drawing in the Graphische Sammlung der Eidgenössischen Technischen Hochschule Zürich (inv. no. GKS 1906, 23:19 [448]); Gottfried Keller-Stiftung (Bern 1979: no. 294); another from the collection of the glass painter Hans Jörg Wannewetsch (sold Bern, Gutekunst and Klipstein, June 5, 1959, lot. 179); and Paris, École des Beaux-Arts (Masson collection, inv. no. 140).

4. Cf. Bern 1979: 460, under no. 293, nos. 298–99, *Design for a Stained-Glass Panel with the Coat of Arms of Jakob May* (location unknown) and the corresponding panel in a private collection, Toffen.

5. Cf. Bern 1979: no. 293.

6. Inv. no. 822; cf. Bern 1979: no. 98, pl. 59.

7. Cf. Bern 1979: no. 292; London 1988: no. 181.

8. Cf. for further literature Bern 1979: 458, notes 3–4, under no. 292.

9. London 1988: 213, under no. 181.

128

Niklaus Manuel Deutsch

King Josiah Has the Idols Destroyed

1527

Pen and brown ink, gray, brown, and reddish gray wash, traces of later outlines in red chalk on cream laid paper

Monogrammed by the artist at the bottom in pen and brown ink *NMD* in ligature, with the emblem of the Swiss dagger and flourish, and dated 1527. The middle coat of arms inscribed *Stattschreiberin*,¹ the one to the right inscribed *yosep goesler glaser* (Joseph Gössler glazier) (each word written backwards). In the cartouche above inscribed *Josia der künig zů Jersalem dett das dem herren wol gfiel/ det ab / die altar der abgötter verbrant sy zerstört die höchinen veget vss alle / Warsager, vnnnd Zeichen dütter Bilder vnnnd götzen, mitt für vnd / drug den Staub in den Bach Kidron, am andren Büch der künig / am xxiii Cap* (Josiah the king at Jerusalem did that which pleased the Lord well/removed the altars of the idols, burned them, destroyed the high places where incense had been burned, swept away all prophets and interpreters of signs, images and idols, with fire and carried the dust to the brook of Kidron, in the other Book of Kings/in chapter 23), and completed by another hand, *regum im fierden büch / der Künigen am / xxiii capittel*. (in the fourth book of Kings, in chapter 23)

43 × 31.9 cm

Basel, Öffentliche Kunstsammlung Basel

Inv. no. U.I.77

PROVENANCE

Museum Faesch, Basel.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Lehmann 1912–16, xv: pl. 24; Stumm 1925: 82–83; no. 123 on 101; Koegler 1930: no. 75; Mandach and Koegler 1940: pl. 114; Bern 1979: no. 295; Basel 1984b: no. 292; Bächtmann and Griener 1997: 97–98, fig. 124.



128



129

After Niklaus Manuel Deutsch,
Bernese glass painter
(Joseph Gösler?)

King Josiah Has the Idols Destroyed

1530

Pot-metal, flashed, and clear glass, with black vitreous paint and yellow stain. For the smoke, the glass painter used a piece of glass with undissolved oxides, which produced the blue and violet tones.

Inscribed in the upper panel: *Le roy josyas a battit le exsesses et brysa les ymages et aussy rompit lautel qui estoit en bethel et leselse que jeroboam auoit fait et brusla les os des tubeaux sur lautel selon la parolle q(ue) l'hoñe de dieu auoyet (d)icte au quatresime liure des roys au xxiii chapitre* (King Josiah fought against the excesses and destroyed the images and also broke the altar which was in Bethel and which Jeroboam had made and burnt the bones from the graves on the altar according to the word of the man of God spoken in the fourth book of Kings in the twenty-third chapter); in the panel underneath the coats of arms: *sans . la . grace . ayde . et . misericorde . du . seul . dieu . redempteur . et . saulveur . du . monde . riens . ne . puyt* (without the grace and the mercy of the only God, Redeemer and Savior of the world, nothing is possible) and the date 1530.

COATS OF ARMS

At the bottom, alliance arms of Hans Rudolf von Erlach (1504–1553) and his wife, Dorothea Felga

57.5 × 50 cm; the width of the section with the image without the flanking landscapes and columns, 23.3 cm

Jegenstorf (Canton Bern), Pfarrkirche Jegenstorf Kanton Bern (Schweiz/Switzerland), Kantonale Denkmalpflege

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Rodt 1904: pl. next to 30; Lehmann 1915: 34 ff., 47; Lehmann 1912–16, xvii: 320–21, fig. 6; Stumm 1925: 82, note 1; Scheidegger 1947: 27f., cat. no. 1, pl. 28; Bern 1979: no. 296.

Among the most trenchant Reformation images in Swiss Renaissance stained glass are this singular drawing in Basel and its related panel. They depict the events related in 2 Kings 23, in which the Israelite King Josiah cleanses the Temple of pagan imagery after a lapse into the worship of Baal and Asherah, the Canaanite mother goddess associated with lions, serpents, and sacred trees. At the left of the drawing is Josiah, accompanied by the high priest Hilkiah and by Shaphan, the scribe, with the Book of the Law. Vowing to obey the commandments of the Lord according to the Book of the Law, Josiah had ordered Hilkiah and the other priests “to bring forth out of the temple of the Lord all the vessels that were made for Baal, and for the grove (i.e., Asherah), and for all the host of heaven: and he burned them without Jerusalem in the fields of Kidron, and carried the ashes of them unto Bethel” (2 Kings 23:4). In the center of the drawing, a man wielding a huge axe smashes an idol’s pedestal. To the right is a splintered tablet inscribed *BALS-ALTAR* (Baal’s Altar), which had supported the demonic toppled figurine to its right, with fox’s ears and holding a sickle. In the flames above it stands the idol of Asherah holding a serpent, next to which is a column with a figure of Mammon holding a money sack, and an unidentified idol on the far right.²

The drawing powerfully captures Manuel’s intensive involvement with the iconoclasm of the Reformers. He made it during the time building up to the Disputation in the Bern Barfüsserkirche (Franciscan church) between January 6 and January 27, 1528, which marked the city’s acceptance of the Reformation and the outbreak of iconoclasm there on January 27 and 28, which led to the destruction, among other art, of the altars in the minster.³

Von Tavel has best described the way in which Manuel formulated the narrative in the drawing to express the biblical authority of the city government in cleansing Bern of graven images. King Josiah embodies the civic authority: empowered by the Book of the Law, he calmly presides over the destruction of the idols. The restraint of the presiding officials contrasts with the right side of the composition, in which the muscular man with the axe and the engulfing flames express righteous fury directed at sin and paganism.⁴

The related panel in the church at Jegenstorf in Canton Bern dated 1530, and thus reflecting Bern’s lingering iconoclastic fervor, is one of the masterpieces of Swiss Renaissance stained glass. Particularly impressive is the way in which the glass painter has translated into the

glass medium the raging smoke and flames of Manuel’s drawing. The panel contains the alliance arms of Hans Rudolf von Erlach, the wealthiest Bern citizen of his day, and his wife, Dorothea Felga, whose Freiburg (Switzerland) origins might explain the use of French in the accompanying texts in the panel.⁵ In contrast to the contemporary drawing of *Christ and the Woman Taken in Adultery* (cat. no. 126), the present drawing by Manuel was changed considerably by the glass painter in translating it to the final panel. Most notably he cut out the ground plane and thrust the coats of arms into the compositional field, with the swirling mantling of the shield heightening the dramatic circular motion of the scene as a whole.

On the basis of the later inscription in the lower right of the Bern drawing, the panel has been ascribed to Joseph Gösler, the Bern glass painter who in 1539 inherited the atelier of Hans Funk. This, however, is not certain. If Gösler indeed entered the Funk atelier around 1530, it would have been unusual to entrust an apprentice with the complicated tripartite composition in which the beautifully executed landscape and columns that flank the main image appear to be original to the Jegenstorf panel.⁶

1. This probably refers to the wife of the city scribe. For discussion of her identity and further literature, cf. Bern 1979: no. 295, 463, note 8.

2. Cf. Bern 1979: no. 295.

3. Ibid. For the copy of cat. no. 128 in Zurich, Eidgenössischen Technischen Hochschule (inv. no. 658), see Bern 1979: no. 297.

4. Bern 1979: no. 295.

5. Ibid.: no. 296, notes 1–2.

6. For an extensive discussion of the attribution to Gösler, see Matile in Bern 1979: no. 296.

ZURICH







131

130

Hans Leu the Younger*

Design for a Stained-Glass Panel with the Pilgrim Saints James the Major and Jodocus

1516

Pen and black ink, brush and gray and black ink underdrawing, corrections and indications of lead lines in black chalk, on cream laid paper

Signed and dated at the bottom in brush and black ink *HL* (in ligature) 1516

At the bottom, coats of arms of an unknown donor pair; that of the woman might belong to the Aargau family of Effinger

53.6 × 40.5 cm

Zurich, Schweizerisches Landesmuseum

Inv. no. LM 24738

PROVENANCE

Old inventory of the collection

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Hugelshofer 1923-24, I: 178-79, pl. 14; Hugelshofer 1928-29, pt. 4: 50 ff.; Zurich 1981: no. 74; Ghent 1985: no. 426; Anderes and Hoegger 1988: 238.

*Biography on p. 130.

131

After Hans Leu the Younger,
Zurich glass painter

Stained-Glass Panel with the Pilgrim Saints James the Major and Jodocus, with the Arms of Hans Scherer

c. 1520

Pot-metal, flashed, and clear glass, black and brown vitreous paint, yellow stain

Inscribed in the banderole at the top *hans . scherer . von . baden . des . gotzhu(ses) . scher . wetingn* (Hans Scherer of Baden, barber of the House of God, Wettingen)

Coat of arms of Hans Scherer at the bottom

36.5 × 31 cm

Cloister Wettingen (Canton Aargau)

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Willi 1894: 141; Lehmann 1909: 67; Merz 1920: 246ff.; Hugelshofer 1923-24, I: 177-79; Wehrli 1931: fig. 33; Griesser 1956: 253-55; Riedler 1978: 39-72; Wütrich 1980: 141-59; Zurich 1981: under no. 74; Anderes and Hoegger 1988: 238.

The Cistercian cloister at Wettingen, between Zurich to its south and Baden to its north, houses one of the finest collections of Swiss stained glass of the Renaissance (see cat. nos. 131, 141, 143; cf. the essay by Giesicke and Ruoss in this volume, fig. 5, p. 49; p. 51). Although the patrons of the glass included relatively few Zurich citizens, much of the glass itself was manufactured in Zurich due to its proximity as a major center for glass painting.¹ At this time, Hans Leu the Younger was the dominant designer of stained glass in this, his native city.

After his years as a journeyman, which included activity in Dürer's studio around 1510 and in that of Baldung in Freiburg im Breisgau and perhaps in Strasbourg around 1512-13, Leu was back in Zurich by 1514. The present drawing (cat. no. 130) dates from a few years after his return.² It shows that in the province of drawings for stained glass, Leu quickly returned to his Swiss stylistic roots, eschewing the intricate hatching he had learned in Dürer's atelier (cat. no. 29) for the broader, more painterly use of brush and wash that at this time characterized the stained-glass designs of Manuel and Holbein the Younger. Leu's particular use of wash, as

seen in this drawing, is rougher and less nuanced than that of either of the latter artists, with these qualities, plus the large scale of the sheet, heightening the weight and gravity of expression of the main figures of the pilgrim saints, James and Jodocus. Their stiffness and large size in relation to the donor figures make them seem at once retardataire and impressively hieratic, in ways that hark back to the earlier manner of the artist's father, the Zurich painter Hans Leu the Elder, the probable author of the five panel paintings with the martyrdom of the patron saints of Zurich of around 1500 in the Schweizerisches Landesmuseum in Zurich.³ The facial types, which are typical of Leu in their prominent round eyes, might also betray the influence of earlier Zurich glass painting, in particular that of Hans Funk, who was active in Zurich before moving to Bern around 1499-1500 where he came under the influence of Manuel.⁴

While admittedly stiff, the figures have a sculptural quality conveyed largely by the wash modeling, that points to Leu's importance as one of the main artists who conveyed a Renaissance formal vocabulary to the art of Zurich. He came under the influence of the extroverted, calligraphic style of Danube School artists, particularly Albrecht Altdorfer (see cat. no. 117), which touched off his own natural proclivity for expansive graphic expression, particularly with nature imagery and ornament. This appears in the Zurich drawing in the columns flanking the pilgrim saints, whose scrolling Renaissance ornament is executed with bravura brush strokes, and in the overhead spandrel with its flamelike plants and angel trumpeters, who celebrate the austere saints below. These festive angels form a visual counterpart to the small figures of the worshiping donors below.

The corresponding panel from Cloister Wettingen (cat. no. 131) is somewhat smaller than the Zurich drawing and differs from it in numerous details, most notably in the absence of a donor and in the overhead spandrel, which consists of a putto and lance with a cowering lion on the left, two drummer putti on the right, and branches entwined with a banderole inscribed with the name and occupation of the donor. The panel is sufficiently close, however, to indicate that it is based on a version or variant of the Zurich drawing.

The donor was Hans Scherer of Baden, who according to the inscription on the banderole above, was a barber, with his name (*Scherer*, "one who cuts hair"), as well as the razor in his coat of arms, referring to this profession as traditional to his family. The inscription in the banderole also refers to Scherer's job

1. Anderes and Hoegger 1988: 57.
2. From this early period there are three other stained-glass designs, all dating to 1514: *The Baptism of Christ* in the British Museum (inv. no. 1899-1-20-28; cf. Rowlands 1993, I: no. 422, II: pl. 270); *Christ and Doubting Thomas* in the Statens Museum for Kunst in Copenhagen (inv. no. T.U.97/2); and *A Party Dining in the Open Air* in the Graphische Sammlung Albertina in Vienna (inv. no. 3223; cf. Tietze et al. 1933: no. 337). Cf. Hugelshofer 1923-24, I: 168-73, pls. 5-6.
3. Cf. Bosshard 1982: 147-62.
4. Compare, for example, the face of the left-hand halberdier in Funk's signed *Stained-Glass Panel with the Arms of Bremgarten* of around 1501 in the Bernisches Historisches Museum in Bern (inv. no. 20274; as discussed in Bern 1979: no. 261, pl. 154).
5. Cf. Anderes and Hoegger 1988: 238.
6. Cf. *ibid.*: 57, 238, 243-44.
7. *Ibid.*: 243.

of barbering and renewing the tonsures of the monks of the Wettingen cloister.⁵

The format of monumental saints standing under archways and dominating their surrounding environments as seen in the Wettingen panel was one beloved of Leu. A number of other such panels at the cloister in Wettingen and elsewhere assume this format and appear to have been based on Leu's designs. This format also appears in the wall paintings of the chapel of the Klausen House in Lucerne of around 1520 (now in Zurich, Schweizerisches Landesmuseum), which are generally believed to be by Leu.⁶ The trumpeting angels in the Zurich drawing, while not appearing in the related panel of Saints James and Jodocus at the cloister in Wettingen, appear in other panels, probably after Leu's designs, and were obviously a popular decorative motif within his entourage.⁷



132

132

Possibly after Hans Leu the Younger, Bernese glass painter (Hans Funk?)

Stained-Glass Panel with Saint Beatus

c. 1515–20

Pot-metal, flashed, and clear glass with black and brown vitreous paint and yellow stain (glass panel); surrounding window in bottle glass with corners filled with red, brown, and blue glass

32.8 × 20.5 cm; bottle-glass window, 117.5 × 61 cm

Bern, Bernisches Historisches Museum

Inv. no. 6828

PROVENANCE

The chapel in the manor house at Vorderruppi- gen, Parish of Littau (Canton Lucerne); acquired in 1910 from the Meyer-Amrhyn Collection

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Buchmüller 1914: 139, fig. 16; Lehmann 1941: 10, note 3; Bern 1979: no. 37.

The first apostle of Switzerland, Beatus (died c. 112) was, according to tradition, baptized in England by the apostle Barnabas, ordained in Rome by Saint Peter, and then sent to Switzerland to convert the Swiss. He lived as a hermit in a cave after ridding it of a terrible dragon. Beatus's cave, at Beatenberg on Lake Thun, south of Bern, became a pilgrimage chapel, with the cult, which was especially strong in Bern, reaching its high point in the early sixteenth century.¹

Among the most eloquent testaments to the Beatus cult of the early sixteenth century is this glass panel, all the more precious since it is a rare example of a panel having retained its original jewel-like surround of bottle glass and pieces of colored glass. Against a light blue sky a green dragon flies at the saint, who, clad in a violet robe and red cape, fends off the dragon with his hermit's staff. There is an exceptional dynamism and broadness to the application of the



FIGURE 92. Urs Graf, *Saint Beatus Driving Away a Dragon with His Stick*. Woodcut, 11.3 × 8.7 cm (block); sig. B 3 verso from Daniel Agricola, *Almi Confessoris et Anachorete Beati, Helveciorum primi Evangeliste et Apostoli, a sancto Petro missi vita* (Life of the Confessor and Hermit Saint Beatus, First Evangelist and Apostle of Switzerland), Basel, 1511. London, The British Museum (inv. no. 1974-2-23-29(1-17)). Photo: © The British Museum.

vitreous paint, seen in the craggy rocks, water cascading downward at the left, and in the saint's hair, face, and beard. The scratching of details, as in the central plants springing from a cleft, continue this painterly mode. The frame consists of simple columns, atop which are trumpeting putti standing on branches with flamelike leaves.

Lehmann, on the basis of the provenance of the window from the chapel at Vorderruppigen in Littau, Canton Lucerne, attributed it to the Lucerne glass painter Balthasar von Heldbrunn.² More recently, it has been argued with good reason that the panel probably has a Bernese origin. After Bern embraced the Reformation in 1528, there began a suppression of the Beatus cult, culminating in the destruction of the Beatus chapel in 1534 and the walling up of its opening.

Catholic Switzerland saved many of the cult's images and reliquaries, and it was probably during this period of suppression and iconoclasm that the panel in question came to Vorderruppigen from a church in the Bernese region.³ If the panel originally came from Canton Bern, it most likely was made in the city of Bern, whose chief glass painter during the early sixteenth century was Hans Funk. The composition would appear to find its starting place in Urs Graf's woodcut (fig. 92) illustrating Daniel Agricola's book *Almi Confessoris et Anachorete Beati, Helveciorum primi Evangeliste et Apostoli, a sancto Petro missi vita* (Life of the confessor and hermit Saint Beatus, first evangelist and apostle of Switzerland) published by Adam Petri in Basel in 1511. Graf's woodcut shows the dragon found by Saint Beatus and his companion, Achates, in its cave; according to the text, the saint drives it away with a stick.⁴ In the panel, the stick motif and other elements including the rocky ground find kinship, albeit in reverse, with the woodcut, which would thus suggest a date for the panel no earlier than the woodcut.

In contemplating the author of the design for the panel, one is led to Hans Leu the Younger by a variety of elements, starting with the dynamic, loose handling of the vitreous paint, which is reminiscent of his use of pen and wash in drawings. The bearded, energetic figure of Saint Beatus finds a parallel in that of Saint Bartholomew in the drawing of 1521 in the British Museum.⁵ The frame, with its flame-like branch work, is also typical of Leu, as seen in glass panels after him in the cloister in Wettingen, as well as drawings such as *The Baptism of Christ* of 1514 in the British Museum.⁶ Leu often supplied designs to Funk, which further strengthens support for his having designed this panel that so profoundly reflects the religious life of Bern on the eve of the Reformation.⁷

I 33

Hans Leu the Younger

Design for a Stained-Glass Panel with the Story of Lot and His Daughters

1526

Pen and black ink with gray wash, corrections in red chalk on cream laid paper

Monogrammed and dated in brush and gray ink below *HL* in ligature and 1526 and monogrammed *HL* again in brush and gray ink in the artist's coat of arms at the upper right. At the bottom an illegible inscription covered in wash, ending with the year 15(31?).

In the upper right, the coat of arms of the artist, a lion with a star

30.3 × 20.8 cm

Zurich, Schweizerisches Landesmuseum

Inv. no. 60-3 (Depositum der Gottfried Keller-Stiftung)

PROVENANCE

F. Warnecke (sale, Amsler and Ruthardt, Berlin, April 24, 1895, lot. 6)

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Rumohr 1836: 116; Ganz 1904-8, III: pl. 38; Hugelshofer 1923-24, II: 139-42, pl. 30; Philadelphia 1925: 46, under no. 27; Bern 1942: no. 123; Ganz 1960: 503; Lepaire 1960: no. 5, pl. 5; Zurich 1981: no. 76; Erfurt 1993-94: no. 21, reproduced on 93, 90, under no. 21;

1. Cf. Bächtiger in Bern 1979: no. 37.

2. Lehmann 1941: 10, fig. 4.

3. Bächtiger in Bern 1979: no. 37.

4. London 1995: no. 221.

5. This comparison was suggested by Rolf Hasler, whose research was fundamental to this entry and to whom the authors are deeply grateful. Cf. Rowlands 1993, I: no. 423; inv. no. 1914-4-30-1.

6. Cf. Anderes and Hoegger 1988: 86-87. For the drawing (inv. no. 1899-1-20-28), cf. Rowlands 1993, I: no. 422.

7. For the relationship of Funk and Leu, cf. "Hans Leu" by Charlotte Gutscher-Schmid, in *BLSK* 1998, II: 625.



In this rendering of the story of Lot and His Daughters (Genesis 19:24–36), his last dated surviving drawing, Leu creates a large-scale pictorial stained-glass design of the sort that Manuel was also producing at this time (see cat. nos. 126, 128). Leu succeeds here in conveying a unified dramatic effect that issues from the figures as well as the landscape. His wash modeling of the figures is particularly nuanced and dynamic, and his grasp of expression and gesture, as seen in the embrace and interlocking gaze between Lot and his daughter, are at their best. The flames engulfing Sodom parallel those in Manuel's drawing of *King Josiah Has the Idols Destroyed* (cat. no. 128) of a year later, with both pointing to a propensity for dynamism and drama that would be an enduring aspect of Swiss stained-glass design for more than a century to come.

The present drawing fully exploits Leu's distinctive artistic gifts. The landscape, with its expressive trees and winding path culminating in Lot's wife turned into a pillar of salt, plays a major role in the design and recalls his most celebrated drawings, landscapes such as the *Tree Study* in Nuremberg, Germanisches Nationalmuseum, which reflect the influence of Albrecht Altdorfer. Arguably at his best as a painterly draftsman, Leu here applied brush and wash in a bravura manner, seen in the trees and fire, which further heightens the drama of the scene. The frame, with its putti and pliant shields intermingled with overhead garlands, as well as the emphasis upon the landscape setting, recall his design for a stained-glass panel dated 1514, *A Company Dining in the Open Air* in the Graphische Sammlung Albertina in Vienna (inv. no. 3223).

The drawing is connected to two stained-glass panels, one formerly in the Pennsylvania Museum of Art, dated 1530, and the other in Nuremberg, Germanisches Nationalmuseum, spuriously dated 1531.¹ Actually, the Nuremberg panel (inv. no. MM 671) is the work of the nineteenth-century Nuremberg glass painter Jacob Kellner (1788–1873); because of numerous details that it shares with the Pennsylvania panel (and not with the drawing), it might possibly have been based upon this panel rather than the drawing. Judging from reproductions, the figures in the Pennsylvania panel seem closer to the Zurich drawing, indicating that its date of 1530 may be genuine, although it cannot be ruled out that it, like the Nuremberg panel, could be a nineteenth-century version.

1. Our thanks to Dr. Kathryn B. Hiesinger, Curator of European Decorative Arts, Philadelphia Museum of Art, for supplying information on the Pennsylvania panel, whose current location is unknown and which was deaccessioned and auctioned at Samuel T. Freeman and Co., Philadelphia, October 20–28, 1954, lot 804; cf. Hugelshofer 1923–24, pt. 3: 141, pl. 31; and Philadelphia 1925: no. 27, pl. 11. For the Nuremberg panel, cf. Erfurt 1981: no. 21.

BASEL



URS GRAF

Solothurn c. 1485–Basel 1528/29

One of the most original and eccentric artists of the German/Swiss Renaissance, Graf was active as a goldsmith, designer of woodcuts, designer and painter of stained glass, and draftsman, with his reputation resting largely on his extraordinary body of drawings, mostly executed as independent works of art and vehicles of personal expression.

He probably trained with his father, Hug Graf (d. 1527–30), a goldsmith in Solothurn, and visited Strassbourg during his years as a journeyman, as evidenced by his earliest work, a woodcut of 1503 from a series on the Passion printed by the Strassbourg publisher Knoblouch. Prints and drawings of his early career show him assimilating the graphic work of artists such as Schongauer, Dürer, and Baldung. He is recorded in Basel and Zurich in 1507 but settled in the former, where he designed book illustrations for Adam Petri, Johannes Amerbach, and others from 1509 onward. His activity as a stained-glass designer began soon after his arrival in Basel, as evidenced by the design for a glass painting of *Daniel in the Lion's Den* (c. 1508; London, British Museum, inv. no. 1952-4-5-8), which seems to be roughly contemporary with Graf's famous drawing *Half-Length Portrait of a Young Man with a Pocket Sundial* (Basel, Öffentliche Kunstsammlung, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. no. 1978.91). Both of these drawings evidence the emergence of his highly individualistic

graphic style, distinguished, among other traits, by an often wiry, angular, and crisp pen line of great vitality. In 1511, he was an assistant to the glass painter Hans Heinrich Wolleb; unusually for Swiss and German artists of the Renaissance, he appears to have both designed and painted stained glass. Work for the medium at this time includes *Design for a Stained-Glass Panel with Two Angels* (cat. no. 134) and his single surviving signed glass painting in the Schweizerisches Landesmuseum in Zurich (fig. 93).

Graf entered the Basel goldsmiths' guild in 1512, and in the same year became a citizen. Documents reflect his brawling, antagonistic personality, recording such offenses as fighting and wife beating. In 1518, he fled to Solothurn to evade punishment for a fight but returned to Basel in 1519. He was active as a mercenary soldier, participating in at least four campaigns between 1510 and 1521 and was present at the demoralizing defeat of the Swiss at Marignano in 1515. Themes having to do with war and violence are salient features of the surviving body of drawings by him, which form one of the most personal and trenchant social commentaries of Swiss and German art of the period. The year 1521 saw the publication of one of his greatest achievements as a print designer, the series of sixteen *Standard Bearers of the Swiss Confederation* made in the unusual technique of white-line woodcut.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: London 1995: 212; Christiane Andersson in *DOA* 1996 (for further literature).



I34

I34

Urs Graf

Design for a Stained-Glass Panel with Two Angels

c. 1511

Pen and black ink on cream laid paper

Monogrammed in pen and black ink in the tablet at the right VG in ligature and again at the bottom together with the monogram EW.

43.7 × 31.3 cm

Bern, Bernisches Historisches Museum

Inv. no. 34589 (Depositum der Gottfried Keller-Stiftung)

PROVENANCE

Eduard von Rodt, Bern; acquired by the Bernisches Historisches Museum in 1955.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Parker 1921: 209; Kogler 1947, 26–27, pl. 5; Schneider 1954–55: 30; Schneider 1955–56; 43, 50, 97, pl. 5; Zurich 1965: no. 31 (ill.); Andersson 1977: 53, no. 197; Landolt 1990: no. 35 (ill.); Giesicke 1994: 106–7, fig. 9.2 under no. 9; Bern 1996–97: no. 163a (ill.); Hasler 1996–97, 1: 83, under no. 83.



FIGURE 93. Urs Graf. *Fragment of a Stained-Glass Panel with a Maiden*, c. 1511–12. Pot-metal, flashed and clear glass and vitreous paint, 18.7 × 13.7 cm. Zurich, Schweizerisches Landesmuseum (inv. no. LM 1830).

Photo: Swiss National Museum, Zurich, NEG-51851.



135

135

Circle of Urs Graf

Design for a Stained-Glass Panel with Two Angels

c. 1515–20

Pen and brownish black ink, with traces of black chalk underdrawing on cream laid paper

WATERMARK

Bull's head (close to Piccard 1961: 2.2/1966, x 243; Basel[?] 1516–1518)

Signed by an insignia of crossed pilgrim's staffs in the tablet at the right

42.8 × 31.4 cm

Bern, Bernisches Historisches Museum

Inv. no. 20036.11 (W.I.11)

PROVENANCE

Johann Emmanuel Wyss (1782–1837), Bern

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Térey 1895: 477; Lehmann 1912–16, xvii; 46, fig. 1; Parker 1921: 209; Hasler 1996–97, I: no. 83.

After learning metalwork and woodcut book illustration, Graf took up his third trade, that of glass painting, in 1511, when he is documented in Basel as an apprentice to the glass painter Hans Heinrich Wolleb (fl. 1490–1527).¹ His surviving glass-related oeuvre comprises a number of drawings for stained glass as well as one signed fragment of a glass painting (fig. 93).² The drawing in Bern of two angels supporting a shield (cat. no. 134) is regarded as dating to around the time he trained with Wolleb, although he appears to have designed stained glass even earlier.³ The Bern drawing (cat. no. 134) coincides with the moment in which he moved from his earlier style of drawing—which was often burin-like and imitative of the engravings of Martin Schongauer—and discovered his personal idiom as a draftsman. Although stiffer and sharper than the full flowering encountered in *Marshaled Coat of Arms of Urs Graf and Sibylla von Brunn* (cat. no. 136), the style of the Bern example nonetheless reveals Graf's unmistakable edgy personality.⁴ The sullen expressions and gnarled pointed wings of the angels make their guardianship of the shield seem out of character with their beatific kind and closer to that of the defiant mercenary soldiers, or *Reislauser*, such as those after Manuel in the panel from the church at Kirchberg (cat. no. 122). This rough exterior continues in other

aspects of their rendering, from the hooked, swirling fringe on the lower part of the dalmatic worn by the right-hand angel to the deep shadowing and straggling locks of the one on the left, which, with his frowning visage, enhance his unwelcoming air. Perhaps influenced by the new lifelike character that Manuel injected into shield holders (see cat. no. 121), Graf carefully differentiates the angels, giving each a powerful presence. As the one on the right looks at the viewer and directs attention to the shield, the one on the left—with his sideward pose, upturned wing, and askance gaze—directs attention to the mayhem above, in which armed infants, some with wings and some without, reveal an irascible character that is implicit in their grownup counterparts below. While some perform a concert, others are up to no good, breaking out into a fight at the top or pulling the ears of a rabbit at the left.

The drawing is monogrammed at the bottom with *EW* to the right of Graf's own monogram, the meaning of which remains a mystery. *EW* appears on other drawings by Graf of around this time as well as on the previously mentioned Zurich fragment of a glass painting (fig. 93) that is inscribed *VRSVS.GRAF. v.EW*.⁵ The *v* in the Zurich fragment that separates the artist's name and *EW* also abbreviates *und* and could thus refer to someone who helped make this object, possibly a member of the family of the glass painter Hans Heinrich Wolleb.⁶

Early on in the literature on the Bern drawing, the *EW* monogram caused confusion by seemingly substantiating a connection between Graf and the Strasbourg Wechtlin family of artists, which included the printmaker Hans Wechtlin and the glass painter Jakob Wechtlin (see Hartmut Scholz's essay in this volume, pp. 22–24). The connection was logical since Graf traveled to Strasbourg during his years as a journeyman, finding his earliest exposure to book illustration through the work of one of its leading exponents there, Hans Wechtlin.⁷ This connection seemed above all apparent through the stained-glass design in the Wyss Collection in the Bernisches Historisches Museum (cat. no. 135), which was long ascribed to Hans Wechtlin because the right-hand tablet, which in cat. no. 134 bears Graf's monogram, is signed with Wechtlin's insignia, crossed pilgrim staffs.⁸ Indeed, cat. no. 134 was first published as a copy of the Wyss Collection example, although the latter was subsequently correctly identified as a tracing of cat. no. 134.⁹ Because of the lack of initials that generally accompany Wechtlin's insignia, Hasler has questioned the attribution of the Wyss Col-



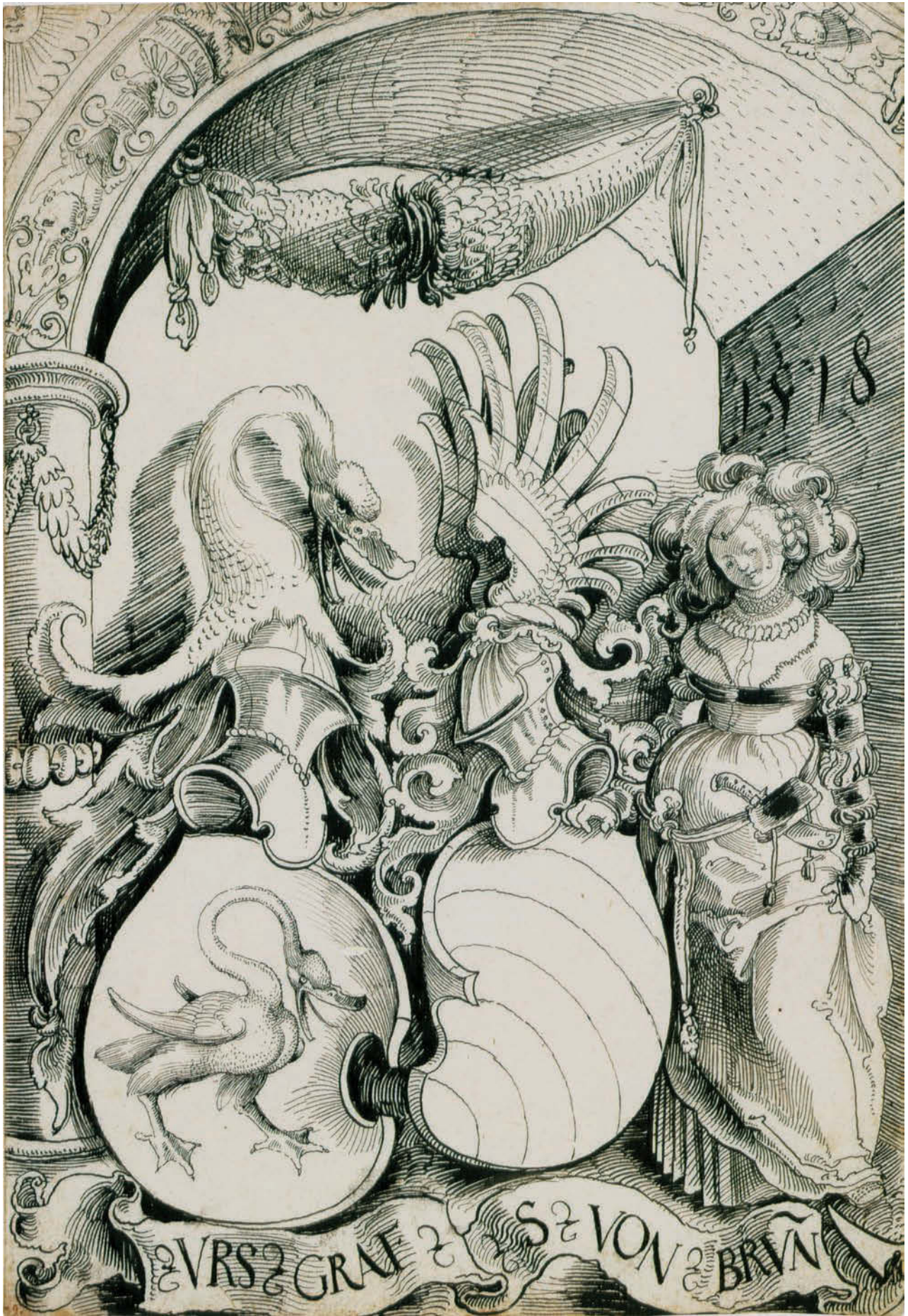
FIGURE 94. After Urs Graf. Stained-Glass Panel with the Arms of the Basel Bishop Christoph von Utenheim, 1520. Pot-metal, flashed and clear glass, yellow stain, and vitreous paint, 42.7 × 33 cm. Basel, Allgemeine Lesegesellschaft.

lection drawing to Wechtlin, ascribing it to an artist of Graf's circle and dating it to around 1515–20.¹⁰

The lack of arms in Graf's original drawing suggests that he might have made it as a type that could be chosen by clients and used repeatedly. In any event, it must have been successful, inspiring copies such as the Wyss Collection example and multiple stained-glass panels, most notably the panel from the Allgemeine Lesegesellschaft in Basel (fig. 94) made for the bishop of Basel, Christoph von Utenheim, and dated 1520.¹¹ Although abraded, the panel shows how the powerful presence of the angels, especially the one on the right pointing to the coat of arms, carries through into the glass medium. Apparently, Bishop von Utenheim chose to forgo the misbehaving infants in the spandrel of the drawing, instead choosing Mary and Joseph presenting Christ in the Temple.¹² The Basel panel is one of the isolated instances of the survival of a glass panel connected to a drawing by Graf.

The popularity of Graf's design appears to have gone beyond Basel, as it appears to have influenced the city panel (*Stadtscheibe*) of Burgdorf of around 1518–19 in the church of Lauperswil (Canton Bern), which would appear to be after a design by Niklaus Manuel.¹³ It is instructive to compare the angels in the Lauperswil panel, with their idealized beauty and calm mien, to their grittier counterparts in the drawing by Graf.

1. Cf. Major 1907b: 10–11; Andersson 1977: 31, no. 99, quoting document Basel, Staatsarchiv, Gerichtsarchiv C.20. Vergichtbuch, September 17, 1511.
2. Schneider 1970, 1: no. 139, 170, fig. 139.
3. Koegler 1947: 26, dated the drawing to around 1511, which has henceforth been accepted.
4. With its frowning expressions, strong contrasts between light and dark, VG monogram in a tablet, and the monogram *EW*, the Bern drawing shares much with the drawing of around 1512 in Frankfurt am Main, Graphische Sammlung im Städtischen Kunstinstitut, inv. no. 15673, *Mercenary Visiting the Prostitute Fortuna*.
5. Other drawings with this monogram are in Frankfurt am Main (see above, note 4); Göteborg, Art Museum, inv. no. HGKM htd 26/1915; Basel Kupferstichkabinett, inv. no. U.1.60 of c. 1511–12; cf. Andersson 1977: 53–54, note 197.
6. Cf. Major 1907b: 11–12; Schneider 1970, 1: no. 139. This, however, is not certain, as the latter is only documented as having a son named Jörg. Cf. Andersson 1977: 54. Furthermore, the monogram occurs on the above-mentioned drawing in Frankfurt am Main, which is probably not a design for stained glass.
7. Major 1907b: 7; Andersson 1977: 30; on Hans Wechtlin, cf. London 1995: 64.
8. The Wyss Collection drawing was first published as Wechtlin by Törey 1895: 477.
9. Parker 1921: 209.
10. Hasler 1996–97, 1: no. 83.
11. The authors are deeply grateful to Rolf Halser for passing on two bibliographic references to this panel: Roda 1990: 231, note 1; and Basel 1937: 73–74.
12. A spandrel closely related to that in the drawing appears in the archway of a panel of 1525 in the Historisches Museum, Basel, inv. no. 19932.1110; cf. Hasler 1996–97, 1: fig. 83.3.
13. For the Lauperswil panel, cf. Bern 1979: no. 276; cf. Giesicke 1994: 107.



Marshaled Coat of Arms of Urs Graf and Sibylla von Brunn

1518

Pen and black ink over underdrawing in lighter black ink on cream laid paper

Inscribed by the artist in pen and black ink in the banderole below *URS.GRAF.S.VON.BRUNN* and dated 1518 in pen and black ink in the archway at the right. Inscribed 39 in pen and brown ink in the lower left.

31.2 × 21.4 cm

Basel, Öffentliche Kunstsammlung Basel

Inv. no. U.X.34

PROVENANCE

Amerbach Kabinett

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Ganz 1899: pl. 11; Ganz 1905: 609, 612; Major 1907a: 152; Major 1907b: 11; Koegler 1926: no. 77; Major and Gradmann 1941: no. 79, pl. 98; Koegler 1947: pl. 42, 543; Andersson 1977: 12; Basel 1984b: no. 285.

It is a testament to the importance of the medium that Niklaus Manuel in Bern (see cat. no. 121), his contemporary Urs Graf in Basel, and other Swiss artists (fig. 7, p. 50) designed stained glass featuring their own heraldic devices. Graf—artistically brilliant, often biting satirical, rebellious, and a lover of the life of the mercenary soldier—features his marriage, which was far from happy, in this design for an “alliance panel” (see the introductory essay to this volume, p. 3). On the left is Graf’s coat of arms and device, a raging swan, an animal that he chose instead of the traditional family arms, presumably because it mirrored his own brawling personality.¹ On the right is the coat of arms of his wife, Sibylla von Brunn.

Graf was married to von Brunn, a member of one of Basel’s leading families, by 1511, the date of a document recording that she had been disinherited.² Familial displeasure with the alliance may well have contributed to this decision.³ In 1522, Graf was jailed for beating and abusing his wife and for publicly consorting with prostitutes.⁴ The year of the drawing, 1518, was a rocky time as well. After an attempted homicide, Graf was forced to flee to Solothurn, his birthplace, and in his absence an inventory of the contents his Basel house was drawn up.⁵

Sexual byplay, which appears in heraldic stained-glass designs by Baldung and Manuel, occurs in those by Graf as well. Ostensibly celebrating Graf’s marriage in the traditional format of the “alliance panel,” the present example at the same time undermines this harmonious surface by incorporating certain tensions between its male and female components. Graf’s personal symbol of the raging swan, which crests the helmet and decorates the shield, honks menacingly with flared nostrils in the direction of his wife’s coat of arms; the bird wings and mantling of her helmet appear somewhat stiff and artificial in comparison to the earthy vigor of the swan atop Graf’s helmet, with its rough feathers and mantling that appears to be made from the bird’s hide. The inner side of

von Brunn’s shield turns inward, in deference to that of her husband. The overt aggressiveness of Graf’s device, however, is matched by subtle and perhaps more potent defenses on the side given over to von Brunn. Her shield holder, an ornately dressed young woman, carries a purse with a dagger stuck prominently underneath it; the woman glances sideways, unperturbed by the noisy swan.⁶ The garland that hangs overhead is fresh and full on the side of von Brunn, and shriveled and shadowed on that of her spouse; in the archway at the top, a cherub, probably in reference to fecundity, appears in von Brunn’s corner, while a cow’s skull, obviously a memento mori, decorates the analogous position on Graf’s side.⁷ Even the perspective of the arch reinforces her dominance, narrowing and darkly shadowed on Graf’s side, and widening and illuminated on that of von Brunn. Her shield holder stands under the date of 1518, prominently written on the wall above her head, which leads one to speculate that Graf’s approach to the drawing may reflect the unpleasant events of that year.

The drawing is a prime example of Graf’s graphic style, which, while gleaned elements from Baldung and Manuel, is ultimately entirely his own. Executed in his preferred medium of pen and black ink, it shows a variety and individuality of stroke unparalleled in drawings by other Swiss and German artists of his time. Pointing to just a few passages, one notes the variegated hatching, stippling, and long, sharp strokes in the garland and archway; and the decorative, crumpled, at times febrile lines that articulate the shield-holder’s collar, necklace, and bodice. The way in which Graf fills the interstices with velvety shades of black and builds up the structure of the forms against this dark tone is a common device in his stained-glass designs, which he sometimes handles in a harder manner than is evident in the present example.⁸

1. Major 1907b: 11. Earlier in his career (c. 1511), Graf made another stained-glass design with his device of the wild swan (Basel, Öffentliche Kunstsammlung Basel; Koegler 1926: cat. no. 1).

2. Andersson 1977: 21, note 101, quoting the document (Basel, Staatsarchiv, Karthaus-Urkunden 403, December 5, 1511).

3. Major 1907b: 12.

4. Andersson 1977: 34, note 113, quoting the document (Basel, Ratsbücher o.2, Urfehdenbuch, pp. 328–29, November 20, 1522).

5. Andersson 1977: 32–33, note 107, quoting the document (Basel, Staatsarchiv, Beschreibbüchlein K.6, August 13, 1518).

6. Major identified the woman as a portrait of von Brunn, but this is not supportable. Cf. Major 1907a: 152; Andersson 1977: 12.

7. The couple had a son, Urs Graf the Younger, born around 1512–13, who became a goldsmith.

8. Compare, for example, with *Design for a Stained-Glass Panel with the Arms of Stehelin and Bischoff*, signed and dated 1515 (Basel, Öffentliche Kunstsammlung Basel, inv. no. U.X.41a; Koegler 1926: no. 55); see also fig. 12, p. 12, in this volume.



ANTONI GLASER

Basel c. 1480/85–Basel 1551

Glaser descended from a family of Basel glass painters going back to his great great grandfather. Antoni's father, Sebastian Glaser, died in 1493. Some years later, in 1505, Antoni became a member of the artists' guild Zum Himmel. Like Manuel and Graf, he was active as a mercenary, fighting in the Milan campaign in 1515. Shortly thereafter, he went to Bern, where he met Niklaus Manuel, who profoundly influenced his style. From 1510 to 1531, he was the official glass painter of the Basel city council and was named repeatedly in the civic payrolls. He appears to have given up glass painting after 1526, when he became active in politics. During his later years he was often in conflict with Protestant authorities, as he remained a Catholic. Nevertheless, he appears to have died a solvent man, still in possession of his house, which he had purchased in 1518. Among his finest surviving glass paintings are the cycles of 1514 and 1519–20 for the Basel city hall. His glass paintings for the church of Saint Leonard in Basel of 1519 are still in situ as well.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: W. Weisbach in Thieme and Becker 1907–50, XIV: 236–37; Paul Ganz in *SKL* 1982, I: 591; Elizabeth Landolt in Basel 1984b: 446; Ulrich Barth in Giesicke 1994: 307.

137

Antoni Glaser

Frieze with Wild Folk

1517

Pen and black ink and gray wash on cream laid paper

Dated 1517 in the lower left corner

4.2 × 37.9 cm

Basel, Öffentliche Kunstsammlung Basel

Inv. no. 1662.172

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Ganz 1904–8, I: 53; Gysin 1971, I: 496; Matile in Bern 1979: 449, notes 5 and 26 (for further literature), under no. 282; Giesicke 1994: 38, 86–87, fig. 4.2, under no. 4; 265, 267–68.

The foremost Basel glass painter of his time, Glaser, whose surname refers to his family profession (*Glaser*, meaning “glazier”), is significant for designing as well as executing stained glass. Among his few surviving drawings is the present example, used as the basis for the socle frieze in the Lucerne canton panel (fig. 95), part of the great series of fifteen canton panels (*Standesscheiben*) of 1519–20, both designed and executed by Glaser and still in situ in the Great Council Chamber of the Basel city hall.¹ Its date of 1517 indicates that Glaser had by this time received the commission and begun work on it, with payment for the finished cycle issued to him in 1520.²

While Glaser was a competent figural draftsman, strongly influenced by Niklaus Manuel, his greatest forte, in full flowering in the Basel cycle, was as a designer of ornament. The exuberant spandrels, columns, and socles of the Basel cycle present a synthesis of the dis-

tinctive inventiveness and playfulness of Swiss Renaissance ornamental design accomplished by Niklaus Manuel, in works such as the tiny model-book drawings known as the *Schreibbüchlein* in Basel (Öffentliche Kunstsammlung Basel, inv. no. 1662.74) and in works by Urs Graf and Hans Holbein the Younger, especially their designs for woodcut book illustrations. The present drawing, with its frieze of diminutive figures, shows domestic vignettes, dragging in slain game, and a wild man blowing a horn. The design reflects the influence of Niklaus Manuel, as evidenced in the spandrel scene in his early *Design for a Stained-Glass Panel with a Maiden Holding the Arms of Hattstatt and Wild Men Fighting Above* (cat. no. 120), as well as title-page designs by Holbein the Younger, which contain playful, classicizing socle friezes similar in conception to the present example.³ Glaser's typical manner of drawing with pen outlines and wash modeling, as evidenced here, is strongly influenced by Niklaus Manuel's later drawing style, which itself, with its tendency to model in wash, reflects the impact of the younger Holbein.

1. For discussion and further literature on this cycle, see the essay by Giesicke and Ruoss in this volume, pp. 48–50. For further drawings by Glaser for the Basel city hall cycle, see his design for the destroyed canton panel of Solothurn in Basel, Öffentliche Kunstsammlung Basel, inv. no. U.VI.30, as discussed by Matile in Bern 1979: no. 278, and Giesicke 1994: 115–17; and the design for the swag at the top of the canton panel of Zug in the Bernisches Historisches Museum, Wyss Collection, inv. no. 20036.62, as discussed by Hasler 1996–97, II: no. 87, and Giesicke 1994: 102–3.

2. Cf. Giesicke 1994: 38.

3. Cf. *ibid.*: 87.



137

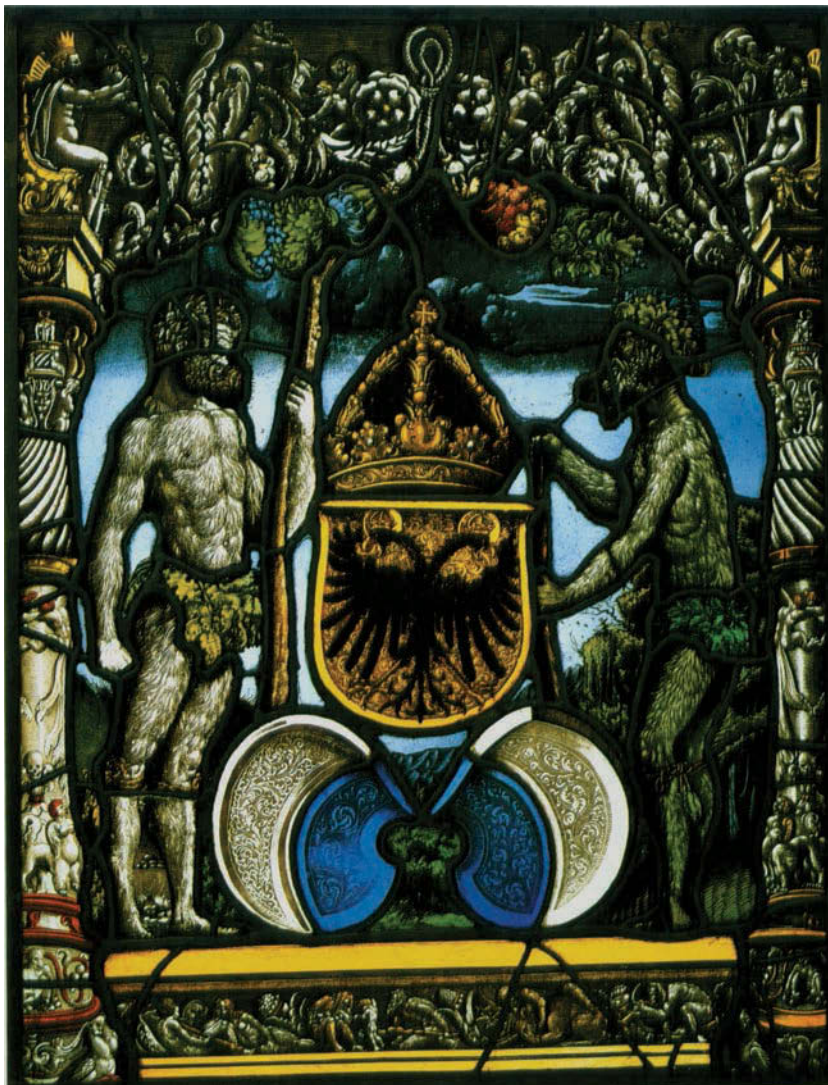


FIGURE 95. Antoni Glaser. *Canton Panel with the Arms of Lucerne*, c. 1519–20. Pot-metal, flashed, and clear glass, yellow stain, and vitreous paint, 71.2 × 54 cm. Basel, Town Hall, Great Council Hall.

Photo: Hans Hinz, Basel.

HANS HOLBEIN THE YOUNGER

Augsburg 1497/98–London 1543

Together with Dürer, Holbein the Younger is the twin titanic artist of the German and Swiss Renaissance. Like Dürer, Holbein applied his creativity to a wide range of media, executing easel and mural paintings and altarpieces and designing woodcuts, jewelry, metalwork, and stained glass. He drew upon the achievements of Dürer, who was a generation older, and the first wave of masterful Renaissance artists in German-speaking lands, in particular Augsburg figures such as his father, Hans Holbein the Elder, and Hans Burgkmair, to achieve a new level of classical monumentality, rationalized space, and anatomical motion, synthesized with a Northern feeling for unsparingly capturing the concrete presence of the material world.

He and his brother Ambrosius (c. 1493/94–c. 1519) trained initially with their father in Augsburg. In 1515, he and Ambrosius arrived in Basel as journeymen and entered the studio of Hans Herbst. As a university center and a nexus for classically inspired learning and book publishing, Basel provided an intellectually fertile environment for the brothers, who quickly became part of its humanist circle. This included Bonifacius Amerbach (1495–1562), the Dutch scholar Desiderius Erasmus, and Oswald Myconius (1488–1552), whose classes in writing and Latin they probably attended and whose copy of the Basel edition of Erasmus's *In Praise of Folly* (1515) Hans decorated with marginal drawings (Basel, Öffentliche Kunstsammlung Basel). Hans's main commission of this time was the 1516 double portrait of Basel's mayor Jakob Meyer and his wife (Basel, Öffentliche Kunstsammlung Basel). He also began his active career as a designer of book illustrations.

Between 1517 and 1519, Hans was in Lucerne, where he collaborated with his father in the mural decorations for the house of the mayor, Jacob von Hertenstein. His earliest stained-glass design, for Hans Fleckenstein (cat. no. 138), dates from 1517 and indicates a command of monumental architectural space and anatomical fluency that must have been honed during his work on the grand mural paintings of the Hertenstein house. He may have traveled to northern Italy at this time, although this is not documented.

In 1519, Hans returned to Basel and became a master in the artist's guild

Zum Himmel, married, and continued designing book illustrations for Basel publishing houses, such as those of Johannes Froben and Adam Petri. He received citizenship in 1520 and began the period of his greatest creativity in Basel, completing his painting *Dead Christ* of 1521–22 (Basel, Öffentliche Kunstsammlung Basel), the mural paintings of the House Zum Tanz (now destroyed), and, most important, the first and main stage of the mural decorations for the Basel city hall in 1521–22 (now largely destroyed). This was also a period of intense activity as a stained-glass designer, which witnessed the full maturity of his figural style and the ever-more-ambitious exploration of three-dimensional space in the glass medium, as seen in the glass paintings after his designs in cloister Wettin-gen (cat. nos. 141, 143).

With Basel in upheaval due to the influx of the Reformation, Holbein went to France in 1524 in hope of royal patronage and while there learned the use of colored chalks, which were to play a prominent role in his portrait drawings. With a letter of introduction from Erasmus to Sir Thomas More, Holbein left for England in 1526, where he remained for two years. Through More, Holbein was introduced to court circles and was active chiefly as a court portrait draftsman and painter, in works such as the lost group portrait of Sir Thomas More and his family.

Between 1528 and 1532, he was back in Basel, where he completed the town hall decorations and executed his emotionally charged painting of his wife and two elder children (Öffentliche Kunstsammlung Basel). He continued to design stained glass such as the series of stained-glass designs depicting *The Passion of Christ* (cat. no. 146), which comprises Holbein's answer to the milestone printed Passion cycles of his predecessors: Schongauer's *Passion* engravings and Dürer's *Small, Large, and Engraved Passions*. In 1529, iconoclasm broke out in Basel, and the city became Protestant. Patronage dried up, and Holbein returned to England in 1532.

After his departure from Switzerland, his legacy there as a glass designer lived on through his designs for stained glass, much copied by artists such as the Basel painter Hans Hug Kluber (1535/36–1578) and Holbein's possible pupil, the Basel glass painter Bathasar Han (1505–1578). Indeed, drawings for glass

by and after Holbein by Kluber and Han appear to have passed from their possession into that of Basilius Amerbach, whose collection is now in the Öffentliche Kunstsammlung Basel. Among the surviving glass revealing Holbein's lingering influence is the group from the series of canton panels in the city hall at Rheinfelden (see the essay by Giesicke and Ruoss in this volume, p. 54).

From 1532 to 1534, Holbein was in England, entering into another period of supreme artistic achievement. He does not, however, appear to have been active in England as a stained-glass designer. After working for Hanseatic merchants and the French ambassador to England, for whom he painted in 1533 the double portrait *The Ambassadors* (London, National Gallery), he achieved favor at the court of Henry VIII, producing many of his most renowned portrait paintings and drawings and intricate designs for jewelry and ornaments. He returned briefly to Basel in 1538 and died in London, possibly of the plague, in 1543.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Rowlands 1985; Susan Foister in *DOA* 1996, XIV: 663–73; Müller 1996: 9–13; Bättschmann and Griener 1997.



138

Hans Holbein the Younger

Design for a Stained-Glass Panel for Hans Fleckenstein

1517

Pen and black ink and gray wash and black chalk on cream laid paper

WATERMARK

A griffin or a Bern bear

Inscribed by the artist in pen and brownish gray ink at the bottom left *Hans Fleckenstein* .1517. and color notions in the coat of arms; inscribed by a later hand at the bottom center *J Holbein*

41.6 × 27.8 cm

Braunschweig, Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum

Inv. no. Z 38

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Schneeli 1896: pl. 8; Ganz 1911–37, IV: 43, no. 182; Glaser 1924: pl. 4; Ganz 1925: 236, pl. 4, no. 1; Cohn 1930: 2, 6, 23, 81, 97; Muchall-Viebrook 1931: 164ff., fig. 11; Schmid 1931: repro. on 62; Schmid 1941–42: 256; Schmid 1948, I: 50, 56, 144; Schmidt 1955: no. 38; Basel 1960: no. 199, pl. 81; Braunschweig 1973: no. 54, pl. 38; Müller 1988: 12ff., repro. on 13; Müller 1989: 113–28, fig. 5; Heusinger 1992–97: 122, fig. 167; Müller 1996: 71, under no. 98; Bättschmann and Griener 1997: 122, fig. 167.

After training in Augsburg with his father, Hans Holbein the Elder (cat. no. 70), Hans Holbein the Younger together with his elder brother Ambrosius arrived in Basel in 1515. Between 1517 and 1519, Hans and his father were active in Lucerne, decorating the house of the magistrate and businessman Jacob von Hertenstein (1460–1527) with illusionistic wall paintings (destroyed in 1825). Hans the Younger painted the facade with scenes from the *Gesta Romanorum* and Caesar's triumphal procession, based upon engravings from the circle of Andrea Mantegna.¹ Hans the Younger's earliest dated design for stained glass (cat. no. 138), made for the Lucerne citizen Hans Fleckenstein, is also shaped by Italian art and illusionistic wall painting.² Used to working and designing on a grand scale, Hans the Younger arrived at a strikingly original conception of the heraldic panel by unifying it into a single perspectival whole and by imbuing it with explicit references to monumental art.³

In the Braunschweig example, Holbein established a low vantage point, as he did for the facade paintings of the Hertenstein house, which were probably influenced in this respect by the similarly low vantage point of the Mantegna circle prints of Caesar's triumph. The viewer thus looks up into a monumental triumphal archway, whose three-dimensionality is heightened by the spatial diminution of the planks forming the ceiling of the archway and by the double cross beams, viewed from below, that span and brace the base of the arch. These wooden elements and the striations indicating marbled painting on the facade of the arch evoke the materials, structure, and scale of monumental architecture with a specificity not encountered in previous heraldic glass panels of southern Germany and Switzerland. Indeed, it is instructive to note that in nearly the same moment that Holbein introduced triumph imagery and its attendant classicizing architecture into heraldic glass in the Fleckenstein design, Dürer integrated these same elements (albeit quite differently conceived) to monumental glass in the Pfinzing Window of 1515 in the church of Saint Sebald in Nuremberg (see essay by Scholz, p. 32).

Underscoring the illusion of monumental verticality and three-dimensional space are the two strapping confederate soldiers who stand on the ledge in front of the arch and support the shield; tall as they are, they inhabit a still larger space that extends above them. All elements stand in a single, unified relation to one another governed by perspective; even the archway spandrel, which commonly

assumes a spatial sphere separate from that of the main space of the lower arch, is now treated as a concrete part of an architectural whole. The soaring archway and looming confederate soldiers bring to stained glass Holbein's translation into contemporary Swiss terms of the grandiose forms and military tenor of an ancient Roman triumphal procession.

The evolution of the shield completes the new, profoundly Renaissance sense of illusionism. Compared to the tendency frequently encountered in heraldic glass for the coat of arms to vie with the shield bearer in scale and liveliness (cat. no. 111), that of Fleckenstein, which lacks a crest and mantle, is small and flat in relation to the soldiers. In concert with the rationality imposed upon the ensemble, it is clearly an inanimate shield supported by them. As such, the static hieratic shield achieves a new kind of dominance over its surroundings: as the symbol of its owner and his authority, it becomes the focal point of the composition, around which the palpably three-dimensional world revolves.

Another feature that adds to the drawing's powerful sense of life and three-dimensionality is its execution in pen and ink and wash, which the artist learned from his initial training with his father in Augsburg. Holbein the Younger's signature use of wash, which became so influential in the wider production of Swiss stained glass, is in evidence in this youthful work. Its delicate gradations of tone down to deep black establish the emphatic three-dimensionality of the forms and underscore both their monumentality and gravity of expression. Febrile cast shadows in layered light and dark tones, as seen in those cast by saints in the spandrel above, increase the illusionism by suggesting a shifting light source.

1. For the Hertenstein house and further literature, cf. Rowlands 1985: cat. no. L1. For the engravings of c. 1485–90, which are based upon Mantegna's panels of *The Triumph of Caesar* now in Hampton Court, see Hind 1938–48, v: nos. 14, 14a, 15, 15a, 15b, 16, 16a; and Bättschmann and Griener 1997: 64–72.

2. For a discussion of Holbein's possible visit to northern Italy during his activity on the Hertenstein house, and for further literature, cf. Bättschmann and Griener 1997: 120–48.

3. Cf. Müller 1988: 12.



I39

Hans Holbein the Younger

Design for a Stained-Glass Panel with a Swineherd

c. 1518-19

Pen and black ink, gray wash, over black chalk on cream laid paper

31.5 × 21 cm

Basel, Öffentliche Kunstsammlung Basel

Inv. no. 1662.157

PROVENANCE

Amerbach-Kabinet

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Woltmann 1874-76, II: no. 79; Ganz 1904-8, I: pl. 24; Ganz 1905: 129-36, 130, reproduced on 140; Schmid in Thieme and Becker 1907-50, XVII: 335ff.; Ganz 1923: pl. 13; Glaser 1924: pl. 21, 30; Ganz 1925: 236, pl. 4, no. N; Stein 1929: 104, fig. 27; Cohn 1930: 22ff., 49, 97; Ganz 1911-37: 48, no. 199; Schmid 1948, I: 76; Basel 1960: no. 202; Lauber 1962: 52; Basel 1972: no. 75; Basel 1984b: no. 294; Müller 1988: no. 9; Basel 1991: no. 103; Müller 1996, no. 98.

I39

Holbein the Younger here applies his powerful illusionism and sense of monumentality to this stained-glass design featuring the earthy vigor if not the grim realities of peasant life. A swineherd grips a sword and a staff and strides forward in a manner resembling the pose frequently encountered in contemporary images of Swiss mercenary soldiers by Manuel and Graf.¹ His swine—with tusks, razor backs, and some with snouts in the air—devour acorns from an oak tree. The rough-hewn monumentality of the foreground figures is echoed by the craggy landscape they inhabit, in which towering peaks rise in the distance. The emaciated spandrel figures perhaps echo the vicissitudes of the swineherd's life.

Holbein's characteristic innovative attention to the frame is in evidence. He gives the scene further immediacy by pushing the peasant and his teeming swine to the forefront of a proscenium-like portal and by pairing the swineherd's powerful forward stride and three-dimensional modeling with lateral cropping that increases the sense of forward motion. A small, empty shield rests on the front ledge; the patron's space seems to occupy a separate, transitional area connected implicitly with that of the viewer, which fades into that of the swineherd. The swineherd's grim gaze outward further connects this illusionistic space to that of the viewer. This use of the frame as a proscenium-like bridge to the space of the viewer, with dynamic life unfolding behind it, finds its culmination in Holbein's designs for the series of panels portraying Christ's Passion (cat. nos. 146–50).

This is generally regarded as one of Holbein's earliest surviving designs for stained glass. Compared with the design for Fleckenstein in Braunschweig, his pen outline has become thicker and more tremulous. There is relatively little pen work in the interiors of the forms, with the modeling accomplished by washes. Holbein here shows the unprecedented mastery of wash that was to become a hallmark of his graphic style, handling seemingly infinite gradations of tone as well as a fluid application that lends the forms vivid three-dimensionality.

The exact subject of the design is a matter of debate. Inventory F of the collection of the Basel lawyer Basilius Amerbach (1533–1591), from which the present example and indeed the core of the group of Holbein drawings in the Öffentliche Kunstsammlung, Basel, came, mentions a drawing of the Prodigal Son, which could correspond to the present drawing. Thus, it might have formed part of a series of designs illustrating this parable. Although this seems likely, the drawing could also represent the month of December as part of a series of designs for stained glass illustrating the Labors of the Months.²

1. For the resemblance to the mercenary soldier, cf. Müller 1988: no. 9; Müller 1996: no. 98.

2. For the possible subject matter of the present drawing and further literature, cf. Müller 1988: no. 9; Müller 1996: no. 98.



I40

I40

Basel master from the circle of
Hans Holbein the Younger (Hans
Hug Kluber?)

Stained-Glass Design with Saints Barbara and Mary Magdalene

c. 1560–70

Pen and gray and black ink, brown and gray
wash on cream laid paper

WATERMARK

Basel bishop's staff (Tschudin 1958: 165)

Collection mark of the Basel Kupferstichkabinett
at the bottom

43.2 × 31.3 cm

Basel, Öffentliche Kunstsammlung Basel

Inv. no. U.II.50

PROVENANCE

Amerbach-Kabinett

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Lehmann 1909: 314, fig. 36;
Basel 1960: no. 219; Müller 1988: no. 7; Anderes
and Hoegger 1988: 248–49; Müller 1996:
no. 298, pl. 87.



I41

I41

After Hans Holbein the Younger,
Basel glass painter

Stained-Glass Panel for Brother Andreas Wengi with Saints Barbara and Mary Magdalene

c. 1519–20

Pot-metal, flashed, and clear glass, with brown
and black vitreous paint, yellow stain and
sanguine

Inscribed in the cartouche at the bottom in black
vitreous paint *Frater andreas wengi der zit.
grosskelle(r) des gottshus wetting* (Brother
Andreas Wengi. At this time cellarer of the
house of God Wettingen) (the second line badly
abraded)

43 × 30.5 cm

Cloister Wettingen (Canton Aargau)

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Willi 1894: 144; Willi 1904:
no. 461; Lehmann 1909: 69; Lehmann 1916:
616ff.; Cohn 1939: 115ff.; Kogler 1943:
figs. 30, 67; Basel 1960: no. 150; Müller 1988:
49–52, under no. 7; Anderes and Hoegger 1988:
247–49, pl. on 100; Müller 1996: 153, under
no. 298.

The drawing in Basel (cat. no. 140) is a copy after a lost design by Hans Holbein the Younger for the glass panel (cat. no. 141) at the Cistercian cloister at Wettingen (see also cat. nos. 130, 143) made, as its inscription states, for Andreas Wengi. From 1486, Wengi was a brother at the Wettingen cloister; he was elected abbot in 1521, died in 1528, and was buried in the cloister.¹

The Wettingen panel shows the forceful plasticity and expressiveness, as well as technical demands that Holbein the Younger brought to the medium of glass painting.² As in the Braunschweig design for Fleckenstein, two monumental figures, here those of Saints Barbara and Mary Magdalene, stand under a classifying structure. A strong sense of three-dimensional space is created by features that include the large scale and plastic modeling of the saints; the enormous turret of Saint Barbara, which is treated as a genuine piece of architecture rather than as a miniaturized attribute; and the aedicula, with its receding stuccoed roof defining the space in which the saints stand. The sense of space is completed by another feature that typifies Holbein's glass designs, a mountainous landscape, challenging to the glass painter because of the requirements of extra colors and leading, which make possible cropped views into space that fill large interstices and even slivers of space surrounding the saints. In the landscape to the right is the popularly depicted image from the *Golden Legend* of Mary Magdalene, who was carried heavenward by angels seven times a day to receive celestial sustenance. Again like the Fleckenstein design, the two principal figures are highly differentiated, in their elaborate, draped costumes, poses, facial features, and expressions, with Barbara wearing a contemplative mien with eyes partially closed and the Magdalene frowning in penitence. In the panel, color adds to this differentiation, with Barbara's costume mixing purple, green, and white and the Magdalene's mixing red, white, and a skirt trimmed in brown fur. The archway above shows vignettes from the lives of the saints below: at the left, Barbara's father pulls her by the hair from her cave

of meditation, with the shepherd that she turned into stone and sheep into grasshoppers; at the right is Mary Magdalene, who was a harlot when she converted and ended her life as a hermit in a cave, stripped of her finery and naked, covered only by her long hair.

A comparison of the Basel drawing to the Wettingen panel, which largely correspond in both dimensions and composition, yields insights into Holbein the Younger's origins and influence, as well as the extraordinary talent of the glass painter in capturing the nuances of Holbein's lost design. The figures in the panel are modeled with greater plasticity and fluidity than in the drawing, with the complex folds of the costumes adding to their emotive force. Similarly, the expressions of the saints in the panel are more subtle and profound than those in the drawing. The graphic complexity and dynamism of the costumes and the gravity of the expressions in the panel point to Holbein the Younger's Augsburg heritage—both to the work of his father and that of Hans Burgkmair—and possibly even to the influence of the expressiveness of pleated drapery and emotion in the work of Matthias Grünewald in Alsace. One finds similar drapery in Holbein's diptych of *Christ as the Man of Sorrows* and *The Virgin as the Mater Dolorosa* of about 1520 (Basel, Öffentliche Kunstsammlung Basel). In the dominance of wash over graphic line, the Basel drawing, by comparison, shows a fading of these influences in the hands of an artist who was used to the paradigm of Holbein the Younger and less familiar with Holbein's own artistic sources. A telling indication of this in the drawing is the expression of the Magdalene, which is dependent upon shadowed eyes, nose, and open mouth, closer to the mature style of Holbein the Younger, whereas her expression in the panel shows a graphic contortion—with open eyes and frowning, closed mouth—that points back to Burgkmair. The later date of the Basel drawing is demonstrated not only stylistically but also physically by its watermark of a Basel bishop's staff, which dates from the second half of the sixteenth century.³ It has been proposed that the drawing's author may be the Basel painter Hans Hug Kluber (1535/36–1578), who restored Holbein the Younger's wall paintings for the Basel city hall in 1561 and whose studio was probably purchased by Basilius Amerbach, from whose collection the drawing came to the Basel Kupferstichkabinett.⁴

1. For further discussion of the patron, see Anderes and Hoegger 1988: 248.
2. For the three copies of the Wettingen panel, cf. Anderes and Hoegger 1988: 249.
3. Cf. Tschudin 165; Müller 1988: no. 7; Müller 1996: no. 44.
4. Cf. Müller 1988: no. 7. For a wider discussion of Kluber, cf. Landolt in Basel 1984b: 464–65.



I42

I42

Workshop of Hans Holbein
the Younger

**Stained-Glass Design
with the Virgin and
Child under a
Triumphal Archway**

c. 1522

Pen and black ink, gray wash, watercolor, white
gouache heightening, over black chalk

WATERMARK

Eight-leaved flower (fragment); Müller 1996:
no. 50

Inscribed by the artist in the medallion on the
pillar at the left, in mirror writing, *MUCIUSZEF*.

Collection mark of the Basel Kupferstichkabinett
in the lower right.

42.2 × 46.6 cm

Basel, Öffentliche Kunstsammlung Basel

Inv. no. 1662.36

PROVENANCE

Amerbach-Kabinett

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Woltmann 1874–76, I: 143,
II: 102, no. 29; Liebenau 1888: 48; Ganz 1904–
8, I: pl. 53a; Lehmann 1909: 72, fig. 12; Ganz
1911–37: 81, no. C 19; Basel 1960: no. 217,
pl. 58; Müller 1988: no. 22; Anderes and
Hoegger 1988: 278–79; Müller 1996:
no. 278, pl. 82; Bättschmann and Griener
1997: 22–24, fig. 18.



I43



Cat. nos. 142 and 143 combined as pendant panels.

I43

After Hans Holbein the Younger,
Basel glass painter
(Antoni Glaser?)

**Stained-Glass Panel
Representing the Canton
of Basel with the Emperor
Saint Heinrich II**

c. 1519–20

Pot-metal, flashed, and clear glass, black and brown vitreous paint, yellow stain and sanguine

Coat of arms of the city of Basel with the staff of the bishop of Basel

42 × 46 cm

Cloister Wettingen (Canton Aargau)

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Woltmann 1874–76, I: 143, II: 102, no. 29; Willi 1894: 170; Lehmann 1909: 72, fig. 12; Lehmann 1916: 620; Schmid 1948, I: 147; Schneider 1954: 13, 106–21, 147; Basel 1960: 179ff., no. 148, 182ff., no. 154, 229ff., no. 217; Reinhardt 1965: 27–39; Müller 1988: 85, 87; Anderes and Hoegger 1988: 278–79, pl. on 145.

The illusion of monumental classical architecture that Holbein the Younger brought to small-scale panels in his earliest surviving design for stained glass in Braunschweig (cat. no. 139) reached still further grandeur in a type of window that he invented soon thereafter, in which he combined two pendant quadrilateral panels united by a continuous architectural space.¹ The present drawing from Basel (cat. no. 142) and panel from the cloister in Wettingen (cat. no. 143) exemplify this format; together they form a majestic tribute by the younger Holbein to his native city.² The drawing, by a member of Holbein's studio, copies the lost original by the master, which served as the basis for the lost pendant to the Wettingen panel, which itself almost certainly reflects his now-lost design.³ The pair formed Basel's contribution to a series of *Standesscheiben*, that is, a series of panels donated by each of the confederate Swiss cantons, known then as *Standes*, as an expression and affirmation of alliance. The traditional format of the canton panel (*Standesscheibe*), established by Lucas Zeiner's series in the city hall of Baden of 1500–1501, consists of a pair of figures supporting the shield of the canton, sometimes together with the imperial coat of arms topped with the imperial crown.⁴ The series in question was requested by Wettingen abbot Johann Müller (reg. 1486–1521) in 1519 at the *Tagsatzung* (an assembly of representatives from the individual members of the Swiss Confederation) to fill the new cloister that was being rebuilt after the fire of 1507.⁵ Originally filling the east wing of the cloister, the majority of the panels were destroyed in a hailstorm of 1576, which presumably included the left half of the present panel, whose appearance is documented by the Basel drawing.⁶

The Basel drawing and Wettingen panel present a radical reformulation of the traditional *Standesscheibe*, with the two shield-supporting figures, here replaced by the patron saints of Basel and of its minster, the Virgin and Child, and the Emperor Saint Heinrich II (973–1024), standing underneath the wings of an ornate tripartite triumphal arch, separated from one another by its central archway and balustrade. Holbein's grandiose classicizing architectural vision, uniting pendent panels within a single monumental triumphal arch, finds a precedent in the double chiaroscuro woodcuts of *Saint George* and *Emperor Maximilian* of 1508 by Hans Burgkmair (figs. 96–97).⁷ The coffered stone arches glorify their occupants, the Virgin and Christ Child and Emperor Heinrich II, in the most classically elevated architectural



FIGURE 96. Hans Burgkmair. *Saint George and the Dragon*, 1508. Chiaroscuro woodcut (printed from two blocks) in silvery-gray on paper washed light blue, 35 × 24.5 cm. Oxford, Ashmolean Museum. Bequeathed by Francis Douce, 1834. Photo: © Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.



FIGURE 97. Hans Burgkmair. *The Emperor Maximilian on Horseback*, 1508. Chiaroscuro woodcut in green printed from two blocks, 32.5 × 22.7 cm. Washington, D.C., The National Gallery of Art, Rosenwald Collection (inv. no. 1948.11.14). Photo: © Board of Trustees, The National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.

terms and thereby establish their looming guardianship of the city of Basel, nestled in the landscape beyond.

The emperor saint, founder of the Basel minster, magnificently clad and holding a model of the minster, looks down at the coat of arms of the city, with its emblem of the Basel bishop's staff, as does the Virgin from the left side of the panel. As in the Braunschweig drawing, the coat of arms, as symbol of the patron, becomes the focal point of a powerfully animated, three-dimensional world. Holbein uses the format of the *Standesscheibe* to create a play between symbolic and illusionistic representations of Basel, with the shield encapsulating the city as a symbolic entity while Basel itself unfolds panoramically in the distance.

Behind the Virgin flows the Rhine, with many of Basel's buildings visible beyond, such as the city hall with its pitched roof and small tower in the far distance.⁸ As in the Wengi panel from the cloister in Wettingen (cat. no. 141), Holbein here treats landscape in glass painting with a new grandeur, drama, and three-dimensionality. He presents slivers of vistas of compelling visual interest, such as that between the emperor saint and the Basel coat of arms. Its sunburst motif, adopted from the landscape imagery of Altdorfer and other Danube School artists, imbues this specific panorama with overtones of a universalized *Weltlandschaft*.⁹

1. Cf. the series of eight drawings for four double panels by Holbein the Younger in the Basel Kupferstichkabinett for which no windows survive; inv. nos. 1662.20-21; 1662.22-23; 1662.24-25; 1662.26-27; Müller 1988: nos. 11-18; Müller 1996: nos. 100-107.
2. The inscription around the medallion on the left pilaster of the Basel drawing—*MUCIUSZEF* in mirror writing—has been interpreted as a veiled signature (*Mucius fecit*), referring to Holbein's self-identification with the Roman hero Mucius Scaevola; cf. Bächtmann and Griener 1997: 24.
3. Because of features such as its somewhat dry manner of drawing and perspectival ambiguities, the Basel drawing has been regarded as a copy of a Holbein original by a workshop assistant, ever since Ganz 1911-37: 81, no. C. 19. Cf. Müller 1988: no. 22; Müller 1996: no. 278.
4. For more on *Standesscheiben*, see the essay by Giesicke and Ruoss in this volume (p. 45ff).
5. Anderes and Hoegger 1988: 36.
6. *Ibid.*: 275.
7. Cf. Müller 1988: 60-61.
8. Until the recent publication of Anderes and Hoegger, the panorama had been erroneously identified as that of Lucerne. For a detailed identification of buildings within the panorama, see Anderes and Hoegger 1988: 278.
9. In the right hand arch, only the landscape between the emperor saint and the coat of arms is original. See Anderes and Hoegger 1988: 278.



144

I44

Hans Holbein the Younger

Design for a Stained-Glass Roundel with a Mining Scene

c. 1520–22

Pen and brown ink with gray wash on cream laid paper

Inscribed on the verso by a later hand (possibly a member of the Fagel family) in black ink, *Affbeelding van het Bergwerken in Zwitserland* (Depiction of mining in Switzerland)

DIAMETER

22.5 cm

London, The British Museum

Inv. no. I872-10-12-3315

PROVENANCE

G. F. Fagel (sale, T. Philippe, May 27, 1801, lot 58); Daniells

BIBLIOGRAPHY: His 1894: 207; Colvin 1895: 58, no. 290; Binyon 1898–1907, II: 329ff., no. 14; Chamberlain 1913, I: 80; Ganz 1911–37: 56, no. 255; Braunfels 1957: 28, 58; London 1988: no. 191; Rowlands 1993, I: no. 308, II: pl. 201; Müller 1996: 165, under no. 333.

Although this drawing's authenticity has been questioned, its quality as well as its evocation of powerful physical activity pitted against elemental forces attest to Holbein's conception. It shows an extraordinary mining scene, centering upon men wielding sledgehammers above wedges inserted in crevices, attempting to disengage a huge boulder from its rocky surround. Within the roundel format the sense of compositional energy is tightly organized and finds a centrifugal point in the central miner, who kneels on the ground, aiming a blow at a circular row of shims.

His considered it to be an autograph Holbein design for a glass painting, but Ganz questioned the drawing's quality, regarding it as a reworked offset, and, at best, a late (c. 1534–43) design for goldsmith's work. Rowlands has reasserted its place in Holbein's drawings oeuvre of around 1520 or shortly thereafter, along with the probability that it was a stained-glass design, perhaps made for a Basel patron with mining interests.¹

Rowlands's reassertion of the drawing's function as a stained-glass design is

convincing. Its size attests to this, as well as the powerful roundel composition, which is an unusual example in Swiss stained glass—and the only such example in Holbein's oeuvre—of treating the roundel format so popular in Augsburg.² Considering Holbein's Augsburg origins, however, it is entirely explicable and forms a fascinating echo of his artistic heritage complementary to his love of the roundel format for small designs for the decorative arts. It also constitutes an unusual example of mining imagery in stained glass of the South German and Swiss Renaissance, and points to the key industrial role played by mining in Central Europe during the late Middle Ages and Renaissance. Holbein puts his unique and characteristic stamp on the subject by showing raw human muscle literally chipping away at the intractable matter of nature. Embedded herein is the Renaissance belief in man's ability to reshape the larger natural environment.

1. Cf. Rowlands 1993, I: no. 308.

2. For copies after cat. no. 144, cf. Müller (1996: 165), who considers it to be a copy after a drawing of c. 1520–23 by Holbein or an artist in his studio.



145

Hans Holbein the Younger

A Halberdier Supporting the Arms of Graf Christoph von Eberstein

1522

Pen and black ink with black and gray wash, lightly tinted with red watercolor on the heraldic roses, and in parts of the feather and mantling; red chalk within the arms, on tan laid paper.

Inscribed by an early (autograph?) hand in black ink on the tablet below *Cristoff graff zû eberstein*. 1522

Coat of arms of the Eberstein family

33.5 × 29.3 cm

Oxford, Ashmolean Museum

Inv. no. 1946.297, Pl 299*

PROVENANCE

Sir William Stirling-Maxwell, Bt; Sir Archibald Stirling of Keir; Lt.-Col. W. J. Stirling of Keir (sale, Sotheby's, June 26, 1946, lot 128); presented anonymously, with a contribution from the Blakiston Fund, 1946.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Warnecke 1883, I: pl. 1; Ganz 1911–37: 46, no. 192, repr.; Hugelshofer 1928: 40, no. 59, repr.; Cohn 1930: 12, 56, 59, 97; Parker 1938: no. 299; Schmid 1941–42: 267; Basel 1960: no. 201; Bächtiger 1971–72: 239 ff.; London 1988: no. 189, pl. 189, 223; Müller 1988: 127, under no. 36, repr. p. 128; Müller 1996: 147, under no. 279.

Although there has been some disagreement about the date of this drawing, with some believing it to have been made around 1519–20 and thus a little earlier than the date of 1522 written at the bottom, it indeed seems more likely to have been made at the later time based on stylistic comparisons to

drawings such as *Stained-Glass Design with Two Unicorns* in Basel (inv. no. 1662.150; fig. 14, p. 15), whose architectural surround echoes Cesariano's illustrated edition of Vitruvius, published in 1521.¹ The extreme sensitivity of the outlines, especially in the foliate elements, in the design for Christoph von Eberstein, as well as the three-dimensionality of the washes, indicate that it is of the same approximate period as the likewise consummately drawn design with the two unicorns.

In the design for von Eberstein, Holbein gives way to a panoply of ebullient ornament that shows his kinship, in this mode, to the work of Swiss contemporaries such as Manuel and Graf. The coat of arms with its crest is monumental, with the scrolling mantling echoed in the fanciful foliate forms of the architecture. These elements are complemented by the halberdier's intricate costume with its slashed and ribboned leggings. As ornamental as they are, however, the weight and chiaroscuro of the forms lend them a gravity of expression that, together with the halberdier and the spandrel figures, support an overall impression of aggressive extroversion.

At the center of this is the halberdier, whose monumentality and physical power—indicated by features such as his muscular, hairy calves—look forward to the design with a wild man of around 1528 (cat. no. 151). Holbein here exercises his gift of giving almost portrait-like specificity to shield holders that reinforces their hold over the viewer. He gives the halberdier a tough, craggy face, adorned with a huge mustache. As Bächtiger noted, this as well as other traits, such as crosses of Saint Andrew slit into his costume, mark him as a German *Landsknecht*, the mortal enemy of the Swiss confederate soldier, or *Reislauffer*.² The halberdier's aggressive, confident mien is reinforced by an eye cocked at the viewer.

The implicit aggressiveness of the central warrior finds explicit expression in the battling spandrel figures. The one on the left, extraordinary for its concrete, grim realism, appears, with the beard and prominent mustache, to be the soldier below, changed from his finery into heavier clothing more practical for battle; indeed, his menacing face and darkly shaded, thick garments covering his body and head make him seem a fearsome opponent compared to the more gaily clad *Reislauffer* to the right.³ The *Landsknecht* shield holder and the prevalence of the *Landsknecht* over the *Reislauffer* in the upper register is explained by the Swabian origin of the von Eberstein family to which the patron belonged.⁴ Interestingly, another mem-

ber of the family, Bernard von Eberstein, commissioned stained-glass designs from Baldung around 1515 and from Weiditz in 1525 (fig. 82).⁵ Indeed, Holbein's Eberstein design forms another high point of Swiss and German soldier imagery in stained glass, commensurate with Baldung's Ziegler window of 1515 (cat. no. 112) and Manuel's design for a panel with his own device, of around 1508 (cat. no. 121).

Holbein's love of mountainous background landscapes appears to perpetuate a tradition found in earlier Swiss stained-glass panels such as the *Bern Flagbearer* of the early years of the century (cat. no. 118). Holbein, however, accentuates the monumentality of the main figure by having him tower over the landscape, giving a fragmentary, but compellingly expansive, view of an Alpine village through the legs of the halberdier. This juxtaposition of the huge figure of the halberdier and the sliver of landscape drives home the implication that the warrior himself draws upon the same strength animating the rugged, elemental countryside he inhabits.

146–50

Designed by Hans Holbein the Younger

The Passion Series

146

Hans Holbein the Younger

The Crucifixion

c. 1528

Pen and black ink, gray wash, over black chalk, retouched in black ink, on cream laid paper

WATERMARK

A running bear (Lindt 1964: 26)

43.2 × 30.9 cm

Basel, Öffentliche Kunstsammlung Basel

Inv. no. 1662.121

PROVENANCE

Amerbach-Kabinett

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Woltmann 1874–76, I: 172, II: pl. 75; Ganz 1911–37: no. 178; Davies 1903: 71 ff.; Chamberlain 1913, II: 150 ff.; Knackfuss 1914: 42, fig. 37; Stein 1929: 180 ff.; Cohn 1930: 24 ff., 82 ff., 88, 98; Schmid 1930: 53; Schmid 1948, I: 83 ff., 101, 118, 149, 153, II: 325, 331 ff.; Fischer 1951: 344; Basel 1960: no. 295; Klemm 1972: 172; Klemm 1980: 39 ff.; Müller 1988: no. 58; Rowlands 1993, I: 144, under no. 315; Müller 1996: no. 171, pl. 54; Basel and Berlin 1997–98: 387, under no. 25, 19–21.

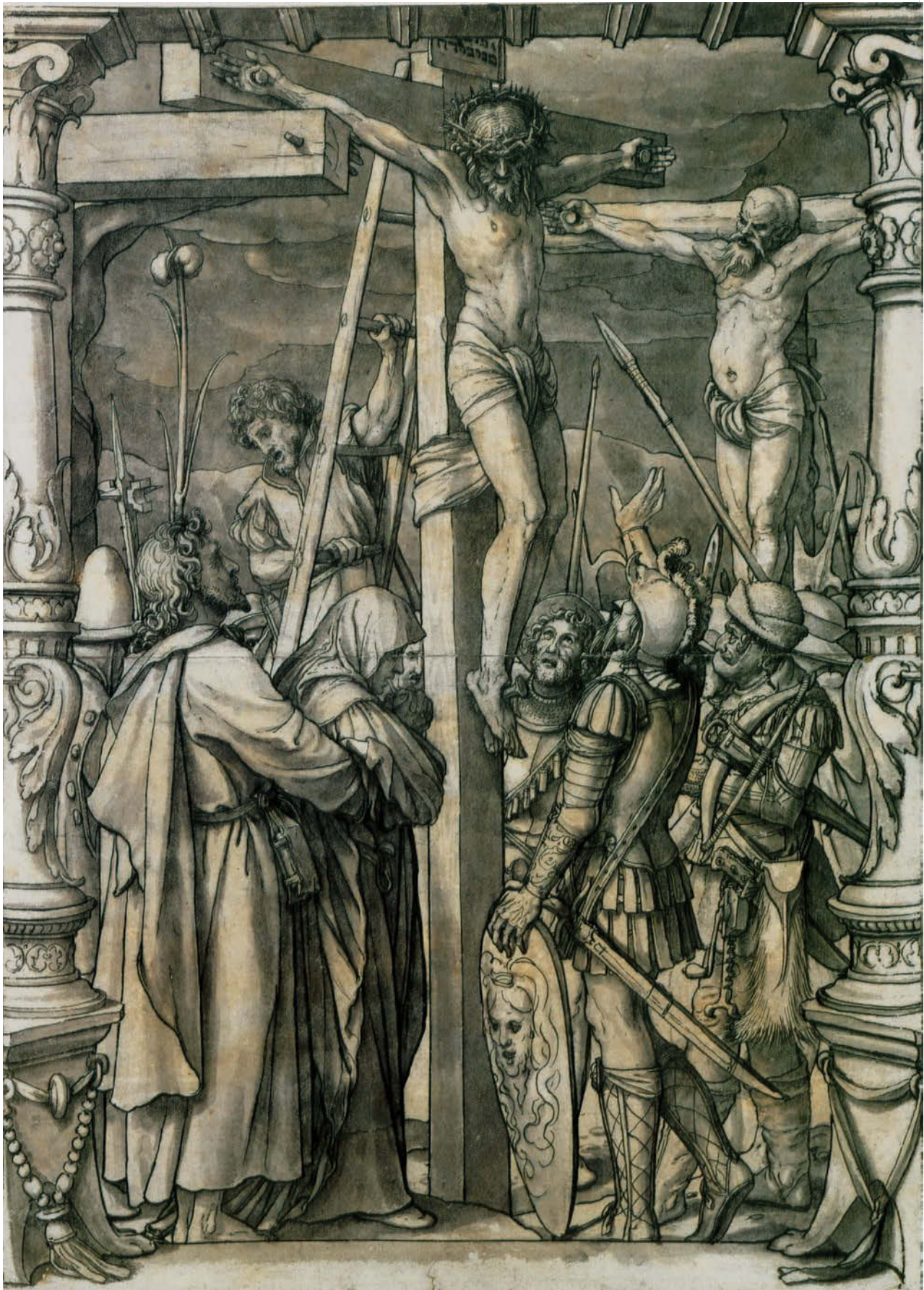
1. For the drawing with the unicorns, cf. Müller (1988: no. 35; 1996: no. 140). Returning to the Oxford drawing, Ganz accepted it as dating to 1522; Schmid believed it to be earlier, around 1519, which was upheld in Basel 1960: no. 201. Rowlands in London 1988: no. 189, tentatively suggests that the date could be genuine. Müller (1988: under no. 36, 127; 1996: under no. 279, 147), citing Bächtiger (1971–72: 239 ff.), affirms the date of 1522.

2. Cf. Bächtiger 1971–72: 239; on the *Landsknecht*, see also cat. nos. 71–72.

3. For the identification of the spandrel figures as a *Landsknecht* and a *Reislauffer*, cf. Bächtiger 1971–72: 239.

4. As pointed out in Bächtiger 1971–72: 239, note 324.

5. Both in Coburg, Kunstsammlungen der Veste Coburg, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. nos. Z 27 and Z 55 and 56. Cf. Detroit, Ottawa, and Coburg 1983: nos. 6, 52.



147

After Hans Holbein the Younger,
German or Swiss glass painter

The Judgment of Pilate



147

148

After Hans Holbein the Younger,
German or Swiss glass painter

The Crucifixion

Sixteenth or seventeenth century

Pot-metal, flashed, and clear glass with brown vitreous paint, yellow stain, and sanguine

Cat. no. 147, inscribed at the bottom *IN PERPETUAM MEMORIA DOMINI 1519* (In perpetual memory, A.D. 1519); cat. no. 148 inscribed at the bottom *CONSUMMATUM EST* (It is finished)

35 × 25 cm (both panels)

PROVENANCE

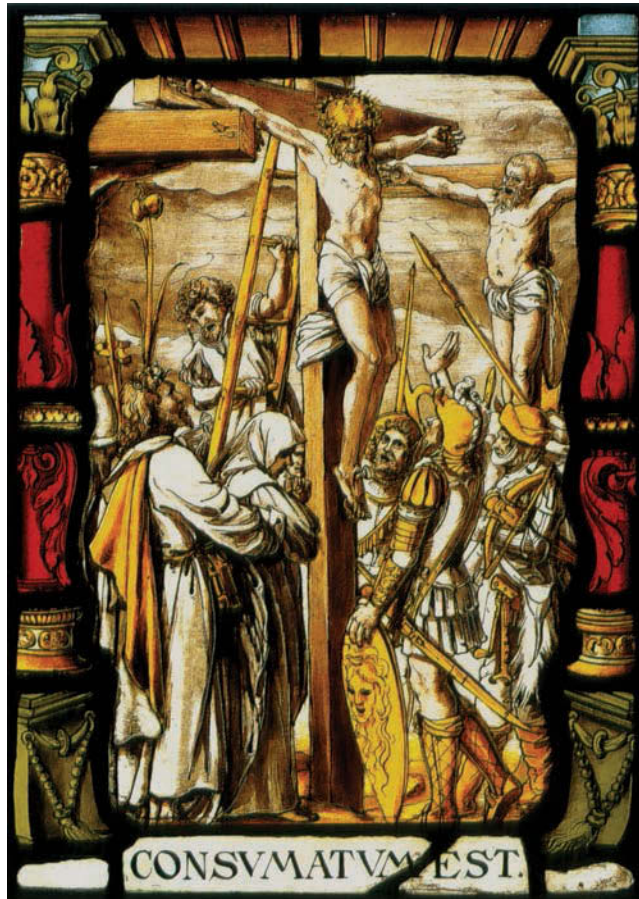
Charles Klappert, La Jolla, California

San Diego, San Diego Museum of Art

Inv. nos. 61.121A and B

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Corpus Vitreatrum*

Checklist III 1989: 82



148

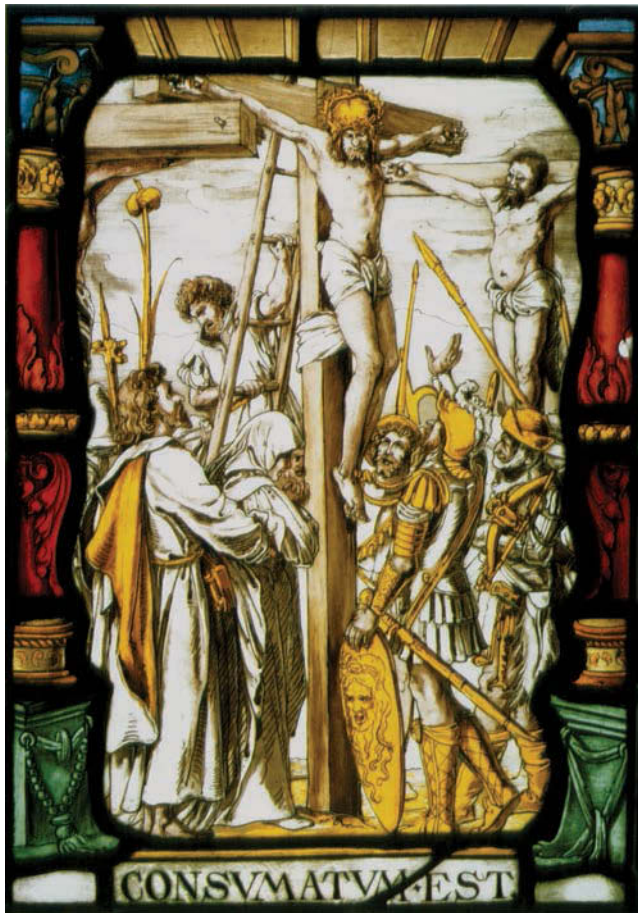


I49

I49

After Hans Holbein the Younger,
German or Swiss glass painter

The Judgment of Pilate



I50

I50

After Hans Holbein the Younger,
German or Swiss glass painter

The Crucifixion

Sixteenth or seventeenth century

Pot-metal, flashed, and clear glass, vitreous
paint, yellow stain, and sanguine

Cat. no. 149, inscribed at the bottom *IN*.
PERPET·MEMOR·A·DOM·1519; cat. no. 150
inscribed at the bottom *CONSUMMATUM·EST*

35.2 × 25.2 cm (both panels)

Innsbruck, Tiroler Landesmuseum Ferdinandeum

Inv. nos. GL 567 and 568

Among Hans Holbein the Younger's most famous and most copied designs for stained glass is the series of ten drawings portraying *The Passion of Christ* in the Kupferstichkabinett, Basel. They served as the bases for offsets, seven of which survive in the British Museum, which were owned by the artist and historiographer Joachim von Sandrart (1606–1688), who regarded them as originals and praised them as masterpieces by Holbein in his *Teutsche Academie*.¹ The Basel drawings are predicated compositionally upon the great *Passion Altarpiece* (Basel, Öffentliche Kunstsammlung Basel, inv. no. 315; fig. 99), which Holbein is generally thought to have made around 1525; the drawings were probably made after his return from England around 1528.² With their multfigured compositions, rounded, powerfully modeled figures, gravity of expression, and palpable spatiality, *The Crucifixion* (cat. no. 146) and its companions appear to have been ambitiously conceived by Holbein in the format of a series of framed paintings.

As in *The Passion Altarpiece*, Holbein laterally compressed the individual scenes and cropped them around the edges in order to facilitate the narrative flow among them. To this end, he sometimes inserted subsidiary figures that move forcefully across the scenes, such as the soldier accompanying Christ in *The Judgment of Pilate* (fig. 98), whose wide stride and ripped leggings recall earlier figure types, notably the swineherd from the Basel stained-glass design of around 1519 (cat. no. 139). As noted by Schmid, this figure forms a dramatic fulcrum in the scene, with his face turned toward that of Christ, while the corresponding profile of another man to his left is turned back toward that of Pilate;



FIGURE 98. Hans Holbein the Younger. *The Judgment of Pilate*, c. 1525. Pen and black ink, gray wash, over black chalk, 43.2 × 30.8 cm. Basel, Öffentliche Kunstsammlung Basel, Kupferstichkabinett (inv. no. 1662.117).

Photo: Öffentliche Kunstsammlung Basel, Martin Bühler.

the twin faces of the men bind the tragic innocence of the countenance of Christ with the brutally guilty face of Pilate.³ The artist's approach to the framing elements of the glass panel as a three-dimensional proscenium reaches its highest sophistication in *The Passion* series. The elaborate frames, different in each drawing, form a bridge between the space of the viewer and that of the picture, with the scrolling, undulant movement of the ornament helping to propel the visual flow from scene to scene. The frame in *The Crucifixion* has a wooden ceiling, which resonates with the jarring angles and sharp foreshortening of the crosses, making the scene seem all the more materially palpable and underscoring the vertical compositional thrust, with its focus upon the form of the crucified Christ.

Among the handful of connected stained-glass panels to survive after drawings by Hans Holbein the Younger are those in San Diego of *The Judgment of Pilate* and *The Crucifixion* (cat. nos. 147–48) and the versions of the same scenes in Innsbruck (cat. nos. 149–50).⁴ The panels clarify the relationship be-

tween the frames and inner images in the drawings, with the frames executed in colored glass and the central images in monochrome. The contrast between the dark, colored frames and the luminous central image heightens the illusion of the frame projecting forward sculpturally and the central image receding dramatically. The execution of the central image in monochrome on a monolithic sheet of clear glass allows for detailed and expressive glass painting that parallels Holbein's drawings. The Basel drawings also contain scrolls and cartouches at the bottom for accompanying inscriptions, which in the panels have been simplified into flat rectangles of white glass containing inscriptions pertaining to each image.

The dates of the San Diego and Innsbruck panels as well as their relationship to one another are difficult to determine. The drawing in the Innsbruck panels seems slightly closer to Holbein's originals, although both pairs of panels are of exceptionally high workmanship. Perhaps side-by-side comparison in the exhibition will clarify the relationship of the San Diego and Innsbruck panels.

1. Rowlands 1993, I: nos. 309–15, II: pls. 202–4; Sandrart [1675] 1925: 102, 333.
 2. There has been lingering discussion about an earlier dating of 1525, closer to the time he created *The Passion Altarpiece* or a later dating to around 1528. Because of the highly developed compositions, which elaborate on those in the altarpiece, current opinion favors the latter. Cf. Müller in Basel and Berlin 1997–98: 387, under no. 25, 19–21, and Müller 1996: 110.
 3. Schmid 1948, I: 332.
 4. For further discussion of surviving glass after Holbein, see Schmid 1948, I: 144–53.
 5. In addition to the above-mentioned offsets in the British Museum, these include a mid-sixteenth-century copy also in the British Museum (inv. no. 1923.28; cf. Rowlands 1993, I: 143, under no. 309); a copy by Joseph Heintz of 1581 in the Basel Kupferstichkabinett, inv. no. 1927.84 (cf. Basel 1960: nos. 291, 295); nine in the Augustinerchorherrenstift Sankt Florian, dated 1578 and 1579; seven in Munich, Staatliche Graphische Sammlung, one of which is dated 1536; and a newly discovered copy of *The Crucifixion* in the same collection (inv. no. 1997.28) that bears a Basel watermark (close to Briquet 1344; Solothurn 1593–95), kindly brought to our attention by Tilman Falk. For further literature and discussion of copies, see Müller 1996: 109–12, and in Basel and Berlin 1997–98: 387, note 1, under no. 25, 19–21.
 6. Indeed, it has recently been suggested that the drawings might not have been produced in glass when Holbein made them owing to the near contemporary conversion to the Reformation in Basel in 1529. Cf. Müller in Basel and Berlin 1997–98: 387, under no. 25, 19–21.



FIGURE 99. Hans Holbein the Younger. *Altarpiece with Eight Scenes of the Passion of Christ*, c. 1525. Tempera on panel, 149.5 cm × 124 cm. Basel, Öffentliche Kunstsammlung Basel (inv. no. 315).

Photo: Öffentliche Kunstsammlung Basel, Martin Bühler.

As for the problem of dating the panels, not only are they slightly smaller than the drawings, with different frames, but, more importantly, the date of 1519 in *The Judgment of Pilate* is at variance with the later style of the Basel drawings. On the other hand, the date might not refer to the year of manufacture of the panels but rather might indicate that they commemorate someone deceased in 1519, as indicated by the inscriptions of “In perpetual memory” and “It is finished.” The drawings were copied in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, as evidenced in numerous examples.⁵ The delicacy of execution and the slightly fleshy color of the sanguine in the San Diego and Innsbruck panels are unusual in glass painting of Holbein’s lifetime and suggest that they could be later sixteenth-century—or even seventeenth-century—versions.⁶ Even allowing for their postdating Holbein’s lifetime, their quality and faithfulness to his drawings are exceptional, and they provide precious evidence of how what is arguably Holbein’s greatest series of glass designs was translated into the medium.





I51

Hans Holbein the Younger

A Wild Man Brandishing an Uprooted Tree Trunk

c. 1528

Pen and black ink with gray, brown, and blue washes, on cream laid paper

32.1 × 21.5 cm

London, The British Museum

Inv. no. 1895-9-15-992

PROVENANCE

G. F. Fagel (sale, T. Philippe, May 29, 1801, lot 91); John Malcolm, Poltalloch

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Woltmann 1874-76, I: 163, II: 139, no. 209; Robinson 1876: no. 356; Colvin 1895: 57, no. 288; Binyon 1898-1907, II: 329, no. 13; Chamberlain 1913, I: 147; Ganz 1911-37: 48, no. 200; Major 1946: 116ff.; Basel 1960: 261, under no. 313; Berlin 1982: 17, under no. 9; London 1988: no. 195, pl. 32; Müller 1988: 15; Rowlands 1993, I: no. 316, II: pl. 206; London 1996: no. 70.

I52

After Hans Holbein the Younger,
Basel master of the late sixteenth
or early seventeenth century

A Wild Man Brandishing an Uprooted Tree Trunk

c. 1580-1600

Pen and black ink and brown, blue and green washes on cream laid paper

WATERMARK

An eagle (Tschuden 1958: 259)

Inscribed in pen and black ink at the bottom right with the monogram *HH* and a date that has been scratched out; collection mark of King Friedrich Wilhelm I (Lugt 1921: 1631)

32.6 × 21.4 cm

Berlin, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin-Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Kupferstichkabinett

Inv. no. kdZ 3091

PROVENANCE

Friedrich Wilhelm I, king of Prussia (1688-1740)

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Bock 1921: no. 3091; Ganz 1911-37: 48, under no. 200; Basel 1960: no. 313; London 1988: 228, under no. 195; Müller 1988: 15; Rowlands 1993, I: 145, under no. 316.

The venerable subject of the wild man in Swiss stained glass (see cat. no. 120) reaches its apogee in this design by Holbein (cat. no. 151), in which he succeeds in encapsulating in a single figure the wild man's legendary association with the superhuman forces of the natural world (see the essay by Giesicke and Ruoss in this volume, p. 46).¹ The gigantic hoary figure, his hardened muscular form girdled by twisted leafy branches, strides forward upon the ledge of a classical portal. His beard blown backwards, he aggressively grasps his primitive, natural weapon, an enormous uprooted tree, which itself bears witness to his brute power and also (like the leafy crown and girdle) to a rudimentary transformation of nature into culture. The classical vegetal motifs decorating the posts and lintel demonstrate a more advanced transformation of nature into artifact.

The energetic stride implies indomitable strength and a sense of forward motion. The wild man's awesome power is reinforced by the entire composition's upward surge, communicated by a configuration of weighty, burgeoning forms, from the undulant, scrolling columns and lintel to the towering pines and sheer rock peaks of the background landscape. Indeed, as is frequently the case in Swiss Renaissance stained-glass design, there seems to be an implicit identification of the strength of the central figure with the natural forces of his environment, embodied by the trees and towering peaks. It is possible that the illusionism of the image is also inflected by a further juxtaposition of nature versus culture: the wild man strides from his distant natural world through the classicizing portal that forms a kind of passageway from the wild man's rugged, natural environment into the man-made, acculturated space of the viewer. Indeed, perhaps Holbein's most ingenious and subtle reference to the wild man's power is the portrayal of him bursting forth from the illusionistic pictorial realm behind the portal-frame into the "real" world of life itself.

Holbein's wild man, his own Northern analogue to the classical Hercules, is a supreme example of the artist's ability to integrate an Italianate feeling for the human form in motion with a sense of raw, physical power. Here, monumental size plays an important role, but it is accompanied by a profound and integrated grasp of anatomy. As the wild man strides forward ready to wield the heavy tree, he projects a bounding physicality that finds its culmination in Northern art in the work of Rubens.

The illusionism of Holbein's design is heightened by its probable reference to actual civic pageantry. The wild

man was the symbol of the civic society Zur Hären, named after the mythic hairy folk, which originally included hunters and fishermen of Kleinbasel (Small Basel, the part of the city located on the flatter right bank of the Rhine) and later included members of the aristocracy. A man costumed as a wild man appeared in this capacity in a yearly parade through Basel, in which he performed a twirling dance, pushing back the crowds with an uprooted tree.² The connected glass painting for the meeting house of the society Zur Hären is lost, although it may have been the one in possession of the Basel dealer Johann Heinrich Speyr the Elder in 1841, described as "Vitrau [*sic*] peint. Armoirie de la société de la Hären au petit Bâle, un homme sauvage" (Glass painting. Coat of arms of the society Zur Hären in Small Basel, a wild man).³

As with many of Holbein's stained-glass designs, notably those for a Passion series (cat. no. 146), the present example was copied for decades to come. The copy in Berlin (cat. no. 152) is so accomplished that it was regarded as an original in the 1921 catalogue of the drawings in the Kupferstichkabinett, although it bears a watermark, discovered later, that dates at least to 1580 if not to the beginning of the seventeenth century.⁴ A comparison with the London drawing shows that in the Berlin example, the architecture lacks the surging quality of the original, the mountains are less organic (with a sharper division between washes), and the contours are slightly less lively. Nonetheless, these observations are immensely aided by knowledge of the London original and give one pause when recognizing the astonishing ability of some of Holbein's copyists to approximate his original designs.

1. For the symbolism of the wild man and further literature, see New York 1980.

2. As noted by Major 1946 and outlined with complete references by Rowlands 1993, I: no. 316.

3. *Catalog und Verzeichnis der Kunst-Gegenstände und Eigentum des Antiquar J.H. v. Speyr Aelter*, ms. catalogue, Basel, Universitätsbibliothek, inv. no. H.IV.81C, p. 17, no. 235; as cited by Rowlands 1993, I: 145, under no. 316.

4. For the watermark of an eagle, see Tschuden, no. 259, as cited in Müller 1988: 15, 17, note 3.

List of References

- Aeschbacher 1930**
Paul Aeschbacher. *Stadt und Landvogtei Nidau von den Anfängen bis ins 16. Jahrhundert*. 2d ed. Heimatkunde des Seelandes Series, vol. 5. Biel, 1930.
- Ahlborn 1969**
Joachim Ahlborn. *Die Familie Landauer: Von Maler zum Montanberrn*. Nürnberger Forschungen Series, vol. 11. Nuremberg, 1969.
- AKL 1992**
Allgemeines Künstler-Lexikon: Die bildenden Künstler aller Zeiten und Völker. 22 vols. Munich and Leipzig, 1992.
- Amsterdam 1985**
Livelier than Life: The Master of the Amsterdam Cabinet or the Housebook Master, ca. 1470–1500. Catalogue compiled by J. P. Filedt Kok, with introductions and appendices by K. G. Boon, J. P. Filedt Kok, M. D. Haga, Jane Campbell Hutchison, M. J. H. Madou, Keith P. F. Moxey, and Peter Moraw. Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet/Rijksmuseum, 1985.
- Anderes et al. 1990**
Bernhard Anderes et al., eds. *Das Denkmal und die Zeit: Alfred A. Schmid zum 70. Geburtstag*. Lucerne, 1990.
- Anderes and Hoegger 1988**
Bernhard Anderes and Peter Hoegger. *Die Glasgemälde im Kloster Wettingen*. 2d ed. Baden, 1988.
- Andersson 1977**
Christiane Andersson. "Popular Lore and Imagery in the Drawings of Urs Graf (c. 1485–1529)." Ph.D. diss., Stanford University, 1977.
- Andersson 1978**
Christiane Andersson. *Dirnen, Krieger, Narren: Ausgewählte Zeichnungen von Urs Graf*. Basel, 1978.
- Andersson 1988**
Christiane Andersson. "Berlin and Regensburg. Albrecht Altdorfer: Works on Paper." *Burlington Magazine* 130, no. 1023 (1988): 486–87.
- Andrews 1988**
Keith Andrews. *Disegni tedeschi da Schongauer a Liebermann*. With an introduction by A. Petrioli Tofani. Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi Series, vol. 70. Florence, 1988.
- Anzelewsky 1980**
Fedja Anzelewsky. *Dürer: Werk und Wirkung*. Stuttgart, 1980.
- Anzelewsky 1991**
Fedja Anzelewsky. *Albrecht Dürer: Das malerische Werk*. 2 vols., 2d rev. ed. Berlin, 1991.
- Anzelewsky and Mielke 1984**
Fedja Anzelewsky and Hans Mielke, eds. *Albrecht Dürer: Kritisches Katalog der Zeichnungen*. Die Zeichnungen Alter Meister im Berliner Kupferstichkabinett Series. Berlin: Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz, 1984.
- Apostolos-Cappadona 1995**
Diane Apostolos-Cappadona. *Dictionary of Christian Art*. Cambridge, England, 1995.
- Appelbaum 1964**
Stanley Appelbaum. *The Triumph of Maximilian I: 137 Woodcuts by Hans Burgkmair and Others*. New York, 1964.
- Appuhn 1979**
Horst Appuhn, ed. *Maximilian I: Der Theuerdank. 1517*. Dortmund, 1979.
- Augsburg 1955**
Augsburger Renaissance. Catalogue by Norbert Lieb, Hannelore Müller, and Gunther Thiem. Augsburg, Schaezlerhaus in Städtische Kunstsammlungen, 1955.
- Augsburg 1980**
Welt im Umbruch: Augsburg zwischen Renaissance und Barock. 2 vols. Catalogue by Bruno Bushart, Gode Krämer, et al. Augsburg, Rathaus, and Zeughaus, 1980.
- Aurenhammer 1960**
Hans Aurenhammer. "Augustinus." In *Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie*, vol. 1, pt. 2, 260–70. Vienna, 1960.
- Austin 1983**
Nuremberg: A Renaissance City, 1500–1618. Catalogue by Jeffrey Chipps Smith, Austin, Archer M. Huntington Art Gallery, University of Texas, 1983.
- Bächtiger 1971–72**
Franz Bächtiger. "Andreaskreuz und Schweizerkreuz: Zur Feindschaft zwischen Landsknechten und Eidgenossen." *Jahrbuch des Bernischen Historischen Museums* 51–52 (1971–72): 205–70.
- Bächtold 1917**
Jacob Bächtold. *Niklaus Manuel*. Frauenfeld and Leipzig, 1917.
- Balcke-Wodarg 1926–27**
Elisabeth Balcke-Wodarg. "Die Glasgemälde der ehemaligen Kartause zu Freiburg im Breisgau vom Beginn des 16. Jahrhunderts." *Oberrheinische Kunst* 2 (1926–27): 64–182.
- Baldass 1923**
Ludwig Baldass. *Der Künstlerkreis Maximilians*. Vienna, 1923.
- Baldass 1926–27**
Ludwig Baldass. "Beiträge zur Hausbuchmeisterfrage." *Oberrheinische Kunst* 2 (1926–27): 182–86.
- Baltimore 1982**
Three Thousand Years in Glass: Treasures from the Walters Art Gallery. Catalogue with an introduction by Robert P. Bergmann and contributions by Jeanny Vorys Canby, Mary Suzanne Bellah, Andrew Oliver, Jr., Richard H. Randall, Jr., Mary Smith Podles, and William R. Johnston. Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, 1982.
- Bartsch 1803–21**
Adam Bartsch. *Le peintre graveur*. 21 vols. Vienna, 1803–21.
- Bartsch 1978–**
Adam Bartsch. *The Illustrated Bartsch*. Edited by Walter L. Strauss. New York, 1978–.
- Basel 1937**
Festschrift zum 150-jährigen Bestehen der Allgemeinen Lesegesellschaft in Basel, 1787–1937. Basel, 1937.
- Basel 1960**
Die Malerfamilie Holbein in Basel: Ausstellung im Kunstmuseum Basel zur Fünfhundertjahrfeier der Universität Basel. Catalogue edited by Margarete Pfister-Burkhalter (drawings section) et al. Basel, Kunstmuseum, 1960.
- Basel 1972**
100 Meisterzeichnungen des 15. und 16. Jahrhunderts aus dem Basler Kupferstichkabinett. Catalogue by Hanspeter Landolt. Basel, Kunstmuseum, 1972.
- Basel 1974/1976**
Lucas Cranach: Gemälde, Zeichnungen, Druckgraphik. 2 vols. Catalogue edited by Dieter Koepplin and Tilman Falk. Basel, Kunstmuseum, 1974 (vol. 1), 1976 (vol. 2).
- Basel 1984a**
Schenkungen von Altmeisterzeichnungen durch die CIBA-GEIGY. 18 Zeichnungen schweizerischer und deutscher Meister des 15. und 16. Jahrhunderts. Catalogue by Georg Schmidt and Dieter Koepplin, with an introduction by Dieter Koepplin. Basel, Öffentliche Kunstsammlung, 1984.
- Basel 1984b**
Spätrenaissance am Oberrhein: Tobias Stimmer 1539–1584. Catalogue by Dieter Koepplin, Paul Tanner, Elisabeth Landolt, et al. Basel, Kunstmuseum, 1984.
- Basel 1991**
Das Amerbach-Kabinett: Zeichnungen Alter Meister. Catalogue by Christian Müller. Basel, Öffentliche Kunstsammlung, Kupferstichkabinett, 1991.
- Basel and Berlin 1997–98**
Dürer, Holbein, Grünewald: Meisterzeichnungen der deutschen Renaissance aus Berlin und Basel. Catalogue by Christian Müller, Renate Kroll, Hans Mielke, Holm Bevers, Fedja Anzelewsky, et al. Basel, Kunstmuseum; Berlin, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin-Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Kupferstichkabinett, 1997–98.
- Bätschmann and Griener 1997**
Oskar Bätschmann and Pascal Griener. *Hans Holbein*. London, 1997.
- Bauch 1958**
Kurt Bauch. "Zwei Dürer-Zeichnungen in Kassel." *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 21 (1958): 50–55.
- Baum 1923**
Julius Baum. *Altschwäbische Kunst*. Augsburg, 1923.
- Baumeister 1957**
Engelbert Baumeister. "Unbekannte Zeichnungen von Jörg Breu d. Ä." *Zeitschrift für Kunstwissenschaft* 11 (1957): 45–54.
- Baur 1920**
Albert Baur. *Landsknecht-Kunst*. Basel, 1920.
- Becksmann 1968**
Rüdiger Becksmann. "Das 'Hausbuchmeisterproblem' in der mittelherrheinischen Glasmalerei." *Pantheon* 26, no. 6 (1968): 348–62.
- Becksmann 1970**
Rüdiger Becksmann. "Zur Werkstattgemeinschaft Peter Hemmels in den Jahren 1477–1481." *Pantheon* 28 (1970): 183–97.
- Becksmann 1975**
Rüdiger Becksmann. "Fensterstiftungen und Stifterbilder in der deutschen Glasmalerei des Mittelalters." In *Vitrea dedicata: Das Stifterbild in der deutschen Glasmalerei des Mittelalters*, 65–85. Berlin, 1975.
- Becksmann 1979**
Rüdiger Becksmann. *Die mittelalterlichen Glasmalereien in Baden und der Pfalz, ohne Freiburg i. Br.* Corpus Vitrearum Medii Aevi Deutschland Series, vol. 2, pt. 1. Berlin, 1979.
- Becksmann 1986**
Rüdiger Becksmann. *Die mittelalterlichen Glasmalereien in Schwaben von 1350 bis 1530 (ohne Ulm)*. Corpus Vitrearum Medii Aevi Deutschland Series, vol. 1, pt. 2. Berlin, 1986.
- Becksmann 1995**
Rüdiger Becksmann. *Deutsche Glasmalerei des Mittelalters: Voraussetzungen, Entwicklungen, Zusammenhänge*. Berlin, 1995.
- Beeh-Lustenberger 1965**
Suzanne Beeh-Lustenberger. *Glasgemälde aus Frankfurter Sammlungen*. Frankfurt am Main, 1965.

- Beeh-Lustenberger 1967/1973**
Suzanne Beeh-Lustenberger. *Kataloge des Hessischen Landesmuseums, Nr. 2: Glasmalerei um 800–1900 im Hessischen Landesmuseum in Darmstadt*. Vol. 1 (plates), Frankfurt am Main, 1967; vol. 2 (text), Hanau, 1973.
- Beenken 1928**
Hermann Beenken. "Zeichnungen von Albrecht Dürer in Nachbildungen, begründet von Friedrich Lippmann, Bd. 6, herausgegeben von Friedrich Winkler, Berlin 1927." *Jahrbuch für Kunstwissenschaft* 5 (1928): 111–16.
- Beenken 1929**
Hermann Beenken. "Albrecht Dürers sämtliche Holzschnitte, herausgeg. von Willy Kurth. Mit ein Geleitwort von Campbell Dodgson. Holbein-Verlag, München, 1927." *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft* 50 (1929): 244–50.
- Beets 1927–28**
Nicolaas Beets. "Ein Karton Albrecht Dürers." *Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst* 61 (1927–28): 17–24.
- Belgrade, Ljubljana, and Zagreb 1987–88**
Svetski majstoriz riznica Ermitaza od XV–XVIII veka. Catalogue. Belgrade, Narodni Muzej; Ljubljana, Narodna Galerija; and Zagreb, Muzejski Prostor, 1987–88.
- Bemden 1976**
Yvette van den Bemden. "Peintures sur verre representant l'histoire de Joseph." *Bulletin des musées royaux d'art et d'histoire* 48 (1976): 85–100.
- Benecke 1982**
Gerhard Benecke. *Maximilian I (1459–1519): An Analytical Biography*. London, Boston, Melbourne, and Henley, 1982.
- Benesch and Auer 1957**
Otto Benesch and Erwin M. Auer. *Die Historia Friderici et Maximiliani*. Berlin, 1957.
- Berlin 1982**
Ex *Bibliotheca Regia Berolinensia: Zeichnungen aus dem ältesten Sammlungsbestand des Berliner Kupferstichkabinetts*. Catalogue by Peter Dreycr. Berlin, Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Kupferstichkabinett, 1982.
- Berlin 1983**
Kunst der Reformationzeit: Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Hauptstadt der DDR: Ausstellung im Alten Museum vom 26. August bis 13. November 1983. Catalogue by Klaus-Peter Arnold et al., with an introduction by Günther Schade. Berlin, Museen zu Berlin, 1983.
- Berlin 1992**
Eisenkleider: Plattnerarbeiten aus drei Jahrhunderten aus der Sammlung des Deutschen Historischen Museums. Catalogue by Waltraud Haffner-Grevenrath, Annette Brunk, Heinrich Müller, and Heinrich Dormeier. Berlin, Deutsches Historisches Museum im Zeughaus, 1992.
- Berlin 1992–93**
120 Zeichnungen aus fünf Jahrhunderten. Catalogue by Hela Baudis, Kristina Hegner, and Kornelia Röder. Berlin, Kunstforum, 1992–93.
- Berlin and Regensburg 1988**
Albrecht Altdorfer: Zeichnungen, Deckfarbenmalerei, Druckgraphik. Catalogue by Hans Mielke. Berlin, Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Kupferstichkabinett; Regensburg, Museen der Stadt, 1988.
- Bermann 1923**
Hans Bermann. "Hans Süß von Kulmbach." Ph.D. diss., Universität Leipzig, 1923.
- Bern 1930**
Niklaus Manuel Deutsch von Bern. Foreword by Conrad von Mandach. Bern, Kunstmuseum, 1930.
- Bern 1942**
50 Jahre Gottfried Keller-Stiftung: Vom 14. Juni bis 20. September 1942 im Kunstmuseum in Bern. Catalogue by Conrad von Mandach et al. Bern, Kunstmuseum, 1942.
- Bern 1979**
Niklaus Manuel Deutsch: Maler, Dichter, Staatsmann. Catalogue edited by Franz Bächtiger, Hans-Christoph von Tavel, Walter Hugelshofer, Heinz Matile, et al. Bern, Kunstmuseum, 1979.
- Bern 1996–97**
"Einer Eidgenossenschaft zu Lob": Entwürfe zu schweizer Glasgemälden des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts: Die Scheibenriss-Sammlung Wyss. Catalogue by Franz Bächtiger, Rolf Hasler, Hans-Anton Ebener, and Quirinus Reichen. Bern, Bernisches Historisches Museum, 1996–97.
- Bernhard 1978**
Marianne Bernhard. *Hans Baldung Grien: Handzeichnungen, Druckgraphik*. Munich, 1978.
- Bernheimer 1952**
Richard A. Bernheimer. *Wild Men in the Middle Ages: A Study in Art, Sentiment, Demonology*. Cambridge, Mass., 1952.
- Beutler and Thiem 1960**
Christian Beutler and Gunther Thiem. *Hans Holbein d. Ä.: Die spätgotische Altar- und Glasmalerei*. Abhandlungen zur Geschichte der Stadt Augsburg. Schriftenreihe des Stadtarchivs Augsburg Series, vol. 13. Augsburg, 1960.
- Binyon 1898–1907**
Lawrence Binyon. *Catalogue of Drawings by British Artists and Artists of Foreign Origin Working in Great Britain, Preserved in the Department of Prints and Drawings in the British Museum*. 4 vols. London, 1898–1907.
- Bjurstrom 1972**
Per Bjurstrom. *Drawings in Swedish Public Collections*. Vol. 1, *German Drawings*. Stockholm, 1972.
- Blankenhorn 1973**
Henriette Blankenhorn. *Die Renaissancephase Jörg Breu des Älteren*. Vienna, 1973.
- BLSK 1998**
Biographisches Lexikon der schweizer Kunst: Unter Einschluss des Fürstentums Liechtenstein. 2 vols. Zurich, 1998.
- Bock 1909**
Elfried Bock. "Zeichnungen von Hans von Kulmbach für ein Kaiserfenster." *Monatshefte für Kunstwissenschaft* 2 (1909): 401–3.
- Bock 1920**
Elfried Bock. "Ergänzungen zu Dürers Jugendwerk." *Jahrbuch der Preussischen Kunstsammlungen* 41 (1920): 208–13.
- Bock 1921**
Elfried Bock, ed. *Die deutsche Meister: Beschreibendes Verzeichnis sämtlicher Zeichnungen*. 2 vols. With a foreword by Max J. Friedländer. Die Zeichnungen Alter Meister im Berliner Kupferstichkabinett Series. Berlin: Staatliche Museen, 1921.
- Bock 1929**
Elfried Bock. *Die Zeichnungen der Universitätsbibliothek Erlangen*. 2 vols. Frankfurt am Main, 1929.
- Boesch 1954**
Paul Boesch. "Schieszen auf den toten Vater: Ein beliebtes Motiv der schweizerischen Glasmaler." *Zeitschrift für schweizerische Archäologie und Kunstgeschichte* 15 (1954): 87–92.
- Boesch 1955**
Paul Boesch. *Schweizer Glasmalerei*. Basel, 1955.
- Bogotá 1986**
Dibujos de maestros europeos de los siglos XV al XVIII. Catalogue of an exhibition from the State Hermitage Museum, Leningrad. Bogotá, Museo de Arte Moderno, 1986.
- Böhm 1994**
Christoph Böhm. "Kaiser Maximilian I. und Füssen: Die Zeit von 1492 bis zum Todes Gossenbrots 1502." *Alt Füssen* (1994): 45–58.
- Böhm 1995**
Christoph Böhm. "Kaiser Maximilian I. und Füssen: Die Zeit vom Tode Gossenbrots 1502 bis zu Maximilians Tod 1519." *Alt Füssen* (1995): 5–23.
- Bolten and Folmer-von Oven 1989**
J. Bolten and A. T. Folmer-von Oven. *Catalogue of Drawings (of a Private Collection)*. Hilversum, 1989.
- Boockmann and Grüber 1994**
Hartmut Boockmann and Pia Maria Grüber, eds. *Kurzweil viel ohn' Mass und Ziel: Alltag und Festtag auf den Augsburgers Monatsbildern der Renaissance*. Munich, 1994.
- Bosshard 1982**
Emil Bosshard. "Neues zu 'der Stadt Zürich Conterfey.'" *Zeitschrift für schweizerische Archäologie und Kunstgeschichte* 39, no. 3 (1982): 147–62.
- Boston 1939**
Art in New England: Paintings, Drawings, Prints, from Private Collections in New England. Catalogue by A. E. Austin Jr. et al. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, 1939.
- Bouchot 1908**
Henri Bouchot. *Bibliothèque nationale: Cabinet des estampes: Chefs-d'oeuvre et pièces uniques*. Paris, 1908.
- Brant [1494] 1944**
Sebastian Brant. *The Ship of Fools*. Translated into rhyming couplets with introduction and commentary by Edwin H. Zeydel. 1494. Morningside Heights, N.Y., 1944.
- Brant [1494] 1968**
Sebastian Brant. *Das Narrenschiff*. Edited by Manfred Lemmer. 1494. Tübingen, 1968.
- Braun 1924**
Edmund Wilhelm Braun. "Hans Baldung und der Benediktmeister." *Mitteilungen der Gesellschaft für vervielfältigende Kunst* 2 (1924): 1–17.
- Braunfels 1957**
Wolfgang Braunfels. *Industrielle Frühzeit im Gemälde: Erzbergbau und Eisenhütten in der europäischen Malerei 1500 bis 1850*. Dusseldorf, 1957.
- Braunschweig 1973**
Burgkmaier und die graphische Kunst der deutschen Renaissance. Catalogue by Christian von Heusinger. Braunschweig, Kupferstichkabinett, Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum, 1973.
- Bremen 1911**
Die Kunst Albrecht Dürers: Seine Werke in Originalen und Reproduktionen geordnet nach der Zeitfolge ihrer Entstehung. Catalogue by Gustav Pauli. Bremen, Kunsthalle Bremen, 1911.
- Bremen 1964**
Die schönste Handzeichnungen vom Dürer bis Picasso aus dem Besitz der Kunsthalle Bremen. Catalogue with introduction by Günther Busch. Bremen, Kunsthalle, 1964.
- Briquet [1907] 1966**
Charles-Moïse Briquet. *Les Filigranes: Dictionnaire historique des marques du papier dès leur apparition vers 1282 jusqu'en 1600, avec 39 figures dans le texte et 16,112 fac-similés de filigranes*. 4 vols. Geneva, 1907. Reprint, New York, 1966.
- Brown and O'Connor 1991**
Sarah Brown and David O'Connor. *Medieval Craftsmen: Glass-Painters*. Toronto and Buffalo, 1991.

- Bucelinus 1671**
G. Bucelinus. *Germania Topo-Chrono-Stemmatographica*. Frankfurt am Main, 1671.
- Buchmüller 1914**
Gottfried Buchmüller. *St. Beatenberg: Geschichte einer Berggemeinde*. Bern, 1914.
- Buchner 1925**
Ernst Buchner. "Der Petrakameister als Maler, Miniator und Zeichner." In *Festschrift Heinrich Wölfflin: Beiträge zur Kunst und Geistesgeschichte, zum 21. Juni 1924 überreicht von Freunden und Schülern*, 209–31. Munich, 1925.
- Buchner 1927**
Ernst Buchner. "Studien zur mittelrheinischen Malerei und Graphik der Spätgotik und Renaissance: Der Meister der Coburger Rundblätter." *Münchener Jahrbuch der bildenden Kunst* 4, no. 3 (1927): 229–336.
- Buchner 1928a**
Ernst Buchner. "Altdeutsche Handzeichnungen aus der Sammlung Johann Friedrich Lahmann zu Dresden. Einleitender Text und kritisches Verzeichnis mit vierzig Tafeln, herausgegeben von Edmund Schilling. 1925. Franz Hanfstängl, München." In *Augsburger Kunst der Spätgotik und Renaissance*, ed. Ernst Buchner and Karl Feuchtmayr, 496–501. Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Kunst Series, vol. 2. Augsburg, 1928.
- Buchner 1928b**
Ernst Buchner. "Der ältere Breu als Maler." In *Augsburger Kunst der Spätgotik und Renaissance*, ed. Ernst Buchner and Karl Feuchtmayr, 370–75. Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Kunst Series, vol. 2. Augsburg, 1928.
- Buchner and Feuchtmayr 1928**
Ernst Buchner and Karl Feuchtmayr, eds. *Augsburger Kunst der Spätgotik und Renaissance*. Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Kunst Series, vol. 2. Augsburg, 1928.
- Budapest 1970**
Kiállítás a Leningrádi Ermitázs legzebb rajzaiból. Catalogue by Irina Grigorieva et al. Budapest, Szépművészeti Múzeum, 1970.
- Buenos Aires 1986**
Dibujos de los maestros de Europa occidental de los siglos xv al xviii: colección del Ermitage de Leningrado. Buenos Aires, Museo Nacional de Arte Decorativo, 1986.
- Buff 1893**
Adolf Buff. *Augsburg in der Renaissancezeit*. Bamberg, 1893.
- Burckhardt 1907**
Daniel Burckhardt. "Dürer und der Meister der Bergmannschen Offizin." *Jahrbuch der Preussischen Kunstsammlungen* 28 (1907): 168–80.
- Butts 1984**
Barbara Butts. "Hans von Kulmbach: A Lost Tabernacle for the 15th-Century Madonna im Strahlenkranz in St. Sebald in Nürnberg." *Anzeiger des Germanischen Nationalmuseums* (1984): 32–38.
- Butts 1985**
Barbara Butts. "Dürerschüler Hans Süß von Kulmbach." Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 1985.
- Butts 1986**
Barbara Butts. "Albrecht Dürer or Hans von Kulmbach? Two Designs for Altarpieces in the Albertina." *Master Drawings* 23–24, no. 4 (1986): 517–26, pls. 20–21.
- Butts 1988**
Barbara Butts. "Albrecht Altdorfer. Zeichnungen, Deckfarbenmalerei, Druckgraphik. Exhibition catalogue by Hans Mielke with essays by Martin Angerer and Wolfgang Pfeiffer, 1988." *Master Drawings* 26, no. 3 (1988): 277–85.
- Butts 1990**
Barbara Butts. "Albrecht Dürer and the Stained Glass for the All Saints Chapel of the House of the Twelve Brethren: The Boston Cartoon Reconsidered." *Journal of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston* 2 (1990): 65–79. Cambridge 1978
- Medieval and Renaissance Stained Glass from New England Collections*. Catalogue by Madeline H. Caviness. Cambridge, Mass., Busch-Reisinger Museum, Harvard University, 1978.
- Cannon 1991**
Linda Cannon. *Stained Glass in the Burrell Collection*. Edinburgh, 1991.
- Castelnuovo 1967**
Enrico Castelnuovo. "Stained Glass." In *Encyclopedia of World Art*, vol. 13, columns 349–374. New York, Toronto, London, 1967.
- Caviness and Husband 1985**
Madeline H. Caviness and Timothy B. Husband, eds. *Selected Papers from the Xth International Colloquium of the Corpus Vitrearum, New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1–6 June 1982*. New York, 1985.
- Chamberlain 1913**
Arthur B. Chamberlain. *Hans Holbein the Younger*. 2 vols. London, 1913.
- Cohn 1930**
Werner Cohn. *Der Wandel der Architekturgestaltung in den Werken Hans Holbeins des Jüngeren. Ein Beitrag zur Holbein-Chronologie*. Studien zur deutschen Kunstgeschichte Series, vol. 278. Strasbourg, 1930.
- Cohn 1939**
Werner Cohn. "Two Glass Panels after Designs by Hans Holbein." *Burlington Magazine* 75 (1939): 115–21.
- Colvin 1895**
Sidney Colvin. *British Museum: Guide to an Exhibition of Drawings and Engravings by the Old Masters, Principally from the Malcolm Collection in the Print and Drawing Gallery*. London, 1895.
- Colvin 1903–7**
Sidney Colvin. *Selected Drawings from Old Masters in the University Galleries and in the Library at Christ Church at Oxford*. 6 vols. Oxford, 1903–7.
- Corpus Vitrearum Checklist I 1985**
Stained Glass before 1700 in American Collections: New England and New York. Studies in the History of Art Series, vol. 15, Monograph Series 1. With contributions from Madeline H. Caviness, Jane Hayward, Meredith Parsons Lillich, Linda Morey Papanicolaou, Virginia Chieffo Raguin, and Helen Jackson Zakin. Washington, D.C., 1985.
- Corpus Vitrearum Checklist II 1987**
Stained Glass before 1700 in American Collections: Mid-Atlantic and South-eastern Seaboard States. Studies in the History of Art Series, vol. 23, Monograph Series 1. With contributions from Madeline H. Caviness, Michael W. Cothren, Gloria Gilmore-House, Jane Hayward, Timothy B. Husband, Meredith Parsons Lillich, Nigel J. Morgan, Linda Morey Papanicolaou, Virginia Chieffo Raguin, and Helen Jackson Zakin. Washington, D.C., 1987.
- Corpus Vitrearum Checklist III 1989**
Stained Glass before 1700 in American Collections: Midwestern and Western States. Studies in the History of Art Series, vol. 28, Monograph Series 1. With contributions from Madeline H. Caviness, Gloria Gilmore-House, Jane Hayward, Timothy B. Husband, Naomi Reed Kline, Meredith Parsons Lillich, Nigel J. Morgan, Linda Morey Papanicolaou, Elizabeth Carson Pastan, Virginia Chieffo Raguin, Mary B. Shephard, and Helen Jackson Zakin, with editorial assistance from Michael W. Cothren. Washington, D.C., 1989.
- Corpus Vitrearum Checklist IV 1991**
Stained Glass before 1700 in American Collections: Silver-Stained Roundels and Unipartite Panels. Studies in the History of Art Series, vol. 39, Monograph Series 1. By Timothy B. Husband and Madeline H. Caviness. Washington, D.C., 1991.
- Curjel 1923**
Hans Curjel. *Hans Baldung Grien*. Munich, 1923.
- Davies 1903**
Gerald S. Davies. *Hans Holbein the Younger*. London, 1903.
- Démonts 1937–38**
Louis Démonts. *Musée du Louvre: Inventaire général des dessins des écoles du nord: Écoles allemande et suisse*. 2 vols. Paris, 1937–38.
- Detroit, Ottawa, and Coburg 1983**
From a Mighty Fortress: Prints, Drawings, and Books in the Age of Luther, 1483–1546. Catalogue edited by Christiane Andersson and Charles W. Talbot. Detroit Institute of Arts; Ottawa, National Gallery of Canada; Coburg, Kunstsammlungen der Veste Coburg, 1981–82. Detroit, 1983.
- Didier-Lamboray 1965**
A.-M. Didier-Lamboray. "Les vitraux de l'histoire de Joseph à l'église Saint-Antoine de Liège et leurs modèles." *Institut Royal du Patrimoine Artistique Bulletin* 8 (1965): 202–22.
- Dirr 1909**
Pius Dirr. "Glasgemälde Hans Holbeins des Älteren." *Münchener Jahrbuch der bildenden Kunst* 4 (1909): 33–45.
- DOA 1996**
The Dictionary of Art. Edited by Jane Turner. 34 vols. New York, 1996.
- Dobroklonsky and Sidorov 1927**
Michail Dobroklonsky and Aleksei Sidorov. "Unbekannte Dürerzeichnungen in Russland." *Jahrbuch der Preussischen Kunstsammlungen* 48 (1927): 221–25.
- Dodgson 1903**
Campbell Dodgson. Introductory notes to *The Dürer Society: Facsimiles*, vol. 6, no. 2. London, 1903.
- Dodgson 1903–11**
Campbell Dodgson. *Catalogue of Early German and Flemish Woodcuts Preserved in the Department of Prints and Drawings in the British Museum*. London, vol. 1, 1903; vol. 2, 1911.
- Dodgson 1909**
Campbell Dodgson. *Holzschritte zu zwei Nürnberger Andachtsbüchern aus dem Anfange des XVI. Jahrhunderts: 106 Abbildungen in Zinkhochätzung*. Berlin, 1909.
- Dodgson 1909–10**
Campbell Dodgson. *Vasari Society for the Reproduction of Drawings by Old Masters*. Ser. 1, pt. 5. London, 1909–10.
- Dodgson 1918**
Campbell Dodgson. "Another Drawing of the Life of St. Benedict." *Burlington Magazine* 32 (1918): 46–51.
- Dodgson 1926**
Campbell Dodgson. "A Drawing by Wolfgang Katzheimer." *Old Master Drawings* 1 (1926): 32–36, pl. 39.
- Dodgson 1930**
Campbell Dodgson. "School of Dürer, the Fall of the Rebel Angels: Fragment of a Cartoon for Stained Glass." *Old Master Drawings* 5 (1930): 42–43.
- Dodgson and Parker 1928**
Campbell Dodgson and K. T. Parker. *Guide to the Woodcuts, Drawings, and Engravings of Albrecht Dürer in the Department of Prints and Drawings, Exhibited in Commemoration of the Fourth Centenary of the Artist's Death on April 6th, 1528*. London, 1928.
- Dormeier 1994a**
Heinrich Dormeier. "Bildersprache zwischen Tradition und Originalität: Das Subject der Monatsbilder im Mittelalter." In *Kurzweil viel ohn' Mass und Ziel: Alltag und Festtag auf den Augsburger Monatsbildern der*

- Renaissance*, ed. Hartmut Boockmann and Pia Maria Grüber, 102–27. Munich, 1994.
- Dormeier 1994b**
Heinrich Dormeier. "Kurzweil und Selbstdarstellung: Die 'Wirklichkeit' der Augsburger Monatsbilder." In *Kurzweil viel ohn' Mass und Ziel: Alltag und Festtag auf den Augsburger Monatsbildern der Renaissance*, ed. Hartmut Boockmann and Pia Maria Grüber, 148–221. Munich, 1994.
- Dörnhöffer 1897**
Friedrich Dörnhöffer. "Ein Cyklus von Federzeichnungen mit Darstellungen von Kriegen und Jagden Maximilians 1." *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des Allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses* 18 (1897): 1–55.
- Dörnhöffer 1906**
Friedrich Dörnhöffer. "Weisbach, W., *Der junge Dürer*. Drei Studien. Leipzig, Hiersemann." 1906. *Kunstgeschichtliche Anzeigen, Beiblatt der "Mitteilungen des Instituts für österreichische Geschichtsforschung"* 3 (1906): 79–88.
- Dresden 1963**
Altdeutsche Zeichnungen: Ausstellung des Kupferstich-Kabinetts der Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden in Räumen der Gemäldegalerie. Catalogue by Werner Schade, with introduction by Werner Schmidt. Dresden, 1963.
- Dresden 1971–72**
Deutsche Kunst der Dürerzeit: Ministerium für Kultur, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden: Ausstellung im Albertinum. Catalogue by Werner Schmidt et al. Dresden, Albertinum Dresden, 1971–72.
- Dubler 1957**
Elisabeth Dubler. *Das Bild des heiligen Benedikt bis zum Ausgang des Mittelalters*. St. Ottilien, 1957.
- Ehret 1976**
Gloria Ehret. *Hans Wertinger: Ein Landshuter Maler an der Wende der Spätgotik zur Renaissance*. Munich, 1976.
- Elen 1989**
Albert J. Elen, with the assistance of Jacob Voorthuis. *Provisional Handlist: Missing Old Master Drawings from the Franz Koenigs Collection Claimed by the State of The Netherlands*. The Hague, 1989.
- Ephrussi 1882**
Charles Ephrussi. *Albert Dürer et ses dessins*. Paris, 1882.
- Erasmus [1511] 1979**
Desiderius Erasmus. *The Praise of Folly*. Translated with an introduction and commentary by Clarence H. Miller. 1511. New Haven, Conn., and London, 1979.
- Erfurt 1993–94**
Glasmalerei des 19. Jahrhunderts in Deutschland. Catalogue by Monika Böhning, Eva Fitz, Rainer Kahsnitz, Peter Kalchthaler, Ulf-Dietrich Korn, Werner Ströbele, Peter van Treeck, and Elgin Vaassen. Erfurt, Angermuseum Erfurt, 1993–94.
- Essenwein 1884**
August von Essenwein. *Katalog der im Germanischen Museum befindlichen Glasgemälde aus älterer Zeit*. Nuremberg, 1884.
- Essenwein 1898**
August von Essenwein. *Katalog der im Germanischen Museum befindlichen Glasgemälde aus älterer Zeit*. 2d ed. Nuremberg, 1898.
- Eye and Börner 1880**
August von Eye and P. E. Börner. *Die Kunstsammlung von Eugen Felix in Leipzig*. Leipzig, 1880.
- Falk 1968**
Tilman Falk. *Hans Burgkmair: Studien zu Leben und Werk des Augsburger Malers*. Munich, 1968.
- Falk 1979**
Tilman Falk. *Die Zeichnungen des 15. und 16. Jahrhunderts, Teil 1: Das 15. Jahrhundert, Hans Holbein der Ältere und Jörg Schweiger, die Basler Goldschmiede*. Kupferstichkabinett der Öffentliche Kunstsammlung Basel (Kunstmuseum Basel). Beschreibender Katalog der Zeichnungen Series, vol. 3. Basel and Stuttgart, 1979.
- Falk 1995**
Tilman Falk. "Dessins de Dürer et de la Renaissance germanique. Exhibition catalogue by Emmanuel Starcky, Emmanuelle Brugerolles, Pierrette Jean-Richard, and François Fossier, 1991." *Master Drawings* 33, no. 2 (1995): 164–67.
- Ferri 1890**
P. N. Ferri. *Catalogo riassuntivo della raccolta di disegni antichi e moderni posseduta dalla R. Galleria degli Uffizi di Firenze*. Rome, 1890.
- Filedt Kok 1995**
J. P. Filedt Kok. "Meister um das 'mittelalterliche Hausbuch': Studien zur Hausbuchmeisterfrage. By Daniel Hess." *Burlington Magazine* 137, no. 1108 (1995): 464–65.
- Fischer 1912**
Josef Ludwig Fischer. *Alte Glasgemälde im Schloss Hohenschwangau: Eine Sammlung König Maximilians 11. von Bayern*. Munich, 1912.
- Fischer 1914**
Josef Ludwig Fischer. *Handbuch der Glasmalerei für Forscher, Sammler und Kunstfreunde, wie für Künstler, Architekten und Glasmaler*. Leipzig, 1914.
- Fischer 1936**
Otto Fischer. "Niklaus Manuel Deutsch." *Pantheon* 17–18, no. 1 (1936): 8–26, 41–49.
- Fischer 1937**
Josef Ludwig Fischer. *Handbuch der Glasmalerei*. Leipzig, 1937.
- Fischer 1951**
Otto Fischer. *Geschichte der deutschen Zeichnung und Graphik*. Deutsche Kunstgeschichte Series, vol. 4. Munich, 1951.
- Fitz 1995**
Eva Fitz. "Eine Folge von vier Kabinettscheiben nach Kartons des Hans Süß von Kulmbach." *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 58, no. 1 (1995): 39–54.
- Flechsig 1928–31**
Eduard Flechsig. *Albrecht Dürer: Sein Leben und seine künstlerische Entwicklung*. 2 vols. Leipzig, 1928–31.
- Florence 1982**
Disegni dell'Europa occidentale dall'Ermitage di Leningrado. Catalogue by Irina Grigorieva et al. Florence, Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi, 1982.
- Flügge 1998**
Marina Flügge. *Glasmalerei in Brandenburg vom Mittelalter bis ins 20. Jahrhundert*. Worms, 1998.
- Frankfurt 1907–13**
Handzeichnungen alter Meister im Städelschen Kunstinstitut. Hersg. von der Direktion. Originalgetreue Lichtdrucke der Hofkunstanstalt Albert Frisch. Frankfurt am Main, 1907–13.
- Frankfurt 1971**
Albrecht Dürer: Das graphische Werk. Catalogue. Frankfurt, Städelsches Kunstinstitut, 1971.
- Frankl 1912**
Paul Frankl. *Die Glasmalerei des 15. Jahrhunderts in Bayern und Schwaben*. Studien zur deutschen Kunstgeschichte Series, vol. 152. Strasbourg, 1912.
- Frankl 1956**
Paul Frankl. *Peter Hemmel: Glasmaler von Andlau*. Berlin, 1956.
- Freiburg 1998**
Der Kaiser in seiner Stadt: Maximilian 1. und der Reichstag zu Freiburg 1498. Catalogue edited by Hans Schadek. Freiburg im Breisgau, Augustinermuseum, 1998.
- Frenzel 1960**
Gottfried Frenzel. "Veit Hirsvogel: Eine Nürnberger Glasmalerwerkstatt der Dürerzeit." *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 23 (1960): 193–210.
- Frenzel 1961**
Gottfried Frenzel. "Entwurf und Ausführung in der Nürnberger Glasmalerei der Dürerzeit." *Zeitschrift für Kunstwissenschaft* 15 (1961): 31–59.
- Frenzel 1968**
Gottfried Frenzel. "Die Farbverglasung des Mortuariums im Dom zu Eichstätt." *Anzeiger des Germanischen Nationalmuseums Nürnberg* (1968): 7–26.
- Frenzel 1970**
Ursula Frenzel. "Michael Wolgemuts Tätigkeit für die Nürnberger Glasmalerei, dargestellt an der Bildnisscheibe des Dr. Lorenz Tucher von 1485." *Anzeiger des Germanischen Nationalmuseums Nürnberg* (1970): 27–46.
- Friedländer 1894**
Max J. Friedländer. "Zum Meister des Amsterdamer Kabinetts." *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft* 17 (1894): 270–73.
- Friedländer 1897**
Max J. Friedländer. "Karl Woermann, Handzeichnungen alter Meister im königlichen Kupferstichkabinett zu Dresden. München 1896." *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft* 20 (1897): 69–75.
- Friedländer 1919**
Max J. Friedländer. *Albrecht Dürer: Der Kupferstecher und Holzschnittzeichner*. Berlin, 1919.
- Friedländer 1967–76**
Max J. Friedländer. *Early Netherlandish Painting*. Translated by Heinz Norden. 14 vols. New York and Washington, D.C., 1967–76.
- Fry 1995**
Roger Fry, ed. *Dürer's Record of Journeys to Venice and the Low Countries*. New York, 1995.
- Ganz 1899**
Paul Ganz. "Eine Federzeichnung des Malers Urs Graf von Basel, 1518." *Archives héraldiques suisses: Schweizer Archiv für Heraldik: Archivio araldico svizzero* 13 (1899): pl. 11.
- Ganz 1904–8**
Paul Ganz. *Handzeichnungen schweizerischer Meister des 15.–18. Jahrhunderts*. With the assistance of D. Burckhardt and H. A. Schmid. 3 vols. Basel, 1904–8.
- Ganz 1905**
Paul Ganz. "Hans Holbein d. J." *Die Schweiz* 9 (1905): 129–36.
- Ganz 1909**
Paul Ganz. *Zwei Schreibbüchlein des Niklaus Manuel Deutsch von Bern*. Berlin, 1909.
- Ganz 1911–37**
Paul Ganz. *Die Handzeichnungen Hans Holbeins des Jüngeren: Kritischer Katalog, in fünfzig Lieferungen*. Denkmäler deutscher Kunst Series, Berlin, 1911–37.
- Ganz 1923**
Paul Ganz. *Handzeichnungen von Hans Holbein dem Jüngeren*. 2d ed. Berlin, 1923.
- Ganz 1924**
Paul Ganz. *Die Malerei der Frührenaissance in der Schweiz*. Zurich, 1924.
- Ganz 1925**
Paul Ganz. "Holbein." *Burlington Magazine* 47 (1925): 230–45.
- Ganz 1927**
Paul Ganz. "Glasgemälde mit dem Pannerträger des Standes Bern." *Archives héraldiques suisses. Schweizer Archiv für Heraldik. Archivio araldico svizzero* 41 (1927): 190 and plate.

- Ganz 1960**
Paul Ganz. *Geschichte der Kunst in der Schweiz von den Anfängen bis zur Mitte des 17. Jahrhundert*. Basel, 1960.
- Gatouillat 1990**
Françoise Gatouillat, "Un fragmente derrière de Sainte-Magdaleine de Strasbourg et son auteur, 'le maître de Lautenbach'." *Vitrea* 5-6 (1990): 44-50.
- Gauhe 1719**
Johann Friedrich Gauhe. *Das Heil. rom. reichs genealogisch-historisches adelslexikon*. Leipzig, 1719.
- Gauhe 1740**
Johann Friedrich Gauhe. *Genealogisch-historisches adelslexikon*. Leipzig, 1740.
- Geiges 1931**
Fritz Geiges. *Der mittelalterliche Fensterschmuck des Freiburger Münsters: Seine Geschichte, die Ursachen seines Zerfalles und die Massnahmen zu seiner Wiederherstellung*. 2 vols. Freiburg im Breisgau, 1931. (Published simultaneously in *Schau-ins-Land* 56-58 [1931-33].)
- Geisberg 1974**
Max Geisberg. *The German Single-Leaf Woodcut: 1500-1550*. Revised and edited by Walter L. Strauss. 4 vols. New York, 1974.
- Genck-Bosch 1988**
Johanna Genck-Bosch. *Ein Kunstreiseführer zu Schüftelein-Werken in Nördlingen, Holheim, Harburg, Auhausen, Weiltigen*. Munich and Zurich, 1988.
- Germanisches National-Museum 1955**
Germanisches National-Museum Nürnberg: Siebenundneunzigster Jahresbericht, 1951 bis 1954. Nuremberg, 1955.
- Gessert 1839**
A. Gessert. *Geschichte der Glasmalerei*. Stuttgart and Tübingen, 1839.
- Ghent 1985**
Santiago de Compostela: 1000 ans de pèlerinage européen. Catalogue edited by an international committee. Ghent, Belgium, Centrum voor Kunst en Cultuur, Abbaye Saint-Pierre, 1985.
- Gibson 1989**
Walter Gibson. "Old Testament Narratives in the Prints of the German Little Masters." *Register of the Spencer Museum of Art, University of Kansas* 6, no. 6 (1989): 9-24.
- Gibson 1990**
Gail McMurray Gibson. "The Thread of Life in the Hand of the Virgin." In *Equally in God's Image: Women in the Middle Ages*. Ed. Julia Bolton Holloway, Constance S. Wright, Joan Bechtold. New York, San Francisco, Bern, Frankfurt am Main, Paris, London, 1990.
- Giesicke 1994**
Barbara Giesicke. *Glasmalereien des 16. und 20. Jahrhunderts im Basler Rathaus*. Basel, 1994.
- Glaser 1924**
Curt Glaser. *Hans Holbein der Jüngere: Zeichnungen*. Basel, 1924.
- Glasgow 1965**
Stained and Painted Glass: Burrell Collection. Catalogue by William Wells. Glasgow Art Gallery and Museum, 1965.
- Gleisberg 1990**
Dieter Gleisberg, ed. *Meisterzeichnungen: Museum der bildenden Künste Leipzig*. Edited and with an introduction by Dieter Gleisberg, commentary by Karl-Heinz Mehnert. Leipzig, 1990.
- Gmelin 1966**
Hans Georg Gmelin. "Georg Pencz als Maler." *Münchner Jahrbuch der bildenden Kunst*, 3d ser., 17 (1966): 49-126.
- Goldberg 1988**
Gisela Goldberg. *Albrecht Altdorfer: Meister von Landschaft, Raum, Licht*. Munich and Zurich, 1988.
- Goldner 1988**
George R. Goldner, with the assistance of Lee Hendrix and Gloria Williams. *European Drawings 1: Catalogue of the Collections*. Malibu, Calif., J. Paul Getty Museum, 1988.
- Goldner and Hendrix 1987**
George Goldner and Lee Hendrix. "A New Altdorfer Drawing." *Burlington Magazine* 129, no. 1011 (1987): 383-87.
- Goldner and Hendrix 1992**
George R. Goldner and Lee Hendrix, with the assistance of Kelly Pask. *European Drawings 2: Catalogue of the Collections*. Malibu, Calif., J. Paul Getty Museum, 1992.
- Grandidier 1897**
Philippe-André Grandidier. *Nouvelles oeuvres inédites de Grandidier: Eloge, autobiographie, bibliographie, voyages, dissertations historiques*. Colmar, 1897.
- Griesser 1956**
B. Griesser, ed. "Die 'Ecclesiastica Officia Cisterciensis Ordinis' des Cod. 1711 von Trient." *Analecta Sacri Ordinis Cisterciensis* 12 (1956): 153-288.
- Grote 1961**
Ludwig Grote. *Die Tucher: Bildnis einer Patrizierfamilie*. Bibliothek des Germanischen Nationalmuseums Nürnberg zur deutschen Kunst- und Kulturgeschichte Series, vol. 15/16. Munich, 1961.
- Grünpeck [c. 1514-16] 1891**
Joseph Grünpeck. *Die Geschichte Friedrichs III und Maximilians I*. Translated from the Latin by T. Ilgen. c. 1514-16. Leipzig, 1891.
- Gümbel 1905**
Albert Gümbel. "Archivalisches zur fränkisch-schwäbischen Kunstgeschichte: I. Eichstädter und Öttinger Meister in Kloster Heidenheim. II. Peter Strauss und Sebastian Dayg in Kloster Heilsbronn." *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft* 28 (1905): 448-56.
- Gysin 1971**
Fritz Gysin. "Die Glasgemälde in der Vorderen Ratsstube, jetzt Regierungsratsaal." In *Die Kunstdenkmäler des Kantons Basel-Stadt*, ed. C. H. Baer, vol. 1, 491-516. Die Kunstdenkmäler der Schweiz Series. Basel, 1932. Reprint, Basel, 1971.
- Haendcke 1889**
Berthold Haendcke. *Nikolaus Manuel Deutsch als Künstler*. Frauenfeld, 1889.
- Hall 1974**
James Hall. *Dictionary of Subjects and Symbols in Art*. Rev. ed. London, 1974.
- Halm 1962**
Peter Halm. "Hans Burgkmair als Zeichner." *Münchner Jahrbuch der bildenden Kunst* 13 (1962): 75-162.
- Hamburg, Stuttgart, and Bremen 1965-66**
Zeichnungen Alter Meister aus deutschem Privatbesitz. Catalogue by Wolf Stubbe. Hamburg, Kunsthalle; Stuttgart, Staatsgalerie Stuttgart; Bremen, Kunsthalle Bremen, 1965-66.
- Hannema 1955**
D. Hannema. *Catalogue of the H. E. Ten Cate Collection*. Rotterdam, 1955.
- Hasler 1996-97**
Rolf Hasler. *Die Scheibenriss-Sammlung Wyss: Depositum der Schweizerischen Eidgenossenschaft im Bernischen Historischen Museum*. 2 vols. Bern, 1996-97.
- Hausmann 1861**
Bernhard Hausmann. *Albrecht Dürers Kupferstiche, Radierungen, Holzschnitte und Zeichnungen, unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der dazu verwandten Papiere und deren Wasserzeichen*. Hanover, 1861.
- Haverkamp-Begemann 1955**
Egbert Haverkamp-Begemann. "Aanwinsten: drie tekeningen van Albrecht Dürer." *Bulletin Museum Boymans* 6, no. 3 (1955): 82-89.
- Hayward et al. 1971-72**
Jane Hayward et al. "Stained Glass Windows: An Exhibition of Glass in the Metropolitan Museum's Collection." *Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin*, n.s., 30, no. 3 (1971-72): 97-153.
- Heidelberg 1986**
Renaissance im deutschen Südwesten. Catalogue edited by Heinrich Geissler (drawings section), et al. Heidelberg, Heidelberger Schloss (organized by Badisches Landesmuseum, Karlsruhe), 1986.
- Heitz 1856**
Carl F. Heitz. *Das Zunftwesen in Strassburg: Geschichtliche Darstellung begleitet*. Strasbourg, 1856.
- Heller 1827**
Joseph Heller. *Das Leben und die Werke Albrecht Dürers*. Vol. 2, pt. 1. Hamburg, 1827.
- Hendrix 1996**
Lee Hendrix. "Ruminations on Books in a Drawing by the Master of the Coburg Roundels." In *Correspondances: Festschrift für Margret Stufmann zum 24. November 1996*, 43-50. Mainz, 1996.
- Hermans 1953**
Claus Hermans. "Die Glasgemälde des Freiburger Münsterchores und ihr Meister Hans von Ropstein." Ph.D. diss., Freiburg University, Freiburg, 1953.
- Hess 1994**
Daniel Hess. *Meister um das "mittelalterliche Hausbuch": Studien zur Hausbuchmeisterfrage*. Mainz, 1994.
- Heusinger 1992-97**
Christian von Heusinger. *Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum, Braunschweig: Die Handzeichnungssammlung, von der Gotik zum Manierismus*. Braunschweig, vol. 1 (plates), 1992; vol. 2 (text), 1997.
- Hind 1938-48**
Arthur M. Hind. *Early Italian Engraving: A Critical Catalogue with Complete Reproduction of All the Prints Described*. 7 vols. London, 1938-48.
- His 1886**
Édouard His. *Dessins d'ornements de Hans Holbein: Facsimile en photographie*. Paris, 1886.
- His 1894**
Édouard His. "Holbeins Bergwerkzeichnung im British Museum." In *Jahrbuch der Preussischen Kunstsammlungen* 15 (1894): 207-10.
- Hofmann 1905**
Friedrich H. Hofmann. "Das Markgrafenfenster in St. Sebald zu Nürnberg: Ein Beitrag zur Porträtkunde der fränkischen Hohenzollern." *Hohenzollern-Jahrbuch* 9 (1905): 67-77.
- Holl 1972**
Wilhelm Holl. *Hans von Kulmbach: Das Werk und sein Leben*. Kulmbach, 1972.
- Hollstein 1954-**
F. W. H. Hollstein. *German Engravings, Etchings, and Woodcuts, c. 1400-1700*. Amsterdam, 1954.
- Holzinger 1929**
Ernst Holzinger. *Untersuchungen zur Frage von Dürers Basler Stil*. Rudolstadt, 1929. (Ph.D. diss.; Munich, 1927.)
- Hugelshofer 1923-24**
Walter Hugelshofer. "Das Werk des Zürcher Malers Hans Leu." Pts. 1 and 2. *Anzeiger für schweizerische Altertumskunde*, n.s., 25 (1923): 163-79; 26 (1924): 28-42, 122-50.

- Hugelshofer 1928**
Walter Hugelshofer. *Schweizer Handzeichnungen des 15. und 16. Jahrhunderts*. Die Meisterzeichnung Series, vol. 1. Freiburg im Breisgau, 1928.
- Hugelshofer 1928-29**
Walter Hugelshofer. "Die Zürcher Malerei bis zum Ausgang der Spätgotik: A. Die Malerei bis zu Beginn des alten Zürichkrieges um 1440. B. Die Malerei vom Ausgang des alten Zürichkrieges bis zu Beginn der Reformation. C. Ausklang der alten Zürcher Malerei (Hans Asper)." *Mitteilungen der Antiquarischen Gesellschaft in Zürich* 30, pt. 4 (1928): 5-60; pt. 5 (1929): 61-110.
- Husband 1985**
Timothy Husband. "The Master of the Amsterdam Cabinet, the Master of the Housebook and a Stained Glass Painting at the Cloisters." In *Selected Papers from the xth International Colloquium of the Corpus Vitrearum, New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1-6 June 1982*, ed. Madeleine H. Caviness and Timothy B. Husband, 139-57. New York, 1985.
- Husband 1990**
Timothy B. Husband. "Hans Leonhard Schäufelein and Small-Scale Stained Glass: A Design for a Quatrelobe and Two Silver-Stained Roundels in New York." In *Hans Schäufelein: Vorträge gehalten anlässlich des Nördlinger Symposiums im Rahmen der 7. Rieser Kulturtag in der Zeit vom 14. Mai bis 15. Mai 1988*, 81-96. Nördlingen, 1990.
- Husband 1998**
Timothy B. Husband. "The Dissemination of Design in Small-Scale Glass Production: The Case of the 'Medieval Housebook.'" *Gesta* 37, no. 2 (1998): 178-85.
- Hutchison 1972**
Jane Campbell Hutchison. *The Master of the Housebook*. New York, 1972.
- Hutchison 1990**
Jane Campbell Hutchison. *Albrecht Dürer: A Biography*. Princeton, N.J., 1990.
- Hütt 1971**
Wolfgang Hütt. *Albrecht Dürer, 1471 bis 1528: Das gesamte graphische Werk*. 2 vols. Munich, 1971.
- Ihle and Mehnert 1972**
Sigrid Ihle and Karl-Heinz Mehnert. *Altdeutsche Zeichnungen: Museum der bildenden Künste Leipzig, Graphische Sammlung*. Kataloge der Graphische Sammlung Series, no. 1. Leipzig: Museum der bildenden Künste, 1972.
- Imhoff 1900**
Wilhelm Freiherr von Imhoff, ed. *Genealogisches Handbuch der zur Zeit lebenden rats- und gerichtsfähigen Familien der vormaligen Reichsstadt Nürnberg*. Nuremberg, 1900.
- Imhoff 1984**
Christoph von Imhoff, ed. *Berühmte Nürnberger aus neun Jahrhunderten*. Nuremberg, 1984.
- Innsbruck 1969**
Ausstellung Maximilian I. Innsbruck. Catalogue by Erich Egg et al. Innsbruck, Zeughaus, 1969.
- Innsbruck 1992**
Hispania-Austria. Kunst um 1492. Die katholischen Könige, Maximilian I. und die Anfänge der Casa de Austria in Spanien. Catalogue by Lukas Madersbacher and Gert Ammann. Innsbruck, Schlosssammlung Ambras, 1992.
- Janitschek 1890**
Hubert Janitschek. *Geschichte der deutschen Malerei*. Berlin, 1890.
- Kämpfer 1973-76**
Fritz Kämpfer et al. "Glassammlungen der DDR, no. 59, Eisenach, Wartburg-Stiftung." *Bulletin de l'association internationale pour l'histoire du verre* 7 (1973-76): 68-71.
- Karlsruhe 1959**
Hans Baldung Grien. Catalogue by Jan Lauts. Karlsruhe, Staatliche Kunsthalle, 1959.
- Kaufmann 1984**
Lynn Frier Kaufmann. *The Noble Savage: Satyrs and Satyr Families in Renaissance Art*. Ann Arbor, Mich., 1984.
- Kaufmann 1985**
Thomas DaCosta Kaufmann. "A Census of Drawings from the Holy Roman Empire, 1540-1680, in North American Collections." *Central European History* 18, no. 1 (1985): 70-113.
- Kern 1984**
Susanne Kern. "Die Sakralbauten Hans Behaims d.Ä. in Nürnberg." Master's thesis, Friedrich-Alexander-Universität Erlangen-Nuremberg, Erlangen, 1984.
- Klemm 1972**
Christian Klemm. "Der Entwurf zur Fassadenmalerei am Haus 'Zum Tanz.'" *Zeitschrift für schweizerische Archäologie und Kunstgeschichte* 29 (1972): 165-75.
- Klemm 1980**
Christian Klemm. *Hans Holbein d. J. im Kunstmuseum Basel*. Schriften des Vereins der Freunde des Kunstmuseums Basel Series, vol. 3. Basel, 1980.
- Klibansky, Panofsky, and Saxl 1964**
Raymond Klibansky, Erwin Panofsky, and Fritz Saxl. *Saturn and Melancholy: Studies in the History of Natural Philosophy, Religion, and Art*. London, 1964.
- Knackfuss 1914**
Hermann Knackfuss. *Holbein der Jüngere*. 5th ed. Künstlermonographien Series, vol. 17. Bielefeld and Leipzig, 1914.
- Knappe 1960**
Karl Adolf Knappe. "Friedrich Winkler, Hans von Kulmbach. Leben und Werk eines fränkischen Künstlers der Dürerzeit, 1959." *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 23 (1960): 184-87.
- Knappe 1961a**
Karl Adolf Knappe. *Albrecht Dürer und das Bamberger Fenster in St. Sebald in Nürnberg*. Erlanger Beiträge zur Sprach- und Kunstwissenschaft Series, vol. 9. Nuremberg, 1961.
- Knappe 1961b**
Karl Adolf Knappe. "Baldung als Entwerfer der Glasmalerei in Grossgrundlach." *Zeitschrift für Kunstwissenschaft* 15 (1961): 60-80.
- Knappe 1961c**
Karl Adolf Knappe. "Meister um Albrecht Dürer." *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 24 (1961): 250-60.
- Knappe 1962**
Karl Adolf Knappe. "Ein Nürnberger Scheibe der Dürerzeit in London." *Pantheon* 20 (1962): 355-62.
- Knappe 1973**
Ursula Knappe. "Die Nürnberger Glasmalerfamilie Hirsvogel." *Fränkische Lebensbilder* 5 (1973): 64-96.
- Koch 1941**
Carl Koch. *Die Zeichnungen Hans Baldung Griens*. Berlin, 1941.
- Koegler 1926**
Hans Koegler. *Verzeichnis der Basler Handzeichnungen des Urs Graf: Nebst einem Katalog der Basler Urs Graf-Ausstellung 1. Juli bis 15. September 1926*. Hrsg. im Auftrag der Kommission für die Öffentliche Kunstsammlung in Basel von Hans Koegler. Basel, 1926.
- Koegler 1930**
Hans Koegler. *Beschreibendes Verzeichnis der Basler Handzeichnungen des Niklaus Manuel Deutsch: Nebst einem Katalog der Basler Niklaus Manuel-Ausstellung im Kupferstichkabinett, Mitte Februar bis Ende April 1930*. Basel, 1930.
- Koegler 1943**
Hans Koegler. *Hans Holbein der Jüngere: Die Bilder zum Gebetbuch "Hortus animae"*. Basel, 1943.
- Koegler 1947**
Hans Koegler. *Hundert Tafeln aus dem Gesamtwerk des Urs Graf*. Basel, 1947.
- Koelitz 1891**
Karl Koelitz. *Hans Suess von Kulmbach und seine Werke. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Schule Dürers*. Beiträge zur Kunstgeschichte Series, n.s., vol. 12. Leipzig, 1891.
- Koeplin 1974**
Dieter Koeplin. "Zur Cranach-Ausstellung im Kunstmuseum Basel." *Unsere Kunstdenkmäler* 25, no. 3 (1974): 173-75.
- Kohlhaussen 1970**
Heinrich Kohlhaussen. *Gotik und Spätgotik*. Europäisches Kunsthandwerk Series, vol. 2. Edited by Harald Busch. Frankfurt am Main, 1970.
- Konowitz 1990-91**
Ellen Konowitz. "Drawings as Intermediary Stages: Some Working Methods of Dirk Vellert and Albrecht Dürer Re-examined." *Simiolus* 20 (1990-91): 142-52.
- Koreny 1989**
Fritz Koreny. "'Ottoprecht Fürst': Eine unbekannt Zeichnung von Albrecht Dürer: Kaiser Maximilian I. und sein Grabmal in der Hofkirche zu Innsbruck." *Jahrbuch der Berliner Museen*, n.s., 31 (1989): 127-48.
- Koschatzky and Strobl 1971**
Walter Koschatzky and Alice Strobl. *Die Dürerzeichnungen der Albertina*. Salzburg, 1971.
- Krämer 1994**
Gode Krämer. "Die vier Augsburger Monatsbilder. Stilfragen, Datierungs- und Zuschreibungsprobleme." In *Kurzweil viel ohm' Mass und Ziel: Alltag und Festtag auf den Augsburger Monatsbildern der Renaissance*, ed. Hartmut Boockmann and Pia Maria Grüber, 222-32. Munich, 1994.
- Kreul and Röver-Kann 1998**
Andreas Kreul and Anne Röver-Kann, eds. *Meisterwerke der Kunsthalle Bremen*. Vol. 2, *Aquarelle, Pastelle und Zeichnungen*. Bremen, 1998.
- Kunstgewerbemuseum 1927**
Festschrift zur Feier des fünfzigjährigen Bestehens des Mitteldeutschen Kunstgewerbe-Vereins und des Kunstgewerbe-Museums, zugleich Bericht über und Tätigkeit und Neuerwerbungen in den Jahren 1921-1927. Frankfurt am Main, 1927.
- Kurth 1927**
Willy Kurth. *Albrecht Dürer: Sämtliche Holzschnitte*. Edited by Willy Kurth, with an introduction by Campbell Dodgson. Munich, 1927.
- Kuznetsov 1964**
Yuri Kuznetsov. *Al'brekht Diurer: madonna s mladentsem*. Leningrad, 1964.
- Kuznetsov et al. 1981**
Yuri Kuznetsov. *Western European Drawing*. Introduction by Yuri Kuznetsov and introductory articles by Irina Grigorieva et al.; translated from the Russian by Elena Bessmertnaya, Nelly Fiodorova, and Ruslan Smirnov. Leningrad: State Hermitage Museum, 1981.
- Landau 1978**
David Landau. *Catalogo completo dell'opera grafica di Georg Pencz*. With an English translation by Anthony Paul. Milan, 1978.
- Landolt 1962**
Hanspeter Landolt. "Zu drei Zeichnungen Hans von Kulmbachs im Basler Kupferstichkabinett." *Jahresbericht der Öffentliche Kunstsammlung Basel* (1962): 31-47.

- Landolt 1963**
Hanspeter Landolt. "Maria mit dem Kind: Eine Zeichnung Hans von Kulmbachs." *CIBA-Blättern* 184 (1963): 14–17.
- Landolt 1984**
Elisabeth Landolt. "Von Scheibenrissen, Kabinettscheiben und ihren Auftragebern." In *Spätrenaissance am Oberrhein: Tobias Stimmer 1539–1584*. Catalogue by Dieter Koeplin, Paul Tanner, Elisabeth Landolt, et al. Basel, Kunstmuseum, 1984.
- Landolt 1990**
Hanspeter Landolt, with contributions by Hugo Wagner. *Gottfried Keller-Stiftung: Sammeln für die schweizer Museen, 1890–1990*. Bern, 1990.
- Lapkovskaja 1972**
E. Lapkovskaja, "A Swiss Stained-Glass Panel after a Drawing by Hans Holbein the Younger." *Soobschenia Gosoudarstvennogo Ermitaja* 35 (1972): 17–19.
- Lauber 1962**
Werner Lauber. *Hans Holbein der Jüngere und Luzern*. Luzern im Wandel der Zeiten Series, vol. 22. Lucerne, 1962.
- Lawrence et al. 1988–89**
The World in Miniature: Engravings by the German Little Masters, 1500–1550. Catalogue edited by Stephen H. Goddard, with essays by Patricia A. Emison, Stephen H. Goddard, and Janey L. Levy, and with contributions by Henry Fullenwider and Andrew Stevens. Lawrence, Kans., Spencer Museum of Art; New Haven, Conn., Yale University Art Gallery; Minneapolis, Minneapolis Institute of Arts; Los Angeles, Grunwald Center for the Graphic Arts, UCLA, 1988–89.
- Lee, Seddon, and Stephens 1976**
Lawrence Lee, George Seddon, and Francis Stephens. *Stained Glass*. New York, 1976.
- Lehmann 1906–10**
Hans Lehmann. "Zur Geschichte der Glasmalerei in der Schweiz." *Mitteilungen der Antiquarischen Gesellschaft in Zürich* 26, nos. 4–8 (1906/1907/1908/1910): 155–434.
- Lehmann 1909**
Hans Lehmann. *Das ehemalige Cisterzienserkloster Maris Stella bei Wettingen und seine Glasgemälde*. Aarau, 1909.
- Lehmann 1912–16**
Hans Lehmann. "Die Glasmalerei in Bern am Ende des 15. und Anfang des 16. Jahrhunderts." *Anzeiger für schweizerische Altertumskunde*, n.s., 14 (1912): 287–309; 15 (1913): 45–52, 100–116, 205–26, 321–46; 16 (1914): 41–57, 124–50, 207–33, 304–24; 17 (1915): 45–65, 136–59, 217–40, 305–29; 18 (1916): 54–74, 135–53, 225–43.
- Lehmann 1915**
Hans Lehmann. *Die Kirche von Jegenstorf und ihre Glasgemälde*. Bern, 1915.
- Lehmann 1916**
Hans Lehmann. "Das Zisterzienserkloster Wettingen und seine Beziehungen zu Salem bis zum Tode des Abtes Peter II., 1633." *Zeitschrift für die Geschichte des Oberrheins*, n.s., 31 (1916): 602–30.
- Lehmann 1941**
Hans Lehmann. *Geschichte der Luzerner Glasmalerei von den Anfängen bis zu Beginn des 18. Jahrhunderts*. Lucerne, 1941.
- Lehrs 1899**
Max Lehrs. "Bilder und Zeichnungen vom Meister des Hausbuches." *Jahrbuch der Preussischen Kunstsammlungen* 20 (1899): 173–82.
- Lehrs 1908–34**
Max Lehrs. *Geschichte und kritischer Katalog des deutschen, niederländischen und französischen Kupferstichs im xv. Jahrhundert*. 9 vols. Vienna, 1908–34.
- Leipzig 1913**
Ausstellung von Handzeichnungen Alter Meister: Sommer 1913: Führer und Verzeichnis nach Schulen und Perioden. Catalogue edited by Hermann Voss. Leipzig, Museum der bildenden Künste, 1913. (Also appeared as a separate issue of *Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst*, n.s., 24 [1913].)
- Leningrad 1968**
Ot Djurera do Pikasso. Catalogue by Yuri Kuznetsov. Leningrad, State Hermitage Museum, 1968.
- Lepaire 1960**
Claude Lepaire. *Handzeichnungen des 16. Jahrhunderts aus dem Schweizerischen Landesmuseum*. Bern, 1960.
- Liebenau 1888**
Theodor von Liebenau. *Hans Holbein der Jüngere: Fresken am Hertensteinhaus in Luzern, nebst einer Geschichte der Familie Hertenstein*. Lucerne, 1888.
- Lindt 1964**
Johann Lindt. *The Paper-Mills of Berne and Their Watermarks, 1465–1859*. Monumenta Chartae Papyraceae Historiam Illustrata Series, vol. 10. Hilversum, 1964.
- Lippmann 1882**
Friedrich Lippmann. *Zeichnungen Alter Meister im königlichen Kupferstichkabinett zu Berlin*. Berlin, 1882.
- Lippmann and Winkler 1883–1929**
Friedrich Lippmann. *Zeichnungen von Albrecht Dürer in Nachbildungen*. 7 vols. Berlin, 1883–1929.
- Liverpool 1910**
The Art of Albrecht Dürer (1471–1528). Catalogue by William Martin Conway. Liverpool, Walker Art Gallery, 1910.
- Löcher 1986**
Kurt Löcher. "Dürer-Ersatz. Hans Schäufelins Holzschnitte des *Speculum passionis* und ihre Wirkung auf die Künstler." In *Spiegelungen*, ed. Werner Knopp, 61–90. Mainz, 1986.
- London 1901**
Guide to an Exhibition of Drawings and Sketches by Old Masters, Principally Acquired between 1895 and 1901. Catalogue. London, British Museum, 1901.
- London 1971**
The Graphic Work of Albrecht Dürer: An Exhibition of Drawings and Prints in Commemoration of the Quincentenary of His Birth. Catalogue by John Rowlands. London, British Museum, 1971.
- London 1988**
The Age of Dürer and Holbein: German Drawings, 1400–1550. Catalogue by John Rowlands, with the assistance of Giulia Bartrum. London, British Museum, 1988.
- London 1995**
German Renaissance Prints, 1490–1550. Catalogue edited by Giulia Bartrum. London, British Museum, 1995.
- London 1996**
Old Master Drawings from the Malcolm Collection. Catalogue by Martin Royalton-Kisch, Hugo Chapman, and Stephen Coppel. London, British Museum, 1996.
- London, Washington, D.C., and Nuremberg 1984**
German Drawings from a Private Collection. (Published in German as *Deutsche Zeichnungen aus einer Privatsammlung*.) Catalogue by John Rowlands. London, British Museum; Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art; Nuremberg, Germanisches Nationalmuseum, 1984.
- Lossnitzer 1914**
Max Lossnitzer. "Franz J. Stadler, Michael Wolgemut und der Nürnberger Holzschnitt im letzten Drittel des 15. Jahrhunderts." *Strassburg*, 1913. Verlag von J. H. Ed. Heitz." *Monatshefte für Kunstwissenschaft* 7 (1914): 70–74.
- Lugt 1921**
Frits Lugt. *Les marques de collections de dessins & d'estampes: marques estampillées et écrites de collections particulières et publiques, marques de marchands, de monteurs et d'imprimeurs, cachets de vente d'artistes décédés, marques de graveurs apposées après le tirage des planches, timbres d'édition, etc., avec des notices historiques sur les collectionneurs, les collections, les ventes, les marchands et éditeurs, etc.* par Frits Lugt. Amsterdam, 1921.
- Lugt 1956**
Frits Lugt. *Les marques de collections de dessins & d'estampes: marques estampillées et écrites de collections particulières et publiques, marques de marchands, de monteurs et d'imprimeurs, cachets de vente d'artistes décédés, marques de graveurs apposées après le tirage des planches, timbres d'édition, etc., avec des notices historiques sur les collectionneurs, les collections, les ventes, les marchands et éditeurs, etc.* par Frits Lugt: *Supplément*. The Hague, 1956.
- Lugt and Vallery-Radot 1936**
Frits Lugt and Jean Vallery-Radot. *Bibliothèque nationale, Cabinet des estampes, inventaire général des dessins des écoles du nord*. Paris, 1936.
- Lymant 1982**
Brigitte Lymant. *Die Glasmalereien des Schmütgen-Museums*. Cologne, 1982.
- Maedebach 1970**
Heino Maedebach. *Ausgewählte Handzeichnungen von 100 Künstlern aus fünf Jahrhunderten, 15.–19. Jh. aus dem Kupferstichkabinett der Kunstsammlungen der Veste Coburg*. Kataloge der Kunstsammlungen der Veste Coburg Series. Coburg, 1970.
- Maedebach 1978**
Heino Maedebach, ed. *Kunstsammlungen der Veste Coburg: Ausgewählte Werke*. 2d ed. Kataloge der Kunstsammlungen der Veste Coburg Series. Coburg, 1978.
- Major 1907a**
Emil Major. "Die Bildnisse Urs Grafs und seiner Gattin." *Basler Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Altertumskunde* 6 (1907): 152–59.
- Major 1907b**
Emil Major. *Urs Graf: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Goldschmiedekunst im 16. Jahrhundert*. Studien zur deutschen Kunstgeschichte Series, vol. 77. Strasbourg, 1907.
- Major 1946**
Emil Major. "Hans Holbein Scheibenriss mit dem Wilden Mann." *Zeitschrift für schweizerische Archäologie und Kunstgeschichte* 8 (1946): 116–18.
- Major and Gradmann 1946**
Emil Major and Erwin Gradmann. *Urs Graf*. London, 1946.
- Mandach 1948**
Conrad von Mandach. "Über einige Risse der Sammlung Wyss in ihren Beziehungen zu Sigmund Holbein und anderen Künstlern." *Jahrbuch des Bernischen Historischen Museums* 28 (1948): 2–21.
- Mandach and Koegler 1940**
Conrad von Mandach and Hans Koegler. *Niklaus Manuel Deutsch*. Basel, 1940.
- Marks 1974**
Richard Marks. "Henry Williams and his 'Ymage of Deth' Roundel at Stanford on Avon, Northamptonshire." *Antiquaries Journal* 54 (1974): 272–74.
- Martin 1950**
Kurt Martin. *Skizzenbuch des Hans Baldung Grien*. "Karlsruher Skizzenbuch." 2 vols. Veröffentlichung der Holbein-Gesellschaft Series, vol. 2. Basel, 1950.

- Matile 1965–66**
Heinz Matile. "Bernier Ämterseiben." *Jahrbuch des Bernischen Historischen Museums* 45/46 (1965–66): 29–72.
- Mayer 1831**
Moriz Maximilian Mayer. *Die Kirche des heiligen Sebaldus: Nürnberger Merkwürdigkeiten und Kunstschatze*. Nuremberg, 1831.
- Meder 1932**
Joseph Meder. *Dürer-Katalog: Ein Handbuch über Albrecht Dürers Stiche, Radierungen, Holzschnitte, deren Zustände, Ausgaben und Wasserzeichen*. Vienna, 1932.
- Meidinger 1805**
Franz Sebastian Meidinger. *Beschreibung der kurfürstlichen Haupt- und Universitäts-Stadt Landshut in Niederbaiern*. Landshut, 1805.
- Meij 1974**
A. W. F. M. Meij, comp. *Duitse tekeningen, 1400–1700: Catalogus van de verzameling in het Museum Boymans-van Beuningen*. Rotterdam: Museum Boymans-van Beuningen, 1974.
- Mende 1978**
Matthias Mende. *Hans Baldung Grien: Das graphische Werk*. Unterschneidheim, 1978.
- Mende 1979**
Matthias Mende, ed. *Das alte Nürnberger Rathaus: Baugeschichte und Ausstattung des grossen Saales und der Ratsstube*. Vol. 1. Nuremberg, 1979.
- Mertz 1920**
W. Merz. *Wappenbuch der Stadt Baden und Bürgerbuch*. Aarau, 1920.
- Möhle 1941–42**
Hans Möhle. "Carl Koch, Die Zeichnungen Hans Baldung Griens." *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 10 (1941–42): 214–21.
- Mone 1897**
F. Mone. *Katalog der gräfl. W. Douglas'schen Sammlung alter Glasgemälde auf Schloss Langenstein*. Cologne, 1897.
- de Montebello forthcoming**
Philippe de Montebello, comp. "Recent Acquisitions, a Selection: 1998–1999." *Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin*. Forthcoming.
- Montevideo 1986**
Dibujos de los maestros de Europa occidental de los siglos xv al xviii: colección del Ermitage de Leningrado. Catalogue. Montevideo, Museo Nacional de Artes Visuales, 1986.
- Morrall 1993**
Andrew Morrall. "Saturn's Children: A Glass Panel by Jörg Breu the Elder in the Burrell Collection." *Burlington Magazine* 135, no. 3 (1993): 212–14.
- Morrall 1994**
Andrew Morrall. "Die Zeichnungen für den Monatszyklus von Jörg Breu d. Ä., Maler und Glashandwerker in Augsburg des 16. Jahrhunderts." In *Kurzweil viel ohn' Mass und Ziel: Alltag und Festtag auf den Augsburger Monatsbildern der Renaissance*, ed. Hartmut Boockmann and Pia Maria Grüber, 128–47. Munich, 1994.
- Muchall-Viebrook 1931**
Thomas Muchall-Viebrook. "Ein Beitrag zu den Zeichnungen Hans Holbein der Jüngeren." *Münchener Jahrbuch der bildenden Kunst*, n.s., 8 (1931): 156–71.
- Müller 1963**
Bruno Müller. "Ein Scheibenzyklus Hans Schäufileins." *Zeitschrift für Kunstwissenschaft* 17, nos. 1–2 (1963): 89–98.
- Müller 1988**
Christian Müller. *Hans Holbein d. J.: Zeichnungen aus dem Kupferstichkabinett der Öffentlichen Kunstsammlung Basel*. Basel, 1988.
- Müller 1989**
Christian Müller. "Hans Holbein d. J.: Überlegungen zu seinen früheren Zeichnungen." *Zeitschrift für schweizerische Archäologie und Kunstgeschichte* 46, no. 2 (1989): 113–29.
- Müller 1996**
Christian Müller. *Katalog der Zeichnungen des 15. und 16. Jahrhunderts, Teil 2A: Die Zeichnungen von Hans Holbein dem Jüngeren und Ambrosius Holbein*. Kupferstichkabinett der Öffentliche Kunstsammlung Basel (Kunstmuseum Basel). Beschreibender Katalog der Zeichnungen Series, vol. 3. Basel, 1996.
- Munich 1947**
Meisterwerke alter deutscher Glasmalerei: Leihgaben des Kunstsammlungen der Veste Coburg und der Staatlichen Graphischen Sammlung München. Catalogue by E. Baumeister. Munich, Bayerisches Nationalmuseum, 1947.
- Munich 1958**
Hundert Meisterzeichnungen aus der Staatlichen Graphischen Sammlung München. Catalogue, with essays by Peter Halm, Bernhard Degenhart, and Wolfgang Wegner. Munich, Staatliche Graphische Sammlung, 1958.
- Munich 1967–68**
Dürer und seine Zeit: Zeichnungen und Aquarelle aus den Sammlungen Bibliotheca Ambrosiana Mailand, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Staatliche Graphische Sammlung München. Catalogue by Dieter Kuhrmann. Munich, Staatliche Graphische Sammlung, 1967–68.
- Munich 1974**
Altdutsche Zeichnungen aus der Universitätsbibliothek Erlangen. Catalogue and introduction by Dieter Kuhrmann, with a forward by Herbert Pée. Munich, Staatliche Graphische Sammlung, 1974.
- Munich 1998**
Venus und Mars: Das Mittelalterliche Hausebuch. Catalogue by Christoph Graf zu Waldburg Wolfegg. Munich, Haus der Kunst, 1998.
- Musick 1928**
James B. Musick. "Recent Accessions: Stained Glass Panels." *Bulletin of the City Art Museum of St. Louis* 13, no. 3 (1928): 34, 36.
- Musper 1927**
Theodor Musper. *Die Holzschnitte des Petrarkameisters: Ein kritisches Verzeichnis mit Einleitung und 28 Abbildungen*. Munich, 1927.
- Musper 1953**
Theodor H. Musper. *Albrecht Dürer: Der gegenwärtige Stand der Forschung*. Stuttgart, 1953.
- Naumann 1935**
H. H. Naumann. "Le premier élève de Martin Schongauer, Mathis Nithart." *Archives alsaciennes d'histoire d'art* 14 (1935): 1–158.
- Neudörfer [1547] 1875**
Johann Neudörfer. *Des Johann Neudörfer Schreib- und Rechenmeisters zu Nürnberg Nachrichten von Künstlern und Werkleuten desselbst aus dem Jahre 1547 nebst der Fortsetzung des Andreas Gulden*. Edited by Georg Wolfgang Karl Lochner. Quellenschriften für Kunstgeschichte und Kunsttechnik Series, no. 10. Vienna, 1875.
- New Brunswick and Cleveland 1982–83**
Dürer to Cézanne: Northern European Drawings from the Ashmolean Museum. Catalogue by Christopher Lloyd. New Brunswick, N.J., Jane Voorhees Zimmerli Art Museum, Rutgers University; Cleveland Museum of Art, 1982–83.
- New York 1980**
The Wild Man: Medieval Myth and Symbolism. Catalogue by Timothy B. Husband. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1980.
- New York 1995**
The Luminous Image: Painted Glass Roundels in the Lowlands, 1480–1560. Catalogue by Timothy B. Husband, with an introductory essay by Ilja M. Veldman and contributions by Ellen Konowitz and Zsuzsanna van Ruyven-Zeman. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1995.
- New York 1998–99**
Master Drawings from the Hermitage and Pushkin Museums. Catalogue by Marina Bessonova et al., with forewords by Charles E. Pierce Jr., Mikhail Piotrovsky, and Irina Antonova. New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, 1998–99.
- New York 1999a**
The Medieval Housebook and the Art of Illustration. Catalogue by Timothy B. Husband. New York, The Frick Collection, 1999.
- New York 1999b**
Mirror of the Medieval World. Catalogue edited by William D. Wixom. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1999.
- New York and London 1993–94**
Drawings from the J. Paul Getty Museum. Checklist, with an introduction by George R. Goldner. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art; London: Royal Academy of Arts, 1993–94.
- New York and Nuremberg 1986**
Gothic and Renaissance Art in Nuremberg, 1300–1550. Catalogue by William D. Wixom and Rainer Kahsnitz, et al. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art; Nuremberg, Germanisches Nationalmuseum, 1986.
- Nuremberg 1906**
Katalog der historischen Ausstellung der Stadt Nürnberg auf der Jubiläums-Landes-Ausstellung Nürnberg 1906. Catalogue by Fritz Traugott Schulz and Ernst Mummenhoff. Nuremberg, Dritte Bayerische Jubiläums-Landes-Ausstellung, 1906.
- Nuremberg 1928**
Albrecht-Dürer Ausstellung im Germanischen Museum. Catalogue. Nuremberg, Germanisches Nationalmuseum, 1928.
- Nuremberg 1959**
Kaiser Maximilian I. (1459–1551) und die Reichsstadt Nürnberg: Ausstellung des Germanischen National-Museums in Verbindung mit den Staatsarchiv Nürnberg zum 500 Geburtstag Maximilians. Catalogue. Nuremberg, Germanisches Nationalmuseum, in collaboration with the Staatsarchiv Nürnberg, 1959.
- Nuremberg 1961**
Meister um Albrecht Dürer. Catalogue, with an introduction by Ludwig Grote and contributions by Peter Strieder, Gottfried Frenzel, Herwarth Röttgen, Fritz Zink, Stephan Waetzoldt, and Leonie von Wilckens. Nuremberg, Germanisches Nationalmuseum, 1961.
- Nuremberg 1971**
Albrecht Dürer, 1471–1971. Catalogue edited by Peter Strieder. Nuremberg, Germanisches Nationalmuseum, 1971.
- Nuremberg 1982**
Caritas Pirckheimer, 1467–1532: Eine Ausstellung der Katholischen Stadtkirche Nürnberg. Catalogue by Lotte Kurras and Franz Machilek, in collaboration with Brun Appel et al. Nuremberg, Kaiserburg, 1982.
- Nuremberg 1983**
Martin Luther und die Reformation in Deutschland: Ausstellung zum 500. Geburtstag Martin Luthers, veranstaltet vom Germanischen Nationalmuseum Nürnberg in Zusammenarbeit mit dem Verein für Reformationsgeschichte. Catalogue edited by Gerhard Bott. Nuremberg, Germanisches Nationalmuseum, 1983.
- Oehler 1959**
Lisa Oehler. "Das 'geschleuderte' Dürer-Monogramm." *Marburger Jahrbuch für Kunstwissenschaft* 17 (1959): 57–191.
- Oettinger and Knappe 1963**
Karl Oettinger and Karl Adolf Knappe. *Hans Baldung Grien und Albrecht Dürer in Nürnberg*. Nuremberg, 1963.

- Oidtmann 1907**
Heinrich Oidtmann. *Die Glasmalerei im alten Frankenlande*. Leipzig, 1907.
- Osten 1983**
Gert von der Osten. *Hans Baldung Grien: Gemälde und Dokumente*. Berlin, 1983.
- Panofsky 1943**
Erwin Panofsky. *The Life and Art of Albrecht Dürer*, 2 vols. Princeton, N.J., 1943.
- Paris 1964**
Dürer et son temps: Chefs-d'oeuvre du dessin allemand de la collection du Kupferstichkabinett, Musée de l'Etat, Stiftung preussischer Kulturbesitz à Berlin xve et xvie siècles. Catalogue by Fedja Anzelewsky. Paris, Palais des Beaux-Arts, 1964.
- Paris 1991-92**
Dessins de Dürer et de la Renaissance germanique dans les collections publiques parisiennes. Catalogue by Emmanuel Starcky, Emmanuelle Brugerolles, Pierette Jean-Richard, and François Fossier. Paris, Cabinet des Dessins, Musée du Louvre, 1991-92.
- Paris and Hamburg 1985-86**
Renaissance et maniérisme dans les écoles du nord: Dessins des collections de l'École des Beaux-Arts. Catalogue by Emmanuelle Brugerolles et al. Paris, École nationale supérieure des Beaux-Arts; Hamburg, Hamburger Kunsthalle, 1985-86.
- Parker 1921**
Karl Theodor Parker. "Die verstreuten Handzeichnungen Urs Grafts." *Anzeiger für schweizerische Altertumskunde*, n.s., 23 (1921): 207-19.
- Parker 1926**
Karl Theodor Parker. *Drawings of the Early German Schools*. London, 1926.
- Parker 1928**
Karl Theodor Parker. *Elsässische Handzeichnungen des xv. und xvi. Jahrhunderts*. Freiburg im Breisgau, 1928.
- Parker 1938**
Karl Theodor Parker. *Catalogue of the Collection of Drawings in the Ashmolean Museum*. Vol. 1, *Netherlandish, German, French, and Spanish Schools*. Oxford, 1938.
- Peresson 1994**
Magnus Peresson. "Ein Vierpass-Scheibe im Hohen Schloss zu Füssen und ihr Meister." *Alt Füssen* (1994): 78-84.
- Perseke 1941**
Helmut Perseke. *Hans Baldungs Schaffen in Freiburg*. Freiburg, 1941.
- Peters 1976**
Jane S. Peters. "Augustin Hirschvogel: The Budapest Series of Hunts and Other Early Drawings." Ph.D. diss., University of Wisconsin-Madison, 1976.
- Peters 1980**
Jane S. Peters. "Frühe Glasgemälde von Augustin Hirschvogel." *Anzeiger des Germanischen Nationalmuseums* (1980): 79-92.
- Philadelphia 1925**
Catalogue of the Collection of Stained and Painted Glass in the Pennsylvania Museum. Catalogue by Arthur Edwin Bye. Philadelphia, Pennsylvania Museum, 1925.
- Piccard 1961-**
Gerhard Piccard. *Die Wasserzeichenkartei Piccard im Hauptstaatsarchiv Stuttgart: Findbuch*. Veröffentlichungen der staatlichen Archivverwaltung Baden-Württemberg Series, 17 vols. to date. Stuttgart, 1961-.
- Pilz 1972**
Kurt Pilz. *Die St. Egidienkirche in Nürnberg: Ihre Geschichte und ihre Kunstwerke*. Einzelarbeiten aus der Kirchengeschichte Bayerns Series, vol. 4. Nuremberg, 1972.
- Pokorny 1998**
Erwin Pokorny. *Deutsche und niederländische Zeichnungen 16. und frühes 17. Jahrhunderts*. Linz, Austria, Stadtmuseum Linz-Nordico, 1998.
- Rackham 1929**
Bernard Rackham. "Stained Glass in the Collection of Mr. F. E. Sidney. 11: Netherlandish and German Medallions." *Old Furniture* 8 (1929): 13-18.
- Rackham 1936**
Bernard Rackham. *A Guide to the Collection of Stained Glass*. London, Victoria and Albert Museum, Department of Ceramics, 1936.
- Rasmussen 1974**
Jörg Rasmussen. "Die Nürnberger Altarbaukunst der Dürerzeit." Ph.D. diss., Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität, Munich, 1974.
- Rauch 1907**
Christian Rauch. *Die Trauts: Studien und Beiträge zur Geschichte der Nürnberger Malerei*. Studien zur deutsche Kunstgeschichte Series, vol. 79. Strasbourg, 1907.
- Reindel and Lösch 1833**
Albert Reindel and Johann Christian Ernst Lösch. "Vorzügliche Glasgemälde und Limousins im Besitz der von Tucher'schen Familie in Nürnberg." *Kunstblatt* 14 (1833): 73-75.
- Reinhardt 1965**
Hans Reinhardt. "Beiträge zum Werk Hans Holbeins aus dem Historischen Museum Basel." *Jahresbericht Historisches Museum Basel* (1965): 27-39.
- Reinle 1946-63**
Adolf Reinle. *Die Kunstdenkmäler des Kantons Luzern*. 6 vols. Basel, 1946-63.
- Reitzenstein 1972**
Alexander Reitzenstein. *Rittertum und Ritterschaft*. Bilder aus deutscher Vergangenheit Series, vol. 32. Munich, 1972.
- Riedler 1978**
M. Riedler. *Blütezeit der Wandmalerei in Luzern: Fresken des 16. Jahrhunderts in Luzerner Patrizierhäusern*. Lucerne, 1978.
- Robinson 1876**
John Charles Robinson. *Descriptive Catalogue of Drawings by the Old Masters, Forming the Collection of John Malcolm of Poltalloch, Esq.* 2d ed. London, 1876.
- Roda 1990**
Hortensia von Roda. "Dem dankbaren Andenken . . . Die frühen Glasgemälde des Hieronymus Hess für die Allgemeine Lesegesellschaft in Basel 1833." In *Das Denkmal und die Zeit: Alfred A. Schmid zum 70. Geburtstag*, ed. Bernhard Anderes et al. Lucerne, 1990.
- Rodt 1904**
Eduard von Rodt. *Bern im sechzehnten Jahrhundert*. Bern, 1904.
- Römer 1928**
Erich Römer. "Die neue Dürer-Literatur." In *Albrecht Dürer. Festschrift der internationalen Dürer-Forschung: Herausgegeben vom Cicerone*, 1: 2-32. Leipzig and Berlin, 1928.
- Rorimer 1938**
James Joseph Rorimer. *The Cloisters: The Building and the Collection of Medieval Art in Fort Tryon Park*. New York, 1938.
- Rössler 1983**
Alice Rössler. *Bavaria Antiqua: Kostbarkeiten aus einer markgräflichen Kunstkammer: Die Graphische Sammlung der Universität Erlangen*. Munich, 1983.
- Roth 1906**
F. Roth, ed. *Die Chronik des Augsburger Malers Georg Breu des Älteren, 1512-1537*. Leipzig, 1906.
- Roth 1988**
Michael Roth. "Die Zeichnungen des Meisters der Coburger Ründblätter." Ph.D. diss., Freie Universität, Berlin, 1988.
- Roth 1992**
Michael Roth. "Die Zeichnungen des sog. 'Meisters der Gewandstudien' und ihre Beziehung zur Strassburger Glas- und Tafelmalerei des späten 15 Jahrhunderts." In *Deutsche Glasmalerei des Mittelalters: Bildprogramme, Auftraggeber, Werkstätten*, ed. Rüdiger Becksmann, 152-72. Berlin, 1992.
- Rotterdam 1938-39**
Schilderijen, tekeningen en beeldhouwwerken uit particuliere Nederlandsche verzamelingen. Catalogue. Rotterdam, Muscum Boymans-van Beuningen, 1938-39.
- Rotterdam 1974**
Duitse tekeningen, 1400-1700: Uit Nederlandse openbare verzamelingen: Supplement catalogus van de tentoonstelling: Museum Boymans-van Beuningen. Supplementary catalogue. Rotterdam, Muscum Boymans-van Beuningen, 1974.
- Röttinger 1904**
Heinrich Röttinger. *Hans Weiditz der Petrarkameister*. Studien zur deutschen Kunstgeschichte Series, vol. 50. Strasbourg, 1904.
- Röttinger 1907-9**
Heinrich Röttinger. "Hans Wechtlin." *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des Allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses* 27 (1907-9): 1-54.
- Röttinger 1914**
Heinrich Röttinger. *Die Holzschnitte des Georg Pencz*. Leipzig, 1914.
- Röttinger 1926**
Heinrich Röttinger. *Dürers Doppelgänger*. Studien zur deutschen Kunstgeschichte Series, vol. 235. Strasbourg, 1926.
- Röttinger 1927**
Heinrich Röttinger. "Handzeichnungen des Hans Süß von Kulmbach." *Münchner Jahrbuch der bildenden Kunst*, n.s., 4 (1927): 8-19.
- Rowlands 1985**
John Rowlands. *The Paintings of Hans Holbein the Younger: Complete Edition*. London and Boston, 1985.
- Rowlands 1993**
John Rowlands, with the assistance of Giulia Bartrum. *Drawings by German Artists and Artists from German-Speaking Regions of Europe in the Department of Prints and Drawings in the British Museum: The Fifteenth Century, and the Sixteenth Century by Artists Born before 1530*. 2 vols. London, 1993.
- Rumohr 1836**
Carl Friedrich von Rumohr. *Hans Holbein der jüngere, in seinem Verhältnis zum deutschen Formschnittwesen*. Leipzig, 1836.
- Rupprich 1956-69**
Hans Rupprich, ed. *Dürer: Schriftlicher Nachlass*. 3 vols. Berlin, 1956-69.
- Ryan 1993**
Jacobus de Voragine. *The Golden Legend: Readings on the Saints*. Translated by William G. Ryan. 2 vols. Princeton, 1993.
- Rytz 1936**
Walther Rytz. *Pflanzenaquarelle des Hans Weiditz aus dem Jahre 1529: Die Originale zu den Holzschnitten im Brunfels'schen Kräuterbuch*. Bern, 1936.
- St. Louis and Philadelphia 1991**
Five Centuries of Drawing: Masterpieces from the Museum of Fine Arts, Leipzig. Exhibition checklist, with an introduction by Barbara Butts. The Saint Louis Art Museum; Philadelphia Art Museum, 1991.
- Sandrart [1675] 1925**
Joachim von Sandrart. *Teutsche Academie: Joachim von Sandrarts Academie der Bau-, Bild- und Mahlerey-Künste von 1675: Leben der berühmten Maler, Bildhauer und Baumeister*. Edited by A. R. Peltzer. Munich, 1925.
- Saurma-Jeltsch 1990**
Lieselotte E. Saurma-Jeltsch. "Die Illustrationen und ihr stilistisches Umfeld." In *Diebold Schillings Spiezer Bilderchronik: Kommentar zur Faksimile-Ausgabe der Handschrift Mss. hist. helv. 1 16 der Burgerbibliothek Bern*, ed. Hans Häberli and Christoph von Steiger. Lucerne, 1990.

- Schaal et al. 1990
Dieter Schaal, Jutta Bäuml, Holger Schuckelt, and Elfriede Lieber. *Vermisste Kunstwerke des Historischen Museums Dresden*. Dresden: Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden, 1990.
- Schädler 1976
Alfred Schädler. "Zum Meister der Nürnberger Madonna." *Anzeiger des Germanischen Nationalmuseums* (1976): 63–71.
- Schedel 1979
Hartmann Schedel. *Liber Chronicarum: The Nuremberg Chronicle: A Facsimile of Hartmann Schedel's Buch der Chroniken, Printed by Anton Koberger in 1493*. New York, 1979.
- Scheidegger 1947
Alfred Scheidegger. *Die Berner Glasmalerei von 1540 bis 1580*. Berner Schriften zur Kunst Series, no. 4. Bern-Bümpliz, 1947.
- Scheidegig 1955
Walther Scheidegig. *Die Holzschnitte des Petrarca-Meisters: Zu Petrarca's Werk "Von der Artzney bayder Glück, des guten and widerwärtigen."* Augsburg, 1532. Berlin, 1955.
- Schenk zu Schweinsberg 1927
Eberhard Schenk zu Schweinsberg. "Ein ausgeführte Scheibe aus dem Nürnberger Benediktzyklus." *Berliner Museen* 48 (1927): 34–36.
- Schestag 1899
August Schestag. "Die Chronik von Jerusalem." *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des Allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses* 20 (1899): 195–216.
- Schilling 1925
Edmund Schilling. *Altdeutsche Handzeichnungen aus der Sammlung Johann Friedrich Lahmann zu Dresden*. Munich, 1925.
- Schilling 1929
Edmund Schilling. *Nürnberger Handzeichnungen des xv. und xvi. Jahrhunderts*. Freiburg im Breisgau, 1929.
- Schilling 1933
Edmund Schilling. "Jörg Breu." *Old Master Drawings* 8 (1933): 29–30.
- Schilling 1955a
Edmund Schilling. *Drawings by the Holbein Family*. Basel and New York, 1955.
- Schilling 1955b
Edmund Schilling. "Zeichnungen des Hans Leonhard Schüpflein." *Zeitschrift für Kunstwissenschaft* 9 (1955): 151–80.
- Schilling 1961
Edmund Schilling. "Friedrich Winkler, Albrecht Dürer. Leben und Werk, Verlag Gebrüder Mann, Berlin, 1957." *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 24 (1961): 90–92.
- Schilling 1982
Edmund Schilling. *Die von Edmund Schilling gesammelten Zeichnungen*. Based on notes of Edmund Schilling, edited by Rosi Schilling. Private printing, Mrs. Rosi Schilling, 1982.
- Schilling and Schwarzweller 1973
Edmund Schilling and Kurt Schwarzweller. *Städelsches Kunstinstitut, Frankfurt am Main: Katalog der deutschen Zeichnungen. Alte Meister*. 3 vols. Munich, 1973.
- Schinnerer 1908
Johannes Schinnerer. *Katalog der Glasmalerei des Bayerischen National-Museums*. Kataloge des Bayerischen National-Museums in München Series, vol. 9. Munich, 1908.
- Schinnerer 1909
Johannes Schinnerer. "Sebastian Dayg als Glasmaler." *Zeitschrift für christliche Kunst* 22, no. 2 (1909): cols. 47–52.
- Schinnerer 1909–10
Johannes Schinnerer. "Die monumentale Glasmalerei zur Zeit der Frührenaissance in Nürnberg." *Die christliche Kunst* 6 (1909–10): 238–51, 324–38.
- Schinnerer 1913
Johannes Schinnerer. "Wolfgang Katzenheimer von Bamberg." *Monatshefte für Kunstwissenschaft* 6 (1913): 318–26, pls. 76–80.
- Schmid 1894
Heinrich Alfred Schmid. "Jörg Breu der Ältere und Jörg Breu der Jüngere." *Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst* 5 (1894): 21–24.
- Schmid 1930
Heinrich Alfred Schmid. *Die Werke Holbeins in Basel*. Öffentliche Kunstsammlung Basel, Kleiner Führer Series, no. 2. Basel, 1930.
- Schmid 1931
Heinrich Alfred Schmid. *Erasmii Roterodami encomium moriae, i.e. Stultitiae laus. – Lob der Torheit, Basler Ausgabe von 1515*. 2 vols. Basel, 1931.
- Schmid 1941–42
Heinrich Alfred Schmid. "Holbeinstudien I. Hans Holbein d. Ä.; Hans Holbein d. J. Die ersten Jahre in Basel, Luzern, und wieder in Basel von 1515 bis 1521." *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 10 (1941–42): 249–90.
- Schmid 1945
Heinrich Alfred Schmid. *Hans Holbein der Jüngere: Sein Aufstieg zur Meisterschaft und sein englischer Stil*. Plate vol. Basel, 1945.
- Schmid 1948
Heinrich Alfred Schmid. *Hans Holbein der Jüngere: Sein Aufstieg zur Meisterschaft und sein englischer Stil*. 2 text vols. Basel, 1948.
- Schmidt 1893
Wilhelm Schmidt. "Zur Kenntniss des Hans Schüpflein." *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft* 16 (1893): 306–8.
- Schmidt 1955
Hans Werner Schmidt. *Die deutschen Handzeichnungen bis zur Mitte des 16. Jahrhunderts*. Kunsthefte des Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museums Series, vol. 9. Braunschweig, 1955.
- Schmitz 1913
Hermann Schmitz. *Die Glasmalerei des königlichen Kunstgewerbemuseums in Berlin: Mit einer Einführung in die Geschichte der deutschen Glasmalerei*. 2 vols. Berlin, 1913.
- Schmitz 1922
Hermann Schmitz. *Hans Baldung, gen. Grien*. Künstler-Monographien Series, no. 113. Bielefeld and Leipzig, 1922.
- Schmitz 1923
Hermann Schmitz. *Deutsche Glasmalereien der Gotik und Renaissance: Rund- und Kabinettscheiben*. Munich, 1923.
- Schneeli 1896
Gustav Schneeli. *Renaissance in der Schweiz: Studien über das Eindringen der Renaissance in die Kunst diesseits der Alpen*. Munich, 1896.
- Schneider 1950
Arthur Schneider. *Die Glasmalerei des Badischen Landesmuseums Karlsruhe*. Veröffentlichungen des Badischen Landesmuseums Series, vol. 2. Freiburg im Breisgau, 1950.
- Schneider 1954
Jenny Schneider. *Die Standesscheiben von Lukas Zeiner im Tagsatzungssaal zu Baden (Schweiz): Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der schweizerischen Standesscheiben*. Basler Studien zur Kunstgeschichte Series, vol. 12. Basel, 1954.
- Schneider 1954–55
Jenny Schneider. "Urs Graf und andere Meister: Zehn schweizerische Scheibenrisse." *Bericht der Gottfried Keller-Stiftung* (1954–55): 30–37.
- Schneider 1955–56
Jenny Schneider. "Zehn schweizerische Scheibenrisse." *Jahrbuch des Bernischen Historischen Museums* 35–36 (1955–56): 97–101.
- Schneider 1959
Jenny Schneider. "Zeugnisse schweizerischer Glasmalerei in amerikanischen Museen." *Zeitschrift für schweizerisches Archäologie und Kunstgeschichte* 19 (1959): 94–98.
- Schneider 1970
Jenny Schneider. *Glasmalerei. Katalog der Sammlung des Schweizerischen Landesmuseums Zürich*. 2 vols. Stäfa, 1970.
- Schnelbögl 1962–63
Fritz Schnelbögl. "Karl Adolf Knappe, Albrecht Dürer und das Bamberger Fenster in St. Sebald in Nürnberg. (= Erlanger Beiträge zur Sprach- und Kunstwissenschaft, Band IX). Verlag Hans Carl, Nürnberg, 1961." *Jahrbuch des Historischen Vereins für Mittelfranken* 80 (1962–63): 288–89.
- Scholz 1988
Hartmut Scholz. "Entwurf und Ausführung: Werkstattpraxis in der Nürnberger Glasmalerei der Dürerzeit." Ph.D. diss., Universität Stuttgart, Stuttgart, 1988.
- Scholz 1991
Hartmut Scholz. *Entwurf und Ausführung. Werkstattpraxis in der Nürnberger Glasmalerei der Dürerzeit*. Corpus Vitrearum Medii Aevi Deutschland, Studien Series, vol. 1. Berlin, 1991.
- Scholz 1994
Hartmut Scholz. *Die mittelalterlichen Glasmalereien in Ulm*. Corpus Vitrearum Medii Aeri Deutschland Series, vol. 1, pt. 1. Berlin, 1994.
- Scholz 1995
Hartmut Scholz. "Dürer et la genèse du vitrail monumental de la Renaissance à Nuremberg." *Revue de l'art* 107 (1995): 27–43.
- Scholz 1998
Hartmut Scholz. "Kaiserliche Fensterstiftungen in Freiburg." In *Der Kaiser in seiner Stadt: Maximilian I. und der Reichstag zu Freiburg 1498*, ed. Hans Schadek, 384–419. Freiburg, 1998.
- Scholz et al. forthcoming
Hartmut Scholz, Daniel Hess, Ivo Rauch, Norbert Kölzer, and Barbara Windelen. "Beobachtungen zur Ätztechnik an Überfanggläsern des 15. Jh." *Corpus Vitrearum Newsletter*. Forthcoming.
- Schönbrunner and Meder 1896–1908
Joseph Schönbrunner and Joseph Meder, eds. *Handzeichnungen alter Meister aus der Albertina und anderen Sammlungen*. 12 vols. Vienna, 1896–1908.
- Schreyl 1990a
Karl-Heinz Schreyl. *Hans Schüpflein: Das graphische Werk*. 2 vols. Nördlingen, 1990.
- Schreyl 1990b
Karl-Heinz Schreyl. "Schüpfleins Judith Wandbild im Nördlinger Rathaus." In *Hans Schüpflein: Vorträge gehalten anlässlich des Nördlinger Symposiums im Rahmen der 7. Rieser Kulturtag in der Zeit vom 14. Mai bis 15. Mai 1988*, 183–239. Nördlingen, 1990.
- Schulz 1905
Fritz Traugott Schulz. "Eine Nürnberger Hauskapelle." *Mitteilungen des Germanischen Nationalmuseums* (1905): 57–62.
- Schulz 1908–33
Fritz Traugott Schulz. *Nürnberger Bürgerhäuser und ihre Ausstattung*. Vol. 1, pt. 1. Leipzig, 1908–33.
- Schwemmer 1961
Wilhelm Schwemmer. "Karl Adolf Knappe, Albrecht Dürer und das Bamberger Fenster in St. Sebald in Nürnberg. Erlanger Beiträge zur Sprach- und Kunstwissenschaft, Band IX. 1961. Verlag Hans Carl. Nürnberg 1961." *Altnürnberger Landschaft, Mitteilungen* 10, no. 3 (1961): 114–16.
- Schwemmer 1962
Wilhelm Schwemmer. "Das Mäzenatentum der Nürnberger Patrizierfamilie

- Tucher vom 14.–18. Jahrhundert." *Mitteilungen des Vereins für Geschichte der Stadt Nürnberg* 51 (1962): 18–59.
- Schwerin 1980**
Deutsche Zeichnungen, 16. – 18. Jahrhundert, eigene Bestände. Catalogue by Ingrid Möller. Schwerin, Staatliches Museum Schwerin, 1980.
- Seidlitz 1907**
Woldemar von Seidlitz. "Dürers frühe Zeichnungen." *Jahrbuch der Preussischen Kunstsammlungen* 28 (1907): 3–20.
- Sele Arte 1961–62**
"Maestri del tempo del Dürer." *Sele Arte* 55–60 (1961–62): 57–67.
- Shoaf 1984**
Jane V. Shoaf. "A Design for Stained Glass by Hans Leonhard Schäufler." In *Twentieth Report to the Fellows of the Pierpont Morgan Library 1981–1983*, ed. Charles Ryskamp, 217–19. New York, 1984.
- Silver 1998**
Larry Silver. "Germanic Patriotism in the Age of Dürer." In *Dürer and His Culture*, ed. Dagmar Eichberger and Charles Zika, 38–68. Cambridge, England, 1998.
- Sitzmann 1949**
Karl Sitzmann. "Das Markgrafenfenster in Nürnberg und das Bamberger Rosenkranzbild." *Heimatbote* (Beilage der Fränkischen Presse, Bayreuth), no. 9 (1949): unpaginated.
- Skinner 1934**
Orin E. Skinner. "Stained Glass in the City Art Museum." *Stained Glass: A Quarterly Devoted to the Craft of Painted and Stained Glass* 29, nos. 1–2 (1934): 7–20.
- SKL 1982**
Carl Brun, ed. *Schweizerisches Künstler-Lexikon, redigiert unter Mitwirkung von Fachgenossen von Carl Brun; hrsg. mit Unterstützung des Bundes und kunstfreundlicher Privater vom Schweizerischen Kunstverein*. 4 vols. Frauenfeld, 1905–17. Reprint, Nendeln, 1982.
- Smith 1994**
Jeffrey Chipps Smith. *German Sculpture of the Later Renaissance, c. 1520–1580: Art in the Age of Uncertainty*. Princeton, N.J., 1994.
- Stadler 1913**
Franz Stadler. *Michael Wolgemut und der Nürnberger Holzschnitt im letzten Drittel des 15. Jahrhunderts*. Studien zur deutschen Kunstgeschichte Series, vol. 161. Strasbourg, 1913.
- Stadler 1936**
Franz Stadler. *Hans von Kulmbach*. Vienna, 1936.
- Stafski 1985**
Heinz Stafski. "Das Thema der Verkündigung im Werk des Veit Stoss." *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Vereins für Kunstwissenschaft* 39 (1985): 70–97.
- Stange 1958**
Alfred Stange. *Der Hausbuchmeister: Gesamtdarstellung und Katalog seiner Gemälde, Kupferstiche und Zeichnungen*. Baden-Baden and Strasbourg, 1958.
- Stechow 1943**
Wolfgang Stechow. "Jacob Blessing the Sons of Joseph from Early Christian Times to Rembrandt." *Gazette des beaux-arts*, no. 4 (1943): 193–208.
- Stein 1929**
Wilhelm Stein. *Holbein*. Berlin, 1929.
- Steinke 1985a**
Katrin Steinke. "Kabinettscheiben der Renaissance." Two-page gallery card, no. 1448, Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Kunstgewerbemuseum. Berlin, 1985.
- Steinke 1985b**
Katrin Steinke. "Die Nürnberger and die Schweizer Kabinettscheiben." Two-page gallery card, no. 1449, Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Kunstgewerbemuseum. Berlin, 1985.
- Stettler 1951**
M. Stettler. "Niklaus Manuel und die Vinzenzenteppiche im Bernischen Historischen Museum." *Jahrbuch des Bernischen Historischen Museums* 29 (1951): 5–17.
- Stettler and Maurer 1953**
Michael Stettler and Emil Maurer. *Die Kunstdenkmäler des Kantons Aargau, Band 11: Die Bezirke Lenzburg und Brugg*. Die Kunstdenkmäler der Schweiz Series. Basel, 1953.
- Stewart 1989**
Alison Stewart. "Sebald Beham's *Fountain of Youth and Bathhouse* Woodcut: Popular Entertainment and Large Prints by the Little Masters." *Register of the Spencer Museum of Art, University of Kansas* 6, no. 6 (1989): 64–88.
- Stewart 1994**
Alison Stewart. "Beyond Prints and Politics: The Drawings and Paintings by Sebald Beham." Manuscript, Department of Art and Art History, University of Nebraska, Lincoln, 1994. 32 pages.
- Stiassny 1896**
Robert Stiassny. *Wappenzeichnungen Hans Baldung Griens in Coburg: Ein Beitrag zur Biographie des oberrheinischen Meisters*. 2d ed. Vienna, 1896.
- Stiassny 1897–98**
Robert Stiassny. "Jörg Breu und Hans Knoder." *Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst* 9 (1897–98): 296–98.
- Storck 1909**
Willy F. Storck. "Die Zeichnungen des Hausbuchmeisters." *Monatshefte für Kunstwissenschaft* 2 (1909): 264–66.
- Strauss 1974**
Walter L. Strauss. *The Complete Drawings of Albrecht Dürer*. 6 vols. New York, 1974.
- Strieder 1960**
Peter Strieder. "Friedrich Winkler, Hans von Kulmbach. Leben und Werk eines fränkischen Künstlers der Dürerzeit. Freunde der Plassenburg e. V. Stadarchiv Kulmbach, 1959." *Mitteilungen des Vereins für Geschichte der Stadt Nürnberg* 50 (1960): 534–38.
- Strieder 1985–86**
Peter Strieder. "Albrecht Dürer. Kritisches Katalog der Zeichnungen. Exhibition catalogue by Fedja Anzelewsky and Hans Mielke, 1984 (Staatliche Museen, Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin)." *Master Drawings* 23–24 (1985–86): 90–94.
- Strieder 1990**
Peter Strieder. "Dokumente und Überlegungen zum Weg Hans Schäuflers von Nürnberg über Meran nach Augsburg." In *Hans Schäufler: Vorträge gehalten anlässlich des Nördlinger Symposiums im Rahmen der 7. Rieser Kulturtag in der Zeit vom 14. Mai bis 15. Mai 1988*, 240–72. Nördlingen, 1990.
- Strieder 1992**
Peter Strieder. "Communis Sanctorum: Albrecht Dürers 'Anbetung der Heiligen Dreifaltigkeit' für die Kapelle im Zwölfbrüderhaus des Matthäus Landauer." In *Brückenschlagen/Bridgebuilding 1902–1992. Festschrift für Ferdinand Eckhardt*, ed. Claus Pese, with the assistance of Ruth Negendanck, 82–104. Nuremberg, 1992.
- Strieder 1993a**
Peter Strieder. "Hartmut Scholz, Entwurf und Ausführung. Werkstattpraxis in der Nürnberger Glasmalerei der Dürerzeit. Corpus Vitrearum Medii Aevi, Deutschland, Studien, Bd. 1. Berlin 1991." *Kunstchronik* 46, no. 12 (1993): 732–36, 741.
- Strieder 1993b**
Peter Strieder. *Tafelmalerei in Nürnberg, 1350–1550*. Königstein im Taunus, 1993.
- Stumm 1909**
Lucie Stumm. "Niklaus Manuel, Hans Leu, und Hans Funk, eine stilkritische Untersuchung." *Anzeiger für schweizerische Altertumskunde*, n.s., 11 (1909): 247–62.
- Stumm 1925**
Lucie Stumm. *Niklaus Manuel Deutsch von Bern als bildender Künstler*. Bern, 1925.
- Stumm 1927**
Lucie Stumm. *Niklaus Manuel Deutsch von Bern, 1484–1530*. Schweiz. Künstler-Mappen Series, vol. 1. Bern, 1927.
- Stuttgart 1973**
Hans Burgkmair: Das graphische Werk. Catalogue by Tilman Falk et al. Stuttgart, Graphische Sammlung, Staatsgalerie Stuttgart, 1973.
- Stuttgart 1988**
Deutsche Glasmalerei des Mittelalters: Eine exemplarische Auswahl. Catalogue by Rüdiger Becksmann. Stuttgart, Institut für Auslandsbeziehungen, 1988.
- Swan 1905**
Charles Swan, trans. *Gesta Romanorum: Or, Entertaining Moral Stories, Invented by the Monks as a Fire-side Recreation*. Translated from the Latin, with a preface by E. A. Baker. London and New York, 1905.
- Swarzenski 1972**
Hanns Swarzenski. "St. Jerome in His Cell." *Boston Museum Bulletin* 70 (1972): 118–19.
- Tavel 1978**
Hans Christoph von Tavel. "Hans Baldung und die Anfänge Niklaus Manuels." *Zeitschrift für schweizerische Archäologie und Kunstgeschichte* 35 (1978): 224–33.
- Térey 1894**
Gabriel von Térey. "Handzeichnungen des Hans Baldung, gen. Grien." Habilitationsschrift. Strasbourg, 1894.
- Térey 1894–96**
Gabriel von Térey. *Die Handzeichnungen des Hans Baldung, gen. Grien*. 3 vols. Strasbourg, 1894–96.
- Térey 1895**
Gabriel von Térey. "Ausstellung und Versteigerungen." *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft* 18 (1895): 465–79.
- Thausing 1876**
Moriz Thausing. *Dürer: Geschichte seines Lebens und seiner Kunst*. Leipzig, 1876.
- Thausing 1884**
Moriz Thausing. *Dürer: Geschichte seines Lebens und seiner Kunst*. 2d ed, 2 vols. Leipzig, 1884.
- Thieme and Becker 1907–50**
Ulrich Thieme and Felix Becker, founders. *Allgemeines Lexikon der bildenden Künstler*. 37 vols. Leipzig, 1907–50.
- Thorlacius-Ussing 1924–25**
Viggo Thorlacius-Ussing. "Nogle aeldere tyske Haandtegninger i Kobberstiksamlingen." *Kunstmuseets Aarskrift* 11–12 (1924–25): 241–69.
- Tietze 1919**
Hans Tietze. *Die Kunstsammlungen der Stadt Salzburg*. Österreichische Kunsttopographie Series, vol. 16. Vienna, 1919.
- Tietze et al. 1933**
Hans Tietze, Erica Tietze-Conrat, Otro Benesch, and Karl Garzarolli-Thurnlackh. *Die Zeichnungen der deutschen Schulen bis zum Beginn des Klassizismus*. Edited by Alfred Stix. 2 vols. Beschreibender Katalog der Handzeichnungen in der Graphischen Sammlung Albertina Series, vol. 4. Vienna, 1933.

- Tietze and Tietze-Conrat 1928–29
Hans Tietze and Erica Tietze-Conrat. "Über einige Zeichnungen des Hans von Kulmbach." *Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst* 62 (1928–29): 204–16.
- Tietze and Tietze-Conrat 1928–38
Hans Tietze and Erica Tietze-Conrat. *Kritisches Verzeichnis der Werke Albrecht Dürers*. 2 vols. Augsburg, Leipzig, and Basel, 1928–38.
- Trillitzsch 1973
Winfried Trillitzsch, trans. *Gesta Romanorum: Geschichten von den Römern. Ein Erzählbuch des Mittelalters*. Frankfurt am Main, 1973.
- Tschudin 1958
Fritz W. Tschudin. *The Ancient Paper-Mills of Basel and Their Marks*. Monumenta Chartae Papyraceae Historiam Illustratia Series, vol. 7. Hilversum, 1958.
- Uhlfelder 1967
Myra L. Uhlfelder. *The Dialogues of Gregory the Great, Book Two: Saint Benedict*. Indianapolis and New York, 1967.
- Ulm 1995
Bilder aus Licht und Farbe: Meisterwerke spätgotischer Glasmalerei: "Strassburger Fenster" in Ulm und ihr künstlerisches Umfeld. Catalogue by Michael Roth, with contributions by Rüdiger Becksmann and Hartmut Scholz. Ulm, Ulmer Museum, 1995.
- Verdier 1960
Philippe Verdier. "An Exhibition of Stained and Painted Glass Panels from the 13th to the 17th Century." *Bulletin of the Walters Art Gallery* 12, no. 5 (1960): 1–2.
- Vienna 1959
Maximilian I, 1459–1519. Catalogue edited by Franz Unterkircher. Vienna, Österreichisches Nationalbibliothek, Graphische Sammlung Albertina, and Kunsthistorisches Museum (Waffensammlung), 1959.
- Vienna 1971
Albrecht Dürer und die Druckgraphik für Kaiser Maximilian I. Catalogue by Hanna Dornik-Eger. Vienna, Österreichische Museum für angewandte Kunst, 1971.
- Vienna 1985
Albrecht Dürer und die Tier- und Pflanzenstudien der Renaissance. Catalogue by Fritz Koreny. Vienna, Graphische Sammlung Albertina, 1985.
- Vienna 1994
Albrecht Dürer im Kunsthistorischen Museum. Catalogue by Karl Schütz, with contributions by Rotraud Bauer, Rudolf Distelberger, Sabine Haag, Gerald Kaspar, Manfred Leithe-Jasper, Erwin Pokorny, Karl Schulz, and Helmut Trnek. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, 1994.
- Vienna and Graz 1972
Meisterzeichnungen aus der Ermitage in Leningrad, dem Puschkina Museum, und der Tretjakow-Galerie in Moskau. Catalogue. Vienna, Graphische Sammlung Albertina; Graz, Austria, Neue Galerie, 1972.
- Vitzthum 1926
Georg Graf von Vitzthum. "Die grosse Kreuzigung im Dürer-Stil und ihr italienisches Vorbild." *Berliner Museen* 47 (1926): 79–83.
- Volbehrr 1887–89
Theodor Volbehrr. "Ein Todesbild." *Mitteilungen aus dem Germanischen Nationalmuseum* 2 (1887–89): 105–8.
- Voragine 1969
Jacobus de Voragine. *The Golden Legend*. Translated and adapted from the Latin by Granger Ryan and Helmut Ripberger. New York, 1969.
- Voss 1943
W. Voss. "Eine Himmelskarte aus dem Jahre 1503 mit dem Wahrzeichen des Wiener Potenzenkollegiums als Vorlage Albrecht Dürers." *Jahrbuch der Preussischen Kunstsammlungen* 64 (1943): 89–150.
- Waagen 1838
Gustav Friedrich Waagen. *Art Treasures in England*. Translated from the German. 2 vols. London, 1938.
- Waldburg Wolfegg 1997
Christoph Graf zu Waldburg Wolfegg, ed. *Das Mittelalterliche Hausbuch (The Medieval Housebook)*. 2 vols. With contributions by Gundolf Keil, Eberhard König, Rainer Leng, Karl-Heinz Ludwig, and Christoph Graf zu Waldburg Wolfegg. Munich and New York, 1997.
- Walter 1870
Alexander Walter, trans. *Apocryphal Gospels, Acts, and Revelations*. Ante-Nicene Christian Library Series, vol. 16. Edinburgh, 1870.
- Warnecke 1883
Friedrich Warnecke. *Musterblätter für Künstler und Kunstgewerbe-triebende, insbesondere für Glasmaler nach original Entwürfen von Hans Holbein, Manuel Deutsch, Daniel Lindtmair, Christoph Maurer und anderen*. 2d ed. Berlin, 1883.
- Washington, D.C., 1974
Recent Acquisitions and Promised Gifts: Sculpture, Drawings, Prints. Catalogue by Christopher White et al. Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art, 1974.
- Washington, D.C., 1978
Master Drawings from the Collection of the National Gallery of Art and Promised Gifts. Catalogue. Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art, 1978.
- Washington, D.C., et al. 1955–56
German Drawings: Masterpieces from Five Centuries. Catalogue by Peter Halm. Washington, D.C., Smithsonian Institution and National Gallery of Art; Cleveland Museum of Art; Boston, Museum of Fine Arts; and San Francisco, M. H. de Young Memorial Museum, 1955–56.
- Washington, D.C., et al. 1965–66
Dürer and his Time: An Exhibition from the Collection of the Print Room, State Museum, Berlin, Stiftung Preussischer Kulturbesitz. Catalogue by Fedja Anzelewsky, with an introduction by Hans Möhle, translated from the French by Benita Eisler. Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art; New York, Pierpont Morgan Library; Chicago, Art Institute; and Boston, Museum of Fine Arts. Circulated by the Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C., 1965–66.
- Washington, D.C., and New Haven 1981
Hans Baldung Grien: Prints and Drawings. Catalogue edited by James H. Marrow and Alan Shestack. Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art; New Haven, Conn., Yale University Art Gallery, 1981.
- Washington, D.C., and New York 1998–99
Venus and Mars: The World of the Medieval Housebook. Catalogue by Christoph Graf zu Waldburg Wolfegg. Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art; New York, The Frick Collection, 1998–99.
- Wayment 1979
Hilary G. Wayment. "The Great Windows of King's College Chapel and the Meaning of the Word 'Vidimus.'" *Proceedings of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society* 69: 365–76. Cambridge, 1979.
- Wegner 1959
Wolfgang Wegner. "Die Scheibenrisse für die Familie Hoechstetter von Jörg Breu dem Älteren und deren Nachfolge." *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 22 (1959): 17–36.
- Wehrli 1931
G. Wehrli. "Die Wundärzte und Bader Zürichs als zünftige Organisation." *Mitteilungen der Antiquarischen Gesellschaft in Zürich* 30 (1931): 1–132.
- Weigel 1854–58
Rudolph Weigel. *Handzeichnungen berühmter Meister aus der Weigel'schen Kunstsammlung zu Leipzig in treuen in Kupfer gestochenen Nachbildungen, hervorg. vom Besitzer derselben*. 7 vols. Leipzig, 1854–58.
- Weigel 1865
Rudolph Weigel. *Die Werke der Maler in ihren Handzeichnungen. Beschreibendes Verzeichniss der in Kupfer gestochenen, lithographierten und photographierten Facsimiles von Originalzeichnungen grosser Meister*. Leipzig, 1865.
- Weih-Krüger 1986
Sonja Weih-Krüger. *Hans Schäußelein: Die Zeit vor seiner Niederlassung in Nördlingen 1515 unter besonderer Berücksichtigung des malerischen Werkes*. Nuremberg, 1986.
- Weinberger 1921
Martin Weinberger. *Nürnberg Malerei an der Wende zur Renaissance und die Anfänge der Dürerschule*. Beiträge zur deutschen Kunstgeschichte Series, no. 217. Strasbourg, 1921.
- Weinberger 1932
Martin Weinberger. "Über einige Jugendwerke von H. S. Beham und Verwandtes." *Mitteilungen der Gesellschaft für vervielfältigende Kunst* 2–3 (1932): 33–40.
- Weisbach 1906
Werner Weisbach. *Der junge Dürer*. Leipzig, 1906.
- Weixlgärtner 1920
Arpad Weixlgärtner. "Bemerkungen zu den umstrittenen Jugendarbeiten Albrecht Dürers." *Mitteilungen der Gesellschaft für vervielfältigende Kunst* 43 (1920): 37–52.
- Wentzel 1951
Hans Wentzel. "Das Ratsfenster von 1480 des Ulmer Münsters und sein Meister Peter Hemmel von Andlau." *Ulm und Oberschwaben* 32 (1951): 9–46.
- Wentzel 1954
Hans Wentzel. *Meisterwerke der Glasmalerei*. 2d ed. Berlin, 1954.
- Wentzel 1966
Hans Wentzel. "Schwäbische Glasmalereien aus dem Umkreis des Hausbuchmeisters." *Pantheon* 24, no. 6 (1966): 360–71.
- Whitney 1990
Elspeth Whitney. "Paradise Restored: The Mechanical Arts from Antiquity through the Thirteenth Century." *Transactions of the American Philological Society* 80 (1990): 82–127.
- Wille 1967
Hans Wille. *Deutsche Zeichnungen 16.–18. Jahrhundert*. Hannover, 1967.
- Willi 1894
D. Willi. "Baugeschichtliches über das Kloster Wettingen." *Cistercienser-Chronik* 5 (1894): 33–34, 75–86, 106–18, 137–45, 169–83, 204–11, 233–41, 262–69, 297–302, 329–35, 352a.
- Willi 1904
D. Willi. *Verzeichnis der Mitglieder des Zisterzienserstiftes Maris Stella 1227–1904*. 2d ed. Limburg an der Lahn, 1904.
- Winkler 1929
Friedrich Winkler. "Verkannte und unbekannt Zeichnungen des Hans von Kulmbach." *Jahrbuch der Preussischen Kunstsammlungen* 50 (1929): 11–44.
- Winkler 1930
Friedrich Winkler. "Skizzenbücher eines unbekannt rheinischen Meisters um 1500." *Wallraf-Richartz-Jahrbuch*, n.s., 1 (1930): 123–52.
- Winkler 1932
Friedrich Winkler. *Mittel-, Niederrheinische und Westfälische Handzeichnungen des xv. und xvi. Jahrhunderts*. Freiburg im Breisgau, 1932.
- Winkler 1936
Friedrich Winkler. "Franz Stadler, Hans von Kulmbach, Wien, 1936." *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 5 (1936): 191–93.
- Winkler 1936–39
Friedrich Winkler. *Die Zeichnungen Albrecht Dürers*. 4 vols. Berlin, 1936–39.

- Winkler 1937**
Friedrich Winkler. "Hans von Kulmbach." *Pantheon* 19 (1937): 1–12.
- Winkler 1939**
Friedrich Winkler. *Hans Baldung Grien: Ein unbekannter Meister deutscher Zeichnung*. Berlin, 1939.
- Winkler 1941**
Friedrich Winkler. "Nürnberger Vierpass-Scheiben und ihre Entwerfer." *Pantheon* 28 (1941): 243–49.
- Winkler 1942**
Friedrich Winkler. *Die Zeichnungen Hans Süss von Kulmbach und Hans Leonhard Schäußelein*. Denkmäler deutscher Kunst Series. Berlin, 1942.
- Winkler 1957**
Friedrich Winkler. *Albrecht Dürer: Leben und Werk*. Berlin, 1957.
- Winkler 1959**
Friedrich Winkler. *Hans von Kulmbach: Leben und Werk eines fränkischen Künstlers der Dürerzeit*. Die Plassenburg, Schriften zur Heimatforschung und Kulturpflege in Oberfranken Series, vol. 14. Kulmbach, 1959.
- Winkler 1961**
Friedrich Winkler. "Ein Titelblatt und seine Wandlungen." *Zeitschrift für Kunstwissenschaft* 15 (1961): 149–63.
- Winzinger 1970**
Franz Winzinger. "Unbekannte Werke des Hans Süss von Kulmbach und des Hans Schäußelein." *Zeitschrift für Kunstwissenschaft* 24 (1970): 61–70.
- Winzinger 1971**
Franz Winzinger. "Umstrittene Dürerzeichnungen." *Zeitschrift für Kunstwissenschaft* 25 (1971): 51–68.
- Winzinger 1972–73**
Franz Winzinger. *Die Miniaturen zum Triumphzug Kaiser Maximilians 1*. 2 vols. Graz, Austria, 1972–73.
- Witzleben 1977**
Elisabeth von Witzleben. *Bemalte Glasscheiben: Volkstümliches Leben auf Kabinett- und Bierscheiben*. Munich, 1977.
- Woermann 1896**
Karl Woermann. *Handzeichnungen alter Meister im königlichen Kupferstichkabinett zu Dresden*. First 3 portfolios. Munich, 1896.
- Woltmann 1874–76**
Alfred Woltmann. *Holbein und seine Zeit: Des Künstlers Familie, Leben und Schaffen*. 2d rev. ed., 2 vols. Leipzig, 1874–76.
- Worcester 1987**
Northern Renaissance Stained Glass: Continuity and Transformations. Catalogue by Virginia Chieffo Raguin, with contributions by Eckhard Bernstein, Timothy B. Husband, and Ellen Konowitz. Worcester, Mass., Iris and B. Gerald Cantor Art Gallery, College of the Holy Cross, 1987.
- Wüttrich 1980**
L. Wüttrich. *Wandgemälde von Müstair bis Hodler: Katalog der Sammlung des Schweizerischen Landesmuseums Zürich*. Zurich, 1980.
- Zankl 1935**
Hans Ludwig Zankl. *Die mittelalterliche Egidienkirche zu Nürnberg*. Erlangen, 1935.
- Zimmerman 1927**
Hildegard Zimmerman. "Der Brigitten-Meister—Peter Vischer?" *Nordisk Tidskrift for bok- och biblioteksäsen* 14 (1927): 7–16.
- Zimmerman 1928**
Ernst Heinrich Zimmerman. "Über einige Dürer zugeschriebene Zeichnungen der Dürer-Ausstellung." In *Festschrift der internationalen Dürer-Forschung*, 95–96. Berlin and Leipzig, 1928.
- Zink 1968**
Fritz Zink, ed. *Die deutschen Handzeichnungen, Band 1. Die Handzeichnungen bis zur Mitte des 16. Jahrhunderts*. Kataloge des Germanischen Nationalmuseums Nürnberg Series. Nuremberg, 1968.
- Zinsli 1963**
Paul Zinsli. "Zwielfichtiges und Erhelltes um Niklaus Manuel." *Reformatio* (1963): 213–24.
- Zoepfl 1937**
Friedrich Zoepfl. "Bad." In *Reallexikon zur deutschen Kunstgeschichte*, ed. Otto Schmitt, vol. 1, cols. 1372–81. Stuttgart, 1937.
- Zurich 1965**
Meisterwerke der Gottfried Keller-Stiftung: Schweizer Kunst aus neun Jahrhunderten. Catalogue edited by Alfred Scheidegger. Zurich, Kunsthaus, 1965.
- Zurich 1981**
Zürcher Kunst nach der Reformation: Hans Asper und seine Zeit. Catalogue by Hans Christoph von Tavel, Bernhard Anderes, et al. Zurich, Helmhaus, 1981.

Index

Page numbers for illustrations are in *italics*.

- Altdorfer, Albrecht, 152, 250–52, 278, 282, 301
Christ Carrying the Cross (drawing), 250, 251, 252
- Amman, Jost
Glass Painter, The (woodcut), 6
Glazier, The (woodcut), 6
- Ansbach, Church of Saint Gumpertus
Saint Anne, the Virgin, and Child from the Margrave's Window, 33
- Augsburg, 12, 33–37, 189–232
 Church of Saints Ulrich and Afra, 33, 35, 36
Madonna and Child, The (stained glass), 34, 190, 192
- Augsburg glass painter
Roundel with a Tournament Scene, 203, 204
Tournament Scene (stained glass), 204
- Augsburg painter
Fall (painting), 219, 220
- Augsburg painter, designed by
Emperor Maximilian with Saint George from the Habsburg Windows, 27
- Augsburg workshop
Passion of Christ, The (stained glass), 36, 37
- Baldini, Baccio, attributed to
Children of Luna, The (engraving), 208, 209
- Baldung Grien, Hans, 2, 8, 128–30, 271, 289 and Dürer, 9, 10, 22, 84, 125, 128, 129 and Hirsvogel, 80 and Kulmbach, 86 and Leu, 13, 128, 132, 278 and Manuel, 262
- WORKS
Abess Veronica von Andlau, (drawing), 11, 12
Beheading of Saint Barbara, The (drawing), 129, 130
Design for a Stained-Glass Panel with the Coat of Arms of Nikolaus Ziegler, 238, 239, 248
Design for a Stained-Glass Panel with the Uttenheim Arms, 245
Design for a Stained-Glass Window for Nikolaus Ziegler, 11, 240, 304
Du sollst nicht unkeusch sein (woodcut), 237
Groom Bridling a Horse (engraving), 235
Mater Dolorosa (painting), 243
Saint Vincent Ferrer Preaching the Sermon of the Last Judgment (drawing), 11, 29, 129, 132, 235
Stained-Glass Design for a Saddler, 234, 235
Stained-Glass Design with the Arms of Jörg von Wittelshausen, 244, 245–46
Stained-Glass Design with the Prechter Arms, 8, 11, 236, 237, 262
Wrestlers (drawing), 239, 240
- Baldung Grien, Hans, after
Design for a Stained-Glass Panel with the Arms of Jakob von Salm, 245
Saint Anne, the Virgin, and Child (drawing), 25
- Baldung Grien, Hans, designed by
Christ and the Woman Taken in Adultery (stained glass), 7, 11
Christ as the Man of Sorrows (stained glass), 7, 12, 240, 241, 242, 243
Crucifixion of Christ, The, from the Blumenegg Window, 26
- Holy Kinship, The*, from the Saint Anne Window, 23, 24
Mater Dolorosa (stained glass), 7, 12, 161, 240, 241, 242
Saint Hugo of Grenoble (stained glass), 25
Saint John the Baptist (stained glass), 242
Virgin at the Loom, The (stained glass), 132, 133
- Baldung Grien, Hans, possibly designed by
Quatrefoil with the Madonna and Child, 124, 125
- Basel, 283–312
 Bürgerliches Waisenhaus
Betrayal of Christ, The (stained glass), 14
 Town Hall
 canton panel series, 47, 48, 271, 290, 291
- Basel glass painter
Stained-Glass Panel for Brother Andreas Wengi, 297, 298, 301
Stained-Glass Panel Representing the Canton of Basel, 300, 301
- Basel master
Stained-Glass Design with Saints Barbara and Mary Magdalene, 297, 298
Wild Man Brandishing an Uprooted Tree Trunk (drawing; Berlin), 311, 312
- Beck, Leonhard, 12, 13, 23, 190, 193, 214
- Beck, Leonhard, attributed to
Judgment of Solomon, The (drawing), 150
- Beck (?), Leonhard, designed by
Passion of Christ, The (stained glass), 36, 37
- Beham, Sebald, 174–83
Buffoon with Two Bathing Women (engraving), 151, 152
Christ before the People (drawing), 182, 183
Circumcision, The (drawing; Los Angeles), 180, 181, 183
Circumcision, The (drawing; New York), 181
Design for Stained Glass with Angel Holding a Coat of Arms, 177, 178
Design for Stained Glass with Saint Sebald, 10, 174, 175, 176
Saint Lawrence (drawing), 175, 176
- Beham, Sebald, designed by
Angel with the Coats of Arms of the Melber and Pfinzing Families (stained glass), 177
Angel with the Coats of Arms of the Pessler and Töpler Families (stained glass), 177, 178, 179, 183
Stained-Glass Panel: The Deposition, 181, 183
Stained-Glass Panel: Ecce Homo, 181, 182, 183
Two Angels (stained glass), 177
- Bern, 253–74
 Canton Panel of Bern, 48, 50
Stained-Glass Panel with a Flagbearer from Bern, 254, 255, 256, 262, 304
- Bernese glass painter
Christ and the Woman Taken in Adultery (stained glass), frontispiece, 270, 271
King Josiah Has the Idols Destroyed (stained glass), 273, 274
Stained-Glass Panel with a Flagbearer from Bern, 254, 255, 256, 262, 304
Stained-Glass Panel with Saint Beatus, 279, 280
- Braun, Hans
Stained-Glass Roundel with the Month of July, 216, 218
- Breu the Elder, Jörg, 2, 4, 7, 12–13, 23, 27, 37, 60, 202–32
Bridal Scene (drawing), 204, 220, 221
Design for a Stained-Glass Roundel with the Month of July, 216, 218
Duke Discovers the Child in the Forest, The (drawing), 221, 222
Emperor Maximilian Hunting Bear (counterproof), 212, 214, 215
Emperor Maximilian Hunting Bear (drawing), 213, 215
Emperor Maximilian Hunting Stag (counterproof), 212, 214, 215
Emperor Maximilian Hunting Stag (drawing), 213, 215
Emperor Maximilian's Burgundian War (drawing), 211, 214, 215, 218
Emperor Maximilian's Hennegau War (drawing), 210, 213, 214, 218
Emperor Orders the Child Killed, The (drawing), 220, 222
Ulysses and Telemachus Slaying the Suitors (drawing), 12, 202
- Breu the Elder, Jörg, after
Children of Luna, The (drawing), 206, 207
Children of Mercury, The (drawing), 207, 209
Children of Saturn, The (drawing), 207, 208
Children of Sol, The (drawing), 207, 208
Coquinaria (drawing), 223, 224
Design for a Glass Panel with the Month of October, 217, 219
Emperor and the Page, The (drawing), 221, 222
Lying-in Chamber and Christening, The (drawing), 221, 222
Month of July, The (drawing), 218, 219
- Breu the Elder, Jörg, designed by
Children of Luna, The (stained glass), 206, 207
Children of Saturn, The (stained glass), 207, 208
Children of the Planets, The (stained glass), 206–7, 208–9
Coquinaria (stained glass; Dresden), 224
Coquinaria (stained glass; London), 223, 224
Cycle of Glass Roundels with the Wars and Hunts of Emperor Maximilian I, The, 210–13, 214–15
Cycle of the Months Made for Georg Hoehstetter, The (stained glass), 13, 209, 215, 216–17, 218–20, 222
Emperor Maximilian's Hennegau War (stained glass), 201, 210, 214
Joseph Greets His Father by Goshen in Egypt (stained glass; Darmstadt), 231
Joseph Greets His Father by Goshen in Egypt (stained glass; destroyed), 231
Roundel with a Tournament Scene, 203, 204
Seven Mechanical Arts, The (stained glass), 223, 224
Stained-Glass Roundel with the Month of July, 216, 218
Stained-Glass Roundel with the Month of October, 217, 218, 219, 232
Swiss War, The (stained glass), 214
Tournament Scene (stained glass), 204
Twelve Roundels Depicting the Story of Joseph, 202, 219, 224, 225–31, 232
Vestaria (stained glass), 224

- Breu the Elder, Jörg, by or after
Emperor Maximilian's Burgundian War (drawing), 211, 213, 214, 215, 218
- Breu the Elder, Jörg, or follower
Tournament Scene (drawing), 203, 204
- Burgkmair the Elder, Hans, 9, 23, 27, 37, 200–202, 246, 248, 292
Charity (woodcut), 201, 202
Emperor Maximilian on Horseback, The (woodcut), 200, 201, 301
Saint George and the Dragon (woodcut), 200, 301
- Burgkmair the Elder, Hans, designed by
Allegory of Charity (stained glass), 13, 200, 201
- Codex "Monumenta Familiae Halleriana," folios from, 144
- Constance, minster, 75
Man of Sorrows, The (stained glass), 77
Mater Dolorosa (stained glass), 76, 77
- Dürer, Albrecht, 4, 7, 17, 84–127, 235
 and Baldung, 11, 84, 116, 125, 128, 129
 and Hirsvogel workshop, 79–80, 84, 100, 107, 115
 and Kulmbach, 84, 122, 123, 134
 and Leu, 130, 278
 and Schäufolein, 193
 and Wolgemut, 81, 84, 99
- WORKS
Adoration of the Trinity, The (drawing), 121
Coat of Arms with a Skull (engraving), 259, 264
Design for a Stained-Glass Trefoil with Death on Horseback, 10, 29, 63, 109, 110–11
Design of a Stained-Glass Trefoil with Sixtus Tucher at His Open Grave, 10, 29, 63, 110, 111
Design for a Stained-Glass Window with Saint George, 9, 14, 29, 40, 89, 90, 94, 115, 121
Fall of the Rebel Angels, The (drawing; London), 119, 120, 121
Four Avenging Angels, The (woodcut), 107, 108
Instructional Manuscript for Wrestling and Fencing, folio from, 239, 240
King Totila Visits Saint Benedict (drawing), 104, 105
Madonna and Child, Fragment of a Cartoon for the Pfinzing Window, The, 126, 127
Martyrdom of Saint Lawrence, The (drawing), 5
Saint Anne, the Virgin, and Child (drawing), 33
Saint Augustine Dispensing the Rule of His Order (drawing), 29, 91, 92, 107, 122
Saint Benedict and the Devil (drawing), 98, 100
Saint Benedict Gives a Peasant the Blade of His Scythe (drawing), 7, 92, 93, 94, 96
Saint Benedict in Solitude (drawing), 86, 96, 97, 98
Saint Benedict Teaching (drawing), 7, 94, 95, 96, 129
Terence Writing His Comedies (drawing), 85, 86
Whore of Babylon, The (woodcut), 90, 104
- Dürer, Albrecht, after
Saint Leonard (drawing), 115, 116
- Dürer, Albrecht, attributed to
Carthusian Madonna (woodcut), 122, 123, 127
Design for a Quatrefoil with the Madonna and Child, 122, 123, 125, 136, 137, 176
- Fall of the Rebel Angels, The* (drawing; Boston), 29, 30, 126, 117
Saint Peter, Cartoon for the Window of the Bishops of Bamberg, 6, 106, 107–8
Seated Couple Playing Trictrac and Standing Woman Playing Checkers (drawing), 72, 85, 86, 87, 90
- Dürer, Albrecht, by or after
Self-Mortification of Saint Benedict, The (drawing), 100, 101, 103
- Dürer, Albrecht, designed by
Annunciation, The (stained glass), front cover, 10, 112, 114–16, 119
Death on Horseback Taking Aim at Provost Dr. Sixtus Tucher Standing at His Open Grave (stained glass), 109, 110
Donors and Saints from the Bamberg Window, 28
Donors and Saints from the Pfinzing Window, 32
Fall of the Rebel Angels, The, and The Sacrifice of Isaac, (stained glass), 118, 119, 121
Holy Trinity, The (stained glass), 118, 119
Joachim Parting from Saint Anne (stained glass), 30, 84
Madonna and Child, The, from the Pfinzing Window, 127
Martyrdom of Saint Lawrence, The (stained glass), 5, 6
Quatrefoil with Couples Playing Games, 87, 88
Saint Anne, the Virgin, and Child from the Margrave's Window, Ansbach, 33
Saint Benedict and the Devil (stained glass), 98, 99, 100, 103
Saint Peter from the Bamberg Window, 108
Saints Andrew and Pope Sixtus II (stained glass), 10, 113, 114–16, 119
Self-Mortification of Saint Benedict, The (stained glass), 102, 103–4
Sixtus Tucher Standing at His Open Grave (stained glass), 111
- Dürer, Albrecht, possibly designed by
Quatrefoil Roundel with Tournament Scenes, 204
Quatrefoil with Saint Jerome, 137
- Dürer workshop
Knight Jousting and a Horseman, A (drawing), 204, 205
- Eichstätt, cathedral, mortuary
Crucifixion of Christ, The (stained glass), 34, 35
Last Judgment, The (stained glass), 35, 36, 37, 40, 190
 Madonna of Mercy Window, 35, 37
- Endingen, Town Hall
Heraldic Panel of Alexius von Pfirt, 51
- Freiburg im Breisgau, 9, 11–12, 53, 128, 130, 242
 Carthusian monastery (Charterhouse), 7, 24, 128
Christ as the Man of Sorrows (stained glass), 12, 240, 241, 242, 243
Mater Dolorosa (stained glass), 12, 240, 241, 242–43
Saint Hugo of Grenoble (stained glass), 25
Saint John the Baptist (stained glass), 242
- minster, 11, 22–23, 158
 Blumenegg Window, 26
 Habsburg Windows, 23, 27
 Saint Anne Window, 23, 24, 25
- Funk, Hans, 13, 254–56, 274, 278
Canton Panel of Bern, 48, 50
- Funk (?), Hans
Christ and the Woman Taken in Adultery (stained glass), frontispiece, 270, 271
Stained-Glass Panel with a Flagbearer from Bern, 254, 255, 256, 262, 304
Stained-Glass Panel with Saint Beatus, 3, 279, 280
- German or Swiss glass painter
Crucifixion, The (stained glass; Innsbruck), 307, 308–9
Crucifixion, The (stained glass; San Diego), 306, 308–9
Judgment of Pilate, The (stained glass; Innsbruck), 307, 308–9
Judgment of Pilate, The (stained glass; San Diego), 306, 308–9
- Giltlinger, Gumpolt, 35, 37, 190
Emperor Maximilian's Hennegau War (stained glass), 201, 210, 214
Swiss War, The (stained glass), 214
- Giltlinger, Gumpolt, executed by the workshop of
Crucifixion of Christ, The (stained glass), 34
Last Judgment, The (stained glass), 36, 37, 190
Madonna and Child, The (stained glass), 34, 192
- Gitschmann, Hans. See Hans Gitschmann von Ropstein
- Glaser, Antoni, 13, 48, 262, 290–91
Canton Panel of the City of Saint Gall, 47, 48, 49, 50
Canton Panel with the Arms of Lucerne, 290, 291
Frieze with Wild Folk (drawing), 290–91
- Glaser (?), Antoni
Stained-Glass Panel for Brother Andreas Wengi, 297, 298, 301
Stained-Glass Panel Representing the Canton of Basel, 300, 301
- Göslér (?), Joseph
King Josiah Has the Idols Destroyed (stained glass), 273, 274
- Graf, Urs, 9, 13, 268, 284–89, 290
Design for an Alliance Panel with the Stehelin and Bischoff Arms, 12, 14
Design for a Stained-Glass Panel with Two Angels, 284, 285, 286–87
Fragment of a Stained-Glass Panel with a Maiden, 284, 285, 286
Marshaled Coat of Arms of Urs Graf and Sibylla von Brunn (drawing), 286, 288, 289
Saint Beatus Driving Away a Dragon with His Stick (woodcut), 280
- Graf, Urs, designed by
Betrayal of Christ, The (stained glass), 14
Stained-Glass Panel with the Arms of the Basel Bishop Christoph von Utenheim, 287
- Graf, Urs, circle of
Design for a Stained-Glass Panel with Two Angels, 286, 287
- Grossgründlach. See Nuremberg-Grossgründlach
- Hemmel von Andlau, Peter, 4, 11, 58, 75–77, 79, 82, 84
 and the Strasbourg workshop-cooperative, 17–20, 22, 75–77
- Hemmel von Andlau (?), Peter
Christ Feeding the Multitudes (stained glass), 20
- Hirsvogel, Augustin, 10, 60, 79, 80, 185
- Hirsvogel, Augustin, perhaps
Angel with the Coats of Arms of the Melber and Pfinzing Families (stained glass), 177

- Angel with the Coats of Arms of the Pessler and Topler Families* (stained glass), 177–78, 179, 183
- Female Nude* (stained glass), 186, 187–88
- Stained-Glass Panel: The Deposition*, 181, 183
- Stained-Glass Panel: Ecce Homo*, 181, 182, 183
- Two Angels* (stained glass), 177
- Hirsvogel the Elder, Hans, 10, 79
- Hirsvogel the Elder, Veit, 4, 10, 27, 29, 61, 79–81, 84
- Hirsvogel the Elder, Veit, attributed to
- Death on Horseback Taking Aim at Provost Dr. Sixtus Tucher Standing at His Open Grave* (stained glass), 10, 109, 110
- Sixtus Tucher Standing at His Open Grave* (stained glass), 10, 111
- Hirsvogel the Elder, Veit, workshop of, 79–80, 175
- Abbot Moeringer* (stained glass), 138, 140
- Angel with the Coats of Arms of the Melber and Pfinzing Families* (stained glass), 177
- Angel with the Coats of Arms of the Pessler and Topler Families* (stained glass), 177–78, 179, 183
- Annunciation, The* (stained glass), front cover, 112, 114–16, 119
- Christ and the Woman Taken in Adultery* (stained glass), 7, 11
- Donors and Saints from the Bamberg Window*, 28
- Donors and Saints from the Margrave's Window, Nuremberg*, 31
- Donors and Saints from the Pfinzing Window*, 32
- Emperor's Window*, 10, 31, 32, 80, 84, 134, 156–59, 213
- Fall of the Rebel Angels, The; and Sacrifice of Isaac, The* (stained glass), 118, 119, 121
- Holy Trinity, The* (stained glass), 118, 119, 121
- Joachim Parting from Saint Anne* (stained glass), 30, 84
- Madonna and Child, The*, from the Pfinzing Window, 127
- Martyrdom of Saint Lawrence, The* (stained glass), 5, 6
- Quatrefoil Roundel with Tournament Scenes*, 204
- Quatrefoil with Hunting Scenes*, 167, 168
- Quatrefoil with Saint Augustine*, 123, 136, 137
- Quatrefoil with the Jungfrauenadler*, 167, 168
- Saint Ambrose with the Attribute of the Evangelist Luke, the Ox* (drawing), 147, 148
- Saint Anne, the Virgin, and Child* from the Margrave's Window, Ansbach, 33
- Saint Augustine in Conversation with Saint Monica* (stained glass), 170, 171
- Saint George from the Emperor's Window*, 159
- Saint Peter from the Bamberg Window*, 108
- Saints Andrew and Pope Sixtus II* (stained glass), 10, 113, 114–16, 119
- Stained-Glass Panel: Deposition*, 183
- Stained-Glass Panel: Ecce Homo*, 182
- Two Angels* (stained glass), 177
- Virgin at the Loom, The* (stained glass), 132, 133
- Virgin in Glory, The* (stained glass), 164, 165
- Welser-Thumer Window, 173
- Hirsvogel the Younger, Hans, 10, 29, 79, 80
- Hirsvogel the Younger, Veit, 10, 79, 148
- Angel with the Marshaled Coat of Arms of the Esler Family* (stained glass), 162, 164–65
- Angel with the Marshaled Coat of Arms of the Pfinzing and Grundherr Families* (stained glass), 163, 164–65
- Saint Augustine* (stained glass), 153
- Saint Gregory* (drawing), 7, 154, 155, 171, 173
- Saint Gregory* (stained glass), 153
- Two Angels Holding Shields* (stained glass), 162, 164–65
- Hirsvogel the Younger, Veit, probably
- Saint Ambrose with the Attribute of the Evangelist Luke, the Ox* (stained glass), 143, 145, 155
- Saint Augustine in Conversation with Saint Monica* (stained glass), 170, 171
- Saint Gregory with the Attribute of the Evangelist Matthew, the Angel* (stained glass), 142, 145, 148
- Saint Jerome with the Attribute of the Evangelist Mark, the Lion* (stained glass), 142, 145
- Welser-Thumer Window, 173
- Holbein the Elder, Hans, 9, 37, 59, 190–92, 193, 292
- Adoration of the Child, The* (drawing), 35
- Adoration of the Magi, The* (drawing), 192
- Holbein the Elder, Hans, designed by
- Crucifixion of Christ, The* (stained glass), 34
- Last Judgment, The* (stained glass), 36, 37, 40, 190
- Madonna and Child, The* (stained glass), 34, 192
- Holbein the Elder, Hans, perhaps designed by
- Quatrefoil with Hunting Scene*, 191, 192, 201
- Holbein the Younger, Hans, 5, 9, 14, 54, 190, 278, 290, 292–312
- Altarpiece with Eight Scenes of the Passion of Christ*, 309
- Crucifixion, The* (drawing; Basel), 304, 305, 308
- Design for a Stained-Glass Panel for Hans Fleckenstein*, 293, 294
- Design for a Stained-Glass Panel with a Swineherd*, 295, 296
- Design for a Stained-Glass Panel with the Arms of the Lachner Family*, 52, 54
- Design for a Stained-Glass Panel with the Terminus of Erasmus*, 15
- Design for a Stained-Glass Panel with Two Unicorns*, 15, 304
- Design for a Stained-Glass Roundel with a Mining Scene*, 302
- Halberdier Supporting the Arms of Graf Christoph von Eberstein, A* (drawing), 303, 304
- Judgment of Pilate, The* (drawing; Basel), 308
- Title Page Border with Dionysios and Cleopatra*, 50
- Wild Man Brandishing an Uprooted Tree Trunk, A* (drawing; London), back cover, 304, 310, 312
- Holbein the Younger, after
- Wild Man Brandishing an Uprooted Tree Trunk* (drawing; Berlin), 311, 312
- Holbein the Younger, Hans, circle of
- Stained-Glass Design with Saints Barbara and Mary Magdalene*, 297, 298
- Holbein the Younger, Hans, designed by
- Crucifixion, The* (stained glass; Innsbruck), 307, 308–9
- Crucifixion, The* (stained glass; San Diego), 306, 308–9
- Judgment of Pilate, The* (stained glass; Innsbruck), 307, 308–9
- Judgment of Pilate, The* (stained glass; San Diego), 306, 308–9
- Passion Series, The* (stained glass), 292, 296, 304, 305–9, 312
- Stained-Glass Panel for Brother Andreas Wengi*, 297, 298, 301
- Stained-Glass Panel Representing the Canton of Basel*, 300, 301
- Holbein the Younger, Hans, workshop of
- Stained-Glass Design with the Virgin and Child*, 299
- Kluber (?), Hans Hug, 292
- Stained-Glass Design with Saints Barbara and Mary Magdalene*, 297, 298
- Knoder, Hans
- Emperor Maximilian's Hennegau War* (stained glass), 201, 210, 214
- Swiss War, The* (stained glass), 214
- Kulmbach, Hans von, 86, 125, 134–73
- Angel Holding the Marshaled Coat of Arms of the Esler Family* (drawing), 163, 164–65
- Design for a Quatrefoil with a Bear Hunt and a Stag Hunt*, 166, 168
- Design for a Quatrefoil with Five Hunting and Fishing Scenes*, 166, 168
- Design for a Quatrefoil with Saint Augustine*, 123, 135, 136, 141
- Design for the Emperor's Window* (composite illustration), 158
- Design for the Margrave Friedrich of Brandenburg's Window*, 6, 32, 160, 161
- Design for the Stained-Glass Window for Jakob Welsler and Ehrentaud Thumer*, 33, 172, 173
- Emperor's Wreath of Honor ("Laurca"), The* (drawing), 134, 159, 164, 168
- Fool in a Women's Bathhouse* (drawing), 151, 152
- Half-Length Portrait of an Abbot of the Monastery of Saint Aegidius* (drawing), 140, 141
- Half-Length Portrait of Johannes Rotenecker* (drawing), 139, 140–41
- Half-Length Portrait of Johann Sessler* (drawing), 139, 140–41
- Judgment of Solomon, The* (drawing), 150
- Martyrdom of Saint Stanislaw, The* (drawing), 148, 149, 150, 151
- Saint Ambrose with the Attribute of the Evangelist Luke, the Ox* (drawing), 145, 146, 148
- Saint Augustine in Conversation with Saint Monica* (drawing), 168, 169, 171
- Saint Augustine with an Infant* (drawing), 80, 153, 154
- Saint Augustine with the Attribute of the Evangelist John, the Eagle* (drawing), 147, 148
- Saint Catherine Disputing with the Philosophers* (painting), 122, 123, 134, 149
- Saint Jerome with the Attribute of the Evangelist Mark, the Lion* (drawing), 145, 146, 148
- Upper Left Quarter of a Design for the Window of Emperor Maximilian I*, 156, 157–59
- Kulmbach, Hans von, after
- Saint Ambrose with the Attribute of the Evangelist Luke, the Ox* (drawing), 147, 148
- Saint Gregory* (drawing), 7, 154, 155, 171, 173
- Kulmbach, Hans von, designed by
- Abbot Moeringer* (stained glass), 138, 140
- Angel with the Marshaled Coat of Arms of the Esler Family* (stained glass), 162, 164–65

- Angel with the Marshaled Coat of Arms of the Pfinzing and Grundherr Families (stained glass), 163, 164–65
- Donors and Saints from the Margrave's Window, Nuremberg, 31
- Emperor's Window, 10, 31, 32, 80, 84, 134, 156–59, 213
- Martyrdom of Saint Lawrence, *The* (stained glass), 5, 6
- Quatrefoil with Hunting Scenes, 167, 168
- Quatrefoil with Saint Augustine, 123, 136, 137
- Quatrefoil with the Jungfrauenadler, 167, 168
- Saint Ambrose with the Attribute of the Evangelist Luke, *the Ox* (stained glass), 143, 145, 155
- Saint Augustine (stained glass), 153
- Saint Augustine with the Attribute of the Evangelist John, *the Eagle* (stained glass), 143, 145, 148, 155
- Saint Augustine in Conversation with Saint Monica (stained glass), 170, 171
- Saint George from the Emperor's Window, 159
- Saint Gregory (stained glass), 153
- Saint Gregory with the Attribute of the Evangelist Matthew, *the Angel* (stained glass), 142, 145, 148
- Saint Jerome with the Attribute of the Evangelist Mark, *the Lion* (stained glass), 142, 145
- Two Angels Holding Shields (stained glass), 162, 164–65
- Virgin in Glory, *The* (stained glass), 164, 165
- Welser-Thumer Window, 173
- Landsberg am Lech, 59, 190
parish church, 36
Death of the Virgin, The, 38, 39
Saint Christopher Window, 39, 40
- Lausanne, Town Hall
canton panel series, 48, 50
- Lautenbach Master, 75
Man of Sorrows, The (stained glass), 77
Mater Dolorosa, The (stained glass), 76, 77
- Lemberger, Georg
War in Hennegau and in Picardy, The (watercolor), 214, 215
- Leu the Younger, Hans, 9, 10, 128, 130–33
Design for a Stained-Glass Panel with the Pilgrim Saints James the Major and Jodocus, 276, 278–79
Design for a Stained-Glass Panel with the Story of Lot and His Daughters, 13, 280, 281, 282
Virgin at the Loom Ministered to by Angels, The (drawing), 29, 131, 132
- Leu the Younger, Hans, designed by
Stained-Glass Panel with Saint Beatus, 3, 279, 280
Stained-Glass Panel with the Pilgrim Saints James the Major and Jodocus, 277, 278–79
- Lucerne
Canton Panel of Lucerne, 47
Canton Panel with the Arms of Lucerne, 290, 291
- Manuel Deutsch, Niklaus, 8, 13, 237, 257–74, 289
and Baldung, 262
and Dürer, 9, 257, 259
and Funk, 254, 262, 271, 274, 278
and Glaser, 262, 290
and Graf, 257, 262, 268
- WORKS
Allegory of a Warrior Who Becomes a Beggar (drawing), 264, 265, 266
Christ and the Woman Taken in Adultery (drawing), frontispiece, 257, 268, 269, 271, 274
Design for a Stained-Glass Panel with a Maiden Holding the Arms of Hattstatt and Wild Men Fighting Above, 258, 259, 262, 290
Design for a Stained-Glass Panel with the Madonna and Child Enthroned, 267, 268
King Josiah Has the Idols Destroyed (drawing), 13, 257, 271, 272, 282
Stained-Glass Design with Two Confederate Soldiers Supporting a Shield with the Coat of Arms of the Artist, 259, 260, 261–62, 266, 304
Woman Holding a Shield with a Coat of Arms with a Ram (drawing), 259, 263, 264
- Manuel Deutsch, Niklaus, designed by
Christ and the Woman Taken in Adultery (stained glass), frontispiece, 270, 271
King Josiah Has the Idols Destroyed (stained glass), 273, 274
Stained-Glass Panel with the Arms of the City of Burgdorf, 261, 262, 287
- Master of the Amsterdam Cabinet, *The*. See also *The Master of the Housebook*
Saint George (Mounted) (drypoint), 69
- Master of the Banderoles, *The*
Fencing Room, The (engraving), 151, 152
- Master of the Coburg Roundels, *The*, 19, 78
See also *The Master of the Drapery Studies*
Studies of Christ's Loincloth, 78, 79
- Master of the Drapery Studies, *The*, 19, 76
Study Sheet with Kneeling Figures and Loincloth, 20
- Master of the Housebook, *The*, 68–74, 148, 208
and Dürer, 9, 73, 84, 90
and quatrefoil format, 70, 86, 125, 168, 235
- WORKS
Bathhouse, The (drawing), 70, 152
Noble Hunt, The (drawing), 192
Princess Cleodolinda (drawing), 69, 70
Sol and His Children (drawing), 70
- Master of the Housebook, *The*, by or after
Design for a Quatrefoil, 72
- Master of the Housebook, *The*, designed by
Quatrefoil with Genre Scenes, 71, 72
Quatrefoil with Knights Jousting, 74
Quatrefoil with Scenes of a Joust, 73, 74, 204
Quatrefoil with the Coat of Arms of the Imperial City of Nuremberg and Love Scenes, 72
Quatrefoil with the Waldstromer Coat of Arms, a Young Man and a Young Woman Eating a Feast, 72
Quatrefoil with the Waldstromer Coat of Arms and Young Men and Woman Playing Checkers, 88
- Master of the Housebook, *The*, perhaps after a design by
Quatrefoil with Hunting Scene, 191, 201
- Master of the Speculum Window, *The*, 39
Death of the Virgin, The (stained glass), 38
Elias and the Widow of Zarepta from the Speculum Window, 38
- Mongrammist "LA"
Month of July, The (drawing), 218
- Munich, Church of Our Lady, 37, 39–40
Scharfzandt Window, 20, 21, 39
Speculum Window, 38, 39
- Neuötting, Church of Saint Anne, 40
Lazarus Raised from the Dead (stained glass), 39
- Nuremberg, 9, 27–33, 83–188
chapel of the Sixtus Tucher House, 10, 114, 115, 116
Church of Our Lady, 134, 157
Design for the Stained-Glass Window for Jakob Welser and Ehrentraud Thumer, 172, 173
Welser-Thumer Window, 173
Church of Saint Lawrence, 26, 27, 28, 29, 40, 81, 110, 128, 157, 175
Schmidtmayer Window, 6, 5, 30, 84, 121, 134
Volckamer Window, 18, 19, 20, 75, 79
Church of Saint Sebald, 4, 164
Bamberg Window, 10, 28, 79–80, 84, 100, 107, 108, 111, 115, 129
Design for Stained Glass with Saint Sebald, 175, 176
Emperor's Window, 10, 31, 32, 80, 84, 134, 156–59, 213
Margrave's Window, 6, 10, 31, 32, 80, 134, 158, 160, 161
Pfinzing Window, 10, 32, 80, 126–27, 134, 294
cloister of the Carmelite monastery, 29, 80, 125, 128, 132, 193, 242, 271
Christ and the Woman Taken in Adultery (stained glass), 7, 11
Joachim Parting from Saint Anne (stained glass) 30, 84
Virgin at the Loom, The (stained glass) 132, 133
- Haus "Zum Goldenen Schild," 144, 145, 148
- Parish House of Saint Sebald, 63, 81, 141, 164, 174
Angel with the Coats of Arms of the Melber and Pfinzing Families (stained glass), 177
Angel with the Coats of Arms of the Pessler and Töpler Families (stained glass), 179
Angel with the Marshaled Coat of Arms of the Esler Family (stained glass), 162, 164–65
Angel with the Marshaled Coat of Arms of the Pfinzing and Grundherr Families (stained glass), 163, 164–65
Saint Augustine in Conversation with Saint Monica (stained glass), 170, 171
Two Angels (stained glass), 177
Two Angels Holding Shields (stained glass), 162, 164–65
Virgin in Glory, The (stained glass), 164, 165
- Twelve-Brothers House, 84, 116, 119, 121, 134
- Nuremberg artist
Quatrefoil Roundel with Tournament Scenes, 74, 204
Virgin and Child Enthroned, The (drawing), 125
- Nuremberg-Grossgründlach, 59, 144
Church of Saint Lawrence, 132
Christ and the Woman Taken in Adultery (stained glass), 7, 11
Joachim Parting from Saint Anne (stained glass), 30, 84
Virgin at the Loom, The (stained glass), 132, 133
- Oberurbach, parish church
Passion of Christ, The (stained glass), 36, 37
- Pencz, Georg, 10, 184–88, 208
Allegory of Justice (drawing), 184, 187

- Study for a Stained-Glass Panel with the Coat of Arms of the Barons von Paar (recto); Study for a Scepter with the Initials MV (verso)*, 184, 185, 188
- Pencz, Georg, after
Allegory of Time (drawing) 184, 187, 188
- Pencz, Georg, designed by
Allegory of Time (stained glass), 184, 187, 188
- Pencz, Georg, perhaps designed by
Female Nude (stained glass), 184, 185, 186, 187
- Pfullendorf, Town Hall
heraldic panels, 49–50, 51, 54
- Polack, Jan, 37, 39
- Polack (?), Jan, designed by
Death of the Virgin, The (stained glass), 38
- Rheinfelden, Town Hall, 53, 54, 292
Heraldic Panel of Emperor Charles V, 52
- Ropstein, Hans Gitschmann von, 23, 53, 60, 128, 242
- Ropstein, Hans Gitschmann von, workshop of, 54
Christ as the Man of Sorrows (stained glass), 7, 12, 240, 241, 242, 243
Crucifixion of Christ, The, from the Blumenegg Window, 26
Emperor Maximilian with Saint George from the Habsburg Windows, 27
Heraldic Panel of Alexius von Pfirt, 51, 53
Heraldic Panel of Emperor Charles V, 52
Mater Dolorosa (stained glass), 7, 12, 161, 240, 241, 242
Saint Hugo of Grenoble (stained glass), 25
Saint John the Baptist (stained glass), 242
- Ropstein, Hans Gitschmann von, Jakob Wechtlin, and Dietrich Fladenbacher, workshop of
Saints from the "Kith, Kin, and In-Laws" of Emperor Maximilian I from the Habsburg Windows, 23
- Saint Gall
Canton Panel of the City of Saint Gall, 47, 48, 49, 50
- Schäufelein, Hans, 9, 12, 193–200
and Baldung, 128, 235
and Dürer, 10, 125, 193
- WORKS
Design for a Quatrefoil with Four Scenes from the Life of Knights and Lansquenets, 194, 195–96
Design for a Quatrefoil with Scenes from the Life of John the Baptist, 198, 199, 200
- Design for a Quatrefoil with Scenes from the Life of Saint Andrew*, 195, 199, 200
- Design for the Left Lobe of a Quatrefoil with Scenes from the Life of Saint Andrew*, 199, 200
- Schäufelein, Hans, designed by
Quatrefoil with Deeds of Hercules, 195, 197, 198
Quatrefoil with Scenes from the Life of Saint John the Baptist, 198, 199, 200
Quatrefoil with Scenes from the Old Testament Symbolizing the Order of the Golden Fleece, 195, 196, 197, 198, 200
Quatrefoil with Scenes of the Glorification of Emperor Maximilian, 194, 195, 197, 199
- Schilling, Diebold, 256
Meeting of the Eight Old Swiss Cantons in the City Hall at Stans, The (drawing), 45, 46
- Schongauer, Martin, 9, 21, 76, 78, 81, 84, 86, 128, 200, 286, 292
Saint George and the Dragon (engraving), 69, 70, 90
- Stimmer, Christoph
Heraldic Panel for the City of Mengen, 49, 51–52
Heraldic Panel of Christoph Stimmer, 50, 53
- Strasbourg, 11, 17–21, 75, 76, 128, 233–48
- Strasbourg glass painter
Christ Feeding the Multitudes (stained glass), 20
Design for a Stained-Glass Panel with the Arms of Jakob von Salm, 245
- Strasbourg workshop-cooperative, 17, 28, 61, 75–77, 78, 79
- Birth of Christ; The Presentation in the Temple, The*, from the Scharfzandt Window, 21
Donor Portraits; The Tree of Jesse; and Saints from the Volckamer Window, 19
Donor Portraits; The Tree of Jesse; and The Lives of Saint Anne and the Virgin from the Earl's Window, 18
King from the Tree of Jesse from the Kramer Window, 21, 22
Man of Sorrows, The (stained glass), 76, 77
Mater Dolorosa, The (stained glass), 76, 77
- Süss von Kulmbach, Hans. See Hans von Kulmbach
- Tübingen, Collegiate Church, 75, 77
Donor Portraits; The Tree of Jesse; and The Lives of Saint Anne and the Virgin from the Earl's Window, 18
- Ulm
Great Council Hall
Christ Feeding the Multitudes (stained glass), 20
minster, 20, 59
Kramer Window, 18, 19, 20, 22, 75
- Unknown (Bernese?) master
Design for a Stained-Glass Panel with a Flag-bearer, 254, 255, 256
- Upper Rhenish (Basel?) master
Design for a Stained-Glass Panel with a Maiden Holding a Shield, 10
- Wechtlin, Jakob, 242, 287
- Wechtlin, Jakob, executed by
Holy Kinship, The, from the Saint Anne Window, 23, 24
- Weiditz, Hans, 9, 13, 246–48
Samson Sets the Fields of the Philistines on Fire (drawing), 247, 248
Stained-Glass Design with the Arms of Bernhard IV von Eberstein, 239, 240, 248, 304
- Wertinger, Hans, workshop of
Lazarus Raised from the Dead (stained glass), 39
- Wettingen, Cistercian monastery, 2, 3–4, 49, 51, 278, 292
Stained-Glass Panel for Brother Andreas Wengi, 297, 298, 301
Stained-Glass Panel Representing the Canton of Basel, 300, 301
Stained-Glass Panel with the Pilgrim Saints James the Major and Jodocus, 277, 278–79
- Wilder, Georg Christoph
Inner Room of the Chapel in the House "Zum Goldenen Schild," 143, 145
- Winhart (?), Hans, workshop of, 38
Saint Christopher Window, 39, 40
- Wirz von Erlenbach, Conrad
Heraldic Panel of the Salem Cistercian Monastery, 49, 51
- Wolgemut, Michael, 4, 80, 81–82, 134
and Dürer, 9, 79, 81, 84, 94
- Wolgemut (?), Michael, designed by
Crucifixion, The (stained glass), 82, 99
- Zeiner, Lucas, 13, 17, 254, 301
Canton Panel of Lucerne, 46, 47, 261
- Zurich glass painter
Design for a Stained-Glass Panel with the Pilgrim Saints James the Major and Jodocus, 276, 278–79



ISBN 0-89236-579-X



9 780892 365791



90000